

GOD AND GOVERNMENT

OR

CHRIST OUR KING IN
CIVIC AND SOCIAL RIGHTEOUSNESS

By

J. MARTIN ROHDE, A.M.

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GOD AND GOVERNMENT

CORONATION

All hail the power of Jesus' name!
Let angels prostrate fall;
Bring forth the royal diadem,
And crown him Lord of all.

Crown him, ye morning stars of light,
Who fixed this earthly ball;
Now hail the strength of Israel's might,
And crown him Lord of all.

Ye chosen seed of Israel's race,
Ye ransomed from the fall,
Hail him who saves you by his grace,
And crown him Lord of all.

Sinners, whose love can ne'er forget
The wormwood and the gall;
Go, spread your trophies at his feet,
And crown him Lord of all.

Let every kindred, every tribe,
On this terrestrial ball,
To him all majesty ascribe,
And crown him Lord of all.

O that with yonder sacred throng
We at his feet may fall!
We'll join the everlasting song,
And crown him Lord of all.

—*Edward Perronet.*

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CIVIC AND SOCIAL RIGHTEOUSNESS

By

^{John} J. MARTIN ROHDE, A.M. ¹⁸⁵²⁻

Author of "The Joy of Prayer"

Introduction by

HON. A. C. MATTHEWS

Ex-Speaker Illinois House of Representatives, and Former
Comptroller United States Treasury, Washington, D. C.

*The Lord reigneth ; let the earth rejoice ; let the multitude of
isles be glad thereof.—Psa. 97. 1.*



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Christianity
Title

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TO
THE WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION
IN RECOGNITION OF
NOBLE VICTORIES ACHIEVED
FOR
GOD AND HOME AND NATIVE LAND

PREFACE

THIS book is not a volume of sermons or lectures. The matter here produced was never before presented in public discourse. The Scripture texts heading the chapters are used merely to present the leading thought on the subject treated in the brief language of God's Word.

Appreciating the scope and the importance of the great themes in contemplation, the very best resources on the outline of thought here presented have been studiously consulted and utilized to develop new and conclusive opinions on the civic and social issues of the day as related to the rulings of Christ our King in the great conflict for God's supremacy and sovereignty in our Republic and in all Christian civilization.

Realizing that we are in a practical age of telegraph messages and ten-minute speeches, verbosity and laborious deliberations have been avoided and the utmost brevity, as well as clearness and conciseness of style, has been observed, so as to place the great field of thought explored within a narrow compass easily available to the busiest reader.

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INTRODUCTION

“GOD AND GOVERNMENT” should be read by all lovers of vigorous English and fair play. The discussions of this new and sprightly book cover the living questions of the hour, and elucidate the great civic and social problems that will not down until they are fully argued and correctly solved.

The high moral tone given to the subjects treated gives the author a standing which at once insures him a candid hearing. His presentation is clear, forcible, and diplomatic. He is at times severe, but always sound in his philosophy and logical in his conclusions.

The chapters on “Sovereignty of God,” “Divinity in Government,” “National Safeguards,” “Resources of Reform,” “Social Revolution,” “Church and State,” and “International Fraternalism” are valuable contributions to the literature of applied Christianity as related to our civic and social life. His review of “Race Problems,” including as it does the discussions of “Our Foreign Population,” “The American Indian,” “The Negro Problem,” “The Jewish Question,” and like subjects, is a model of its class, and should be read by all who are interested in those questions. His discussion of “Capital and Labor,” “Anarchy,” “Paternal Government,” “Supremacy of

Law," "Lynching and Laxity of Courts," and "Christian Citizenship," to be properly appreciated, should be read.

In an age when pessimism proclaims a gospel of despair, and when State atheism thrives unrebuked, such a book as this is timely and has an important mission. The whole volume, based as it is upon the idea of divine supremacy, is worthy a place in the library of any student of living questions and serious thought.

While there is a diversity of opinion on several of the important questions discussed, and while some readers may not agree with all the author has said, nor in all cases with his manner of putting the proposition, they will all admire his candor, his courage, and the skill and ability with which he keeps to the front the divine influence.

In conclusion, on the subject of "Christian Citizenship," the author boldly presses to the front this statement: "Thus it is apparent that the typical American and the ideal citizen ought to be—indeed, must be—in the highest and broadest sense of the term, a Christian gentleman."

I cheerfully recommend the entire volume to the reading public, in the belief that it will be read with pleasure and that all who read it will be profited thereby.

A. C. MATTHEWS.

SOVEREIGNTY OF GOD

SOVEREIGN OF NATIONS

God ever glorious!
Sovereign of nations!
Wave the banner of peace o'er the land.
Thine is the victory,
Thine the salvation;
Strong to deliver, own we thy hand.

Still may thy blessing rest,
Father most holy,
Over each mountain, rock, river, and shore.
Sing "Hallelujah!"
Shout in hosannas!
God keep our country free evermore!
—*Smith.*

GOD AND GOVERNMENT

I

SOVEREIGNTY OF GOD

“The Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men.”—Dan. 4. 17.

WHAT think ye of Christ? This is the supreme question of the ages; and the responsibility of the disposal of this cardinal interrogative of our Lord is incumbent upon Christians both individually and nationally.

Our Saviour himself plainly signified the twofold relation of the individual believer to the spiritual kingdom and to the government of the State by his distinct injunction: “Render therefore unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s, and unto God the things that are God’s.” Individual Christianity and State atheism are two things so entirely at variance with each other that both cannot consistently be component parts of one and the same character. The true Christian faith is largely and necessarily a theocratic faith, a faith which acknowledges divine rulership in all national affairs.

This was the faith of our fathers, the founders of our great Republic, though not literally inscribing the name of Christ in the Constitution as the Ruler of Nations; though denying the organic unity of Church and State, though rejecting the idea of a religious hierarchy—the rule of priesthood or clergy—yet they were largely God-honoring men, and recognized the rulership of God as the ground of all sovereignty and authority.

This idea of divine sovereignty, which has been perpetuated as a dominant principle in our national life and history, is evidently in accordance with the teachings of the divine Word, which speaks just as distinctly of Christ's kingly character as it does of his prophetic and priestly offices. Though Jesus of Nazareth refused to be crowned by his followers as an earthly ruler of a temporal kingdom, yet he emphatically asserted his eternal and spiritual sovereignty in the royal declaration: "I am a king. To this end was I born, and for this cause I came into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth." History has demonstrated that this declaration of our Lord was not mere figurative language, but that it has real and abiding significance.

Christ was God incarnate, "the Most High," who "ruleth in the kingdom of men." This accounts for the scope and the magnitude of his power as the Great

Unseen King, who overrules and counteracts the gigantic Satanic forces of the world and wields the destiny of nations to accomplish his purpose of divine sovereignty among men.

Though the unbelieving world is blind to providential leadings, yet to the Christian observer there are positive and undoubted evidences of God's rulings in the kingdoms of men. By marvelous dispensations of Providence, overruling evil for good and making all things subservient to the divine will, national events in both Jewish and Gentile history, though otherwise intended, were made to play important parts in the great Messianic drama of preparation for the dawn of the Christian era.

Israel, God's chosen nation, was divinely placed in such relation with Egyptian and Chaldean glory that she might become better equipped with literary and material resources and enjoy greater advantages for proclaiming to mankind the knowledge of the one true and living God. Rome ascended to civil supremacy and with worldly purpose formulated excellent codes of law and built great highways to her remotest boundaries, and thus unconsciously and unintentionally provided civil protection and means of communication for the coming messengers of the Gospel. Alexander, with his great army, swept down from Macedonia, through Greece, across the

Hellespont, into Palestine and surrounding countries. His object was conquest; but he served a better purpose than he knew by giving to the Jewish people the fittest language ever known for the embodiment of the Gospel and the earliest Christian literature.

Thus the succession of undoubted providential events in history preparing the world for the first advent of the Messianic King justify the common belief in a divine sovereignty shaping national destinies preparatory to his second and final coming and reign in millennial glory. Though the plans of God's providences are in a great measure mysterious and inscrutable, yet when we trace the progress of empire, the rise and fall of dynasties, in bygone ages, we see that God carries the destiny of nations in the hollow of his hands, and that the powers, the principalities, and the kingdoms of the world must be God's loyal agencies for the promulgation of Christ's kingdom in order to merit divine favor and to accomplish their mission of sovereignty among men.

The government of God as manifested among men through Jesus Christ should be the desire and the aim of all nations because Christ is the Ideal Sovereign, in the proper recognition of whose authority lies the secret of perfect political organi-

zation and the only successful remedy for all the evils of social disorder.

Only God, by his overruling Providence, can counteract successfully the Satanic powers of wickedness that militate against godliness; and he only can establish the ultimate triumph of Christianity in the world, as he has pledged himself to do by the irrevocable decrees and promises of his inspired Word. The Most High, who ruleth in the kingdom of men, will be true to his Word. Heaven and earth may pass away to be supplanted by a new creation, but God's Word shall never fail. The kingdom of Jesus in millennial glory is no mere poetic dream of imaginative pietism, but a coming reality just as certain and glorious as God himself.

Already we can see that the predominance of Christian principles and the evidences of providential leadings in great events of our day and age are prophetic of the approaching Gospel kingdom of our coming Lord. In the modern deductions of science reflecting God's light on Bible truth, in the framing of laws aiming at equality and justice, in the progress of great national reforms pointing toward a political and moral betterment of men, in the great missionary enterprises spreading Gospel truth in all lands and among all people, in the march of Christian

civilization over the continents of both hemispheres and the isles of the seas, and in the general trend of human thought toward Christ's coming and reign we behold the dawn of the glorious Gospel era in which, according to divine promise, all nations shall acknowledge our Lord and Saviour as their rightful Ruler and Lawgiver.

This happy knowledge of providential rulings in past and present-day events inspires the believing heart with hope and cheer, and makes the prospect for the coming ages of the endless future bright and inviting to all mankind.

Bless God, to know that we are not in a world of mere chance without system, design, or certainty in the happening of events, nor in a world of godless nature without a governor to control and regulate the laws, tendencies, and forces of the universe, nor in a world of hopeless fatalism without a God to condemn, defy, and overrule the powers and the works of the Devil among men; but that we are in a world of divine providences, a world that has been redeemed from the curse of sin and death and hell by the highest price of heaven, a world in which God lives and loves and rules to reveal his kingdom and power and glory through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour!

Inspired history commemorates the dawn of the

world's creation as a time "when the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy." Glorious concert of heavenly music when the world and humanity were born! Divine foreknowledge more than justified the work of creation. To God the whole future was as clear as a cloudless day. He foreknew great purposes and eternal destinies accomplished. The preconception of sin and Satan coming into the world was counteracted by the eternal plan of redemption through the atoning merits of the Son of God. In the mind of the Creator it was perfectly clear that divine sovereignty should never be overruled, and that the great purpose of creation should not be thwarted. God foresaw the great conflict of coming ages—the warfare between sin and righteousness—not only as related to humanity on earth, but also as related to other beings in other worlds of his dominion. There was no doubt as to the final issue; and the certainty of victory over the "deceiver of the nations" by the glorious triumph of the coming Hero of the Cross, was from the beginning, is now, and ever shall be the occasion of joy and song both in heaven and on earth.

To unregenerated humanity, however, the sovereignty of God is yet largely a hidden mystery, and even in this enlightened age, bridging the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, "the fools," as in days of

yore, "will say in their hearts, There is no God," and faint-hearted pessimists, overlooking the evidences of divine sovereignty and ignoring the plausibility of Christian faith, will, as in the dark days of Malachi, declare, "It is vain to serve God!" and will defyingly raise the question, "What profit is it that we keep his ordinance, and that we walk mournfully before the Lord of Hosts?"

This pessimistic disposition of mind, born of infidelity, weakness, and wickedness, incites men to believe and proclaim a gospel of despair; to misconceive the world essentially and continually growing worse; to magnify the power of the Devil and to minify the omnipotence of the Saviour of the world by declaring Christianity a failure and by decrying humanity totally depraved and hopelessly irredeemable. Pessimism, though characterized by the despondency and fatalism of the darkest ages of the world, is an antiquated and a cosmopolitan evil as old as the origin of sin, and has been as prevalent in all the centuries of the past as indeed have been the baleful influences of the counteracting forces that have always impeded the promulgation of the Gospel among the nations.

As easily perceivable from the Acts of the Apostles, the Pauline letters, and the Church history of the past, human nature has been much the same in all

ages; there have always been serious difficulties both in the Church and in the world confronting the progress of Christianity; and cheerless prophets mistaking local or individual tendencies for the general movement of humanity have always declared their own age the worst in all history. Consequently, as a recent editorial of the *Sunday School Times* very truly says: "In every age since the Gospel was first preached there has been complaint of the decay of Christianity. In every age men have declared that the inner substance of religion has vanished, leaving only an empty husk of profession. In every age the charities of the Gospel have been spoken of as about to take their flight from an unworthy world, and the nominally Christian people as no better than whitewashed heathen. The gulf between profession and practice has been declared to have grown impassable, and the hope of growth into better things has been treated as a delusion."

In modern times pessimism has been elaborated into a complete philosophy or theory by the systems of Schopenhauer and his successor, E. von Hartmann, besides being fostered and further proclaimed through the "sadness of science," as incorporated in the literature of Haeckel and Froude; yet in the light of truth as revealed in the divine Word, as seen in the evidences of Christianity, and as realized in the per-

sonal religious experience of every true believer, it is or ought to be apparent to every intelligent person that pessimism is utterly incompatible with that joyous faith which overcomes the world and brightens the undying hope of the highest type of Christian manhood and womanhood.

The apostles of pessimism and infidelity are certainly not representative minds of "the age of faith and Christian progress" in which we live. What are the names just cited, and indeed all others of a like character that might be mentioned, in comparison with such noble minds as Browning, Tennyson, Whittier, and Lowell in the laurels of Christian poetry, or what are they in comparison with such immortal names as Professor Young, George J. Romanes, Sir William Crookes, Balfour Stewart, Asa Gray, Sir J. W. Dawson, Professor Tate, and Henry Drummond of scientific fame in Christian literature? These are men of faith whose lives and teachings were illuminated by the Star of Bethlehem and whose names will live and grow with a cheerful and pleasing luster in the memory of mankind long after the murky shadow of poor benighted pessimists and infidels shall have vanished away under the light of Christian progress in coming ages.

But while there is no happiness for pessimism and no hope for infidelity, there is "light sown for the

righteous, and gladness for the upright in heart." The espousers of Christianity are not the victims of a hopeless cause, neither are they the deluded advocates of a forlorn mission, nor are they the forsaken followers of a departed Lord for whose return they must wait for ages before he shall reappear. The fact is, King Jesus is already here, fulfilling his promise: "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." Although the Kingship of Jesus has not yet been fully established in the world, and although his very name is prophetic of things yet to come, nevertheless he is to-day already the greatest power among the nations, leading his mighty hosts onward to glorious victory. He is the great white-horsed Hero of the ages, whose power is invincible, whose cause defies defeat, and whose already accomplished victories are prophecies of the assured and final supremacy of Christianity in all the world.

Our kingly Christ thus in evidence as an operative and a triumphant power for righteousness gloriously exemplifies the inspired declaration, "The Lord reigneth; let the earth rejoice; let the multitude of isles be glad thereof." With godly confidence in the future, we may believe that the miracles of the twentieth century will be the miracles of Christian missions spreading the Gospel among all people in all lands. The Lord our King gave the command,

“Go, teach all nations!” and he taught us to pray, “Thy kingdom come!” Surely he that doeth wonders, and whose mercy endureth forever, will reward the faithful obedience and fervent prayer of his Church with the benedictions of future Gospel victories in all the world, and in the fullness of the time in which we live we may congratulate ourselves on the happy outlook for coming Gospel triumphs. “The evangelization of the world,” says Dr. Claudius B. Spencer, “ought to be quite easy in this age. The whole Roman empire heard the story of salvation in a few generations at most. And now consider: Europe is knit to America by electricity and steam, the whole world are our immediate neighbors; Bombay was sixty days by mail from London only a few years ago, to-day it is but about eighteen; in 1859 it took Bishop Thoburn four months to go from Massachusetts to Calcutta, now it needs less than thirty days. There are 170,000 miles of submarine cables. There are 6,000,000 cable messages every year. Are we not neighbors? Are we not called to be a good Samaritan to our neighbors? Are we not summoned to arise and preach the Gospel to every creature? It can be done. And opportunity is only another spelling of responsibility! What can be done for the kingdom should be done to-day. For to-day is the day of salvation—even to all the world.”

Of course, abundance of material resources and speedy means of communication, though advantageous for successful evangelism, must not mislead us to presuppose easy triumph for Christianity by the mere genius and power of human agency; for "not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts." Despite all the splendid advantages and golden opportunities of modern evangelism, old-time earnestness and united Christian endeavor applied in the whole armor of the Lord and in the fullness of his Spirit will still be in demand for the advancement of Christ's kingdom. The struggle of Christianity for supremacy, though in fulfillment of divine promise to be more successful than heretofore, will in the future, as in the past, continue to be a great fight against the anti-Christian forces of the world, which, according to Christ's prophecy concerning the last days preceding his final coming, will doubtless grow in magnitude and vehemence with the spread of the Gospel among the nations. Already we can see the combative anti-Christian forces of apostasy, of infidelity, of paganism and Mohammedanism gathered and marshaled in defiance of Christian progress. But greater than all the anti-Christian powers of the Prince of Darkness will be the Spirit's might of the Hero from the tribe of Judah of whom Providence has decreed that "his

scepter shall not depart from him," that "to him the people shall be gathered," and that "the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counselor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace. Of the increase of whose government and peace there shall be no end."

This doctrine of divine and invincible sovereignty in the kingdoms of men was the citadel of patriotic hope, the bulwark against national degeneracy, and the strong motive power in all successful governments of the past; and in the Christian civilization of to-day, not only in the monarchies of Europe, where the people believe in "the divine right of kings" and maintain established State Churches, but also in the Republics of America, where we adhere to a pure and reciprocal independence between Church and State, and where we have government of the people, by the people, and for the people, faith in providential supremacy controlling and shaping national destiny is a fundamental power for political stability and progressive government.

However, while we, as a great Christian Republic adhere to our faith in divine supremacy, we must nevertheless recognize the fact that God rules not by force or fate, but by the power of sovereign grace and moral suasion over freewill agents, who can and must

do their will and reap the consequences of reward or punishment according to the inevitable retributions of eternal justice; and that to redeemed men and women as God's coworkers is intrusted the important work of making the kingdoms of the world "the kingdoms of our God and his Christ."

Our national destiny must and will therefore be determined not by fate, coincidence, or chance, in the happenings of events, but by our own freewill attitude of loyalty or disobedience to God in Christ, "who ruleth in the kingdoms of men." In the criterion of Christian righteousness is centered our only hope of national prosperity and happiness. Therefore, our sons and daughters of liberty must recognize divine supremacy both in personal and national life. Apprehending that nations, as well as churches and individuals, have a responsibility and a mission in the future triumphs of Christianity, and that under prevailing conditions the United States of America doubtless occupies a pivotal position in the great and final conflict for the establishment of Christ's kingdom among all nations, our Republic should seek to be an ideal Christian nation by recognizing the importance and the preeminence of Gospel precepts and principles in public affairs and in national life. Indeed, inasmuch as it is evident that all of King Immanuel's providential dispen-

sations are in harmony with human happiness and well-being, all nations should acknowledge his sovereignty and endeavor to be accounted worthy in the Lord's great day to join God's mighty host in the great thundering chorus of eternity, "Hallelujah, the Lord God omnipotent reigneth!"

DIVINITY IN GOVERNMENT

THE SHIP OF STATE

Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
Humanity, with all its fears,
With all the hope of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!
We know what Master laid thy keel,
What workman wrought thy ribs of steel,
Who made each mast and sail and rope,
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,
In what a forge and what a heat
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope!

Fear not each sudden sound and shock,
'Tis but the wave and not the rock;
'Tis but the flapping of the sail,
And not a rent made by the gale!
In spite of rock and tempest roar,
In spite of false lights on the shore,
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!
Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee,
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee—are all with thee!

—*Longfellow.*

II

DIVINITY IN GOVERNMENT

“The powers that be are ordained of God.”—Rom. 13. 1.

SHOULD our federal Constitution be amended by inserting a section recognizing Jesus Christ as the Ruler of Nations, and declaring his revealed will as the supreme authority in civil affairs? This is a question of earnest debate in many minds.

The Reformed Presbyterian Church and other influential religious bodies contend that we cannot be a Christian nation without a distinct recognition of divine rulership in our national Constitution.

The Covenanter Church in the United States even requires, as a condition of membership, the acceptance of the position known as that of political dissent. This signifies that her members shall not accept any civil office or trust in which there is required an oath of allegiance to the *present* Constitution of the United States, nor vote for any officer who is required to take such an oath. This position is said to be maintained “in no spirit of unpatriotic disloyalty to our country, but in the spirit of patriotic loyalty to our Lord.”

This proposed Constitutional Amendment has been urged for many years, and at one time a resolution proposing such an amendment was introduced in both houses of Congress, but no decisive action has ever been taken in the matter, nor is there any immediate promise of such a resolution being passed. The defeat of the measure, however, is not to be ascribed to the bitter opposition made by the American Secular Union and Free Thought Confederation or other infidels, but must be attributed to the fact that it is largely and clearly apparent that such a formal recognition of Christ in the Constitution is not essentially necessary to make us a Christian nation.

While it is certainly true that a literal recognition of Christ as the head of the nation and a formal declaration of his Gospel as the fundamental teaching on which all legislation should be based would not be out of place and could do no harm, and while the advocates of this so-called "God-in-the-Constitution" movement are undoubtedly men and women of pure motives and well-meant endeavors, yet it must be conceded that such a mere form of words alone would have little or no significance or influence in Christianizing our people.

Outward forms do not constitute a Christian nation. While it is obvious that we might acknowledge divine rulership in our federal Constitution and still be

essentially a pagan nation, it is also apparent that, all things else being favorable, we *can be* and *are really* a Christian nation, even without such a formal acknowledgment. Not by legislation or formal declarations, but alone by evangelization and the inculcation of spiritual life and Gospel principles, can our nation be truly Christianized.

But regardless of such a verbiage of our national code the doctrine of the divine origin and authority of the State cannot be denied and must, by all means, be maintained. Plutarch has well said: "There has never been a State of atheists. You may travel over the world; you may find cities without walls, without a king, without a mint, without theaters or gymnasiums; but you will never find a city without a god, without prayer, without oracles, without sacrifice. Sooner may a city stand without foundations than a State without belief in the gods. This is the bond of all society, the pillar of all legislation."

Thus a significant religious impulse recognizing a higher power in all law and authority wonderfully prevades all mankind. The State atheist in Christendom is therefore an exception and not the rule of opinion in human society.

Indeed, the secular idea of the State maintaining that men originally existed in a state of individual isolation; that without divine direction, and as a

mere matter of convenience and greater security, they grouped themselves together into societies; that the authority of civil government, as the result of such association, is derived solely from the consent of the governed; and that therefore the State, as a mere human invention and secular institution, has nothing to do with God, and has no other purpose than the mere temporal advantage and security of man—this idea is erroneous and lacks the support of history, reason, or revelation.

The clearest and strongest minds, from Plato to Paul and from Paul to the sages of the present day, have believed and declared that God is the author and source of all law and authority.

Confirming this unanimity of opinion, we have the inspired declaration, "There is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God."

Therefore, in all government, whether the forms of administration be autocratic, monarchical, or democratic, we should recognize the authority of the one great Unseen Lawgiver "by whom kings rule and princes decree justice." There are differences of administration, but the same spirit.

National constitutions may differ, administrations may change, some governments may be corrupt, and unrighteous rulers may abuse authority, yet all this cannot and does not annul the reality of divinity in

government. God has not ordained the corruption of governments, he has not authorized the maladministration of evil rulers, nor is he responsible for all the differences, imperfections, and abuses of civil institutions, yet all power and authority of the State originates in the Divine Ruler and is therefore just as sacred as any other divine ordinance under the sun. "Thou," said Christ to Pilate, "couldst have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above."

Christianity recognizes divinity in human government, and encourages submission and loyalty to properly constituted authority. Even under Roman government, Jesus, the Son of God, although to him was given all power in heaven and on earth, set an example of loyalty to the State and enjoined obedience to magistrates. Says one: "Never did a sovereign prince pervert justice as Nero did, and yet Paul appealed to him, and under him had the protection of the law and the inferior magistrates more than once. Better bad government than none at all."

Government is a human necessity, as well as a divine institution. Without the sovereignty of law, disorder and anarchy would prevail among men, and hell would reign supreme on earth. "Order is the first law of heaven," and government is God's provision of order and well-being for humanity.

God's beneficence, as well as his sovereignty, are revealed in "the powers that be;" and while the rulings and the bounties of the divine hand may be seen in all human history, there are certain unmistakable evidences of God's special husbandry and paternal care for our people in the origin and progress of our beloved "land of the free and home of the brave."

In the great historical epochs leading to the establishment of our precious and blood-bought liberty, in the fortunate geographical position of our land and the vastness of our territorial domain; in the magnitude of our agricultural and mineral resources and commercial commodities; in the great achievements of industry, invention, and commerce; in the wonderful progress of science, art, and literature; in the wholesome influence of religion, morality, and education; in the growth of our population; in the expansion of our sovereignty; and in the general progress and prosperity of our great Republic we may clearly and gratefully perceive the gracious and all-wise providence and sovereignty of our Divine Ruler and Benefactor.

Due recognition of divinity in government should therefore be constantly, practically, and gratefully manifested on the part of the State in all work of legislation, education, and political reform, and on the

part of every individual citizen in his patriotic devotion and loyalty to his country and its laws.

The appreciation of divine sovereignty in civil government should inspire both ruler and ruled with respect and even reverence for law and authority.

Alas, that by partisan prejudice, political corruption, and abuse of free speech, during political campaigns, degrading influences too frequently prevail that diminish the respect of the people for the officials and the authorities of the State. The Highest declares, "Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people!" While the ruler of a nation is not above criticism in the administration of authority and power, yet he should never be exposed to misrepresentation, slander, or ridicule on partisan grounds. The Christian ruler, whether elected to office by the suffrage of his people or placed in authority by royal inheritance, is, by virtue of his position—even regardless of his personality or political cast—entitled to the respect of his people.

State officers should recognize the sacredness of power, and exercise authority not in their own personal interest nor in the interest of any political party, but according to the will of God and for the good of the people, ever mindful of their responsibility to the great King of kings, from whom they

will eventually receive a just return of reward or punishment for their administration.

Christian citizens should vote as they pray, and "in all their ways acknowledge God," remembering that true religion is not limited to mere forms or acts of worship, but extends over our whole life, even to our civil and political duties and interests.

Divine authority in civil power implies Christian obligation of obedience to the laws of the State. "Let every soul be subject unto the higher power." This injunction applies to every individual citizen without exception or respect to person. The majesty of the law must be recognized even without regard to personal preference or opinion, or if need be, even without respect of character in those who administer the affairs of State. The authority of law is not to be based upon our own ideas of propriety, nor upon our opinion of the character of our lawmakers or executives, but upon the sovereignty of God, who is the author and source of all true law. Only when the laws of the State violate the laws of God or stand in conflict with our Federal Constitution is disobedience or ignorance of the law justifiable on the part of a citizen.

Divinity in government also commands financial support for the benefit of the State. "For this cause pay ye tribute also, for they are God's ministers

attending continually upon this very thing." Revenue is a necessity for defraying the expenses of government, and all who enjoy the benefits of civil authority should cheerfully contribute their part for the support of the State.

Yet it is remarkable indeed with what reluctance some people pay their taxes. Persons and corporations who would consider it beneath their dignity to be otherwise dishonest resort to all manner of base and fraudulent methods—even to falsehood and perjury—to swindle the government out of her revenue. Such dishonesty is a crime against *God*, as well as men, and deserves the contempt of all good citizens, besides prompt and unsparing condemnation to the severe penalties of the law.

God's authority apprehended in the behests of civil government justifies and commands patriotic defense of country against foreign and internal foes. Our forefathers bore arms in defense of home and native land, and fought and prayed to win our heritage of freedom. Our fathers braved the bloody conflicts of the great rebellion to save the Union and to free America from the curse of human slavery. Our brothers responded to the Spanish-American war cry to reclaim an oppressed people from the ban of a despotic sovereignty and to drive an oppressive foreign power from its footholds on the western

hemisphere. In like manner true and loyal Americans will henceforth be the gallant defenders of their country, and this, not only by force of arms against foreign enemies, but also by the power of moral agencies against atheism, bacchanalianism, Mormonism, anarchism, plutocracy, social vices, political corruption, and indeed against every other internal foe that threatens ruin to our national welfare.

Great interests are at stake in this moral warfare, but our resources of armaments are abundant, our powers of defense, supplemented and sustained by the help of God, are more than equal to all opposing forces, and the hope of victory in behalf of Christian civilization in America is fully justified.

While the fear of punishment and the hope of reward are powerful incentives in all warfare, yet no selfish motive, but the fear of God in the presence of divine authority and moral obligation in civil affairs, should be the popular inspiration to obedience and loyalty toward "the powers that be" in municipality, county, State, or nation. As our vision of God in government grows and brightens in the hearts and minds of our people, ideal citizenship loyal to Gospel principles and patriotic in national duty will be the true ambition of the typical American.

NATIONAL SAFEGUARDS

UNITED STATES NATIONAL ANTHEM

God of the Free! upon thy breath
Our flag is for the right unrolled,
As broad and brave as when its stars
First lit the hallowed time of old.

For Duty still its folds shall fly;
For Honor still its glories burn,
Where Truth, Religion, Valor, guard
The patriot's sword and martyr's urn.

No tyrant's impious step is ours;
No lust of power or nations rolled;
Our Flag, for *friends*, a starry sky,
For *traitors*, storm in every fold.

O thus we'll keep our Nation's life,
Nor fear the bolt by despots hurled;
The blood of all the world is here,
And they who strike us strike the world!

God of the Free! our Nation bless,
In its strong manhood as its birth;
And make its life a star of hope,
For all the struggling of the Earth.

Then shout besides thine oak, O North!
O South! wave answer with thy palm;
And in our Union's heritage
Together sing the Nation's Psalm!

—*W. R. Wallace.*

III

NATIONAL SAFEGUARDS

“Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord.”—Psa. 33. 12.

“LONG live the Republic!” This patriotic motto, though of French origin, nevertheless expresses alike the hope and prayer of the American people. As the believing soul of the Christian individual yearns for individual immortality, so the patriotic heart of a great people longs for national longevity and prosperity in all coming time.

This noble hope of endurance and well-being is divinely inwrought for the maintenance of life and the pursuit of utility and happiness on the part of the individual and the nation.

God, the great dispenser of all national blessings, has bountifully and wonderfully endowed our great Republic with magnificent safeguards of national greatness and endurance; and there are those who maintain that in the situation, size, boundaries, and resources of our nation, together with our racial characteristics and the divine purpose manifest in our history, we find ample grounds for the hope of the future endurance and prosperity of the United States of America.

Yet, after all, the question, "Shall the American Republic endure?" is indeed a serious and an open question. God forbid that by an overestimation of our national greatness we should lapse into carnal security, or that by an abuse of the advantages enjoyed we should effeminate our powers and otherwise invite or hasten our downfall and ruin.

The voice of history resounds with echoes of warning from the ruins of fallen nations. In the annals of the world we read of empires, kingdoms, and republics born, of great powers that arose, grew strong and flourished for a time, and then succumbed to the ravages of sin, decay, and death.

The great nations of antiquity, that knew not God, have all responded to the death knell of helpless fate, and one by one have gone down into the awful depths of degradation and eternal ruin. Their idols and their temples, their altars and their priesthoods, their laws and their rulers, their treasures and their glory, have all passed away, and for all time their ruins are monuments of warning to the awful truth that "the nation or kingdom that will not serve God shall perish."

Not only the dead nations of the past, however, but even the yet living ungodly nations of the present day, are standing evidences of the fact that while "righteousness exalteth a nation, sin is a reproach to any people." Powers that once waxed strong and

flourished in the vigor of national glory have by rejecting God and his Word lost their national prestige; and to-day, as a result of their ungodliness and heedless disloyalty, perpetual discontent, restlessness, misrule, violence, degradation, brutality, and crime, within their own borders, are relentlessly threatening them with revolution, downfall, and destruction.

But while we hear the death knell of other nations that have perished in bygone ages, and while we heed the warning evidences of decay in the dying ungodly nations of to-day, let us not be unmindful of our own national defects and dangers.

Though apparently not immediately endangered by any outward or foreign foe, let us remember that our foreign relations are not always within our own control, but are, in a great measure, influenced by other powers with whom unforeseen complications may arise at any time. Above all, let us remember that possibly our greatest danger lies within, that even in the very bosom of our great Republic there may be engendered the demons of our national destruction.

It may be clearly seen that the future of American society is already threatened with many ominous signs of our times. High surge the tides of infidelity and wickedness, and almost on every side we see moral corruption eating its way into the political, commercial, and social life of the nation. We see

honesty outraged by fraud, truth supplanted by falsehood, law overruled by disorder, and the welfare of the Republic endangered by a host of evils, such as bribery, political intrigue, Sabbath desecration, social vice, the liquor traffic; the decline of the family institution, the loss of individual virtue, and the estrangement of the masses from the Church of God.

In the presence of such gigantic evils and national perils it is evident that the common grounds of confidence are inadequate to warrant the safety and prosperity of the nation. Large scope of territory, great numbers in population, wealth of material resources, military equipments, great naval forces, political wisdom, commanding diplomacy, and free institutions for the promotion of education and benevolence—all these and more, though they are important factors of national greatness, security, and power, are, nevertheless, in themselves alone, insufficient requisites for the abiding preservation of our government.

The record of antiquity demonstrates that though a nation may be great and strong from a purely worldly standpoint, yet if she be lacking in godliness and national virtue she will be unable to shield herself against the ravages of national decay, and in the judgments of the Almighty she will eventually be

“dashed in pieces as a potter’s vessel.” The great walls of Babylon, the treasures of Egypt, the might of Alexander, the intellect and culture of Greece, the pomp and power of Rome, were all of no defense against the retribution which God administers over nations according to their deeds.

For all nations and for all time there is but one hope of redemption from the thralldom of sin, but one hope of preservation against the perils of iniquity, but one hope of future progress and prosperity, and this one supreme hope is anchored solely and inseparably in the immutable safeguards of Christianity.

Through Christ and his Gospel, the one and only safe moral order and unfailing salutary power of individual and national security and prosperity has been born into the world. The social significance of the Gospel is therefore supremely important, hopeful, and commanding. While purely material grounds are no guarantee for national stability, and while all atheistic efforts at civilization are hopeless, yet the marked superiority of Christian nations over pagan lands clearly demonstrates that Christianity is Heaven’s greatest boon to humanity, and that the Gospel is a power of God unto salvation, a power to elevate, purify, and bless mankind.

The Gospel as a moral uplifting power is a national

safeguard against the wrongs and penalties of unrighteousness and wickedness. Sin was doubtless never a greater and a more dangerous power in society than to-day. The Devil, as the great "deceiver of the nations," has scattered broadcast, over the heart-soil of the people in all lands, the deadly seeds of skepticism, anarchism, desperation, and wickedness, until a powerful and dangerous upas of Satanic socialism has been engendered, that, at times, through the apostles of dynamite, threatens the thrones of Europe and startles the American people from their idle dream of safety and security.

Bad men have learned to appropriate God's powers in science, art, and nature to diabolic uses, until their capacity for havoc in society is indeed appalling. By the destructive capacity of dangerous explosives and infernal machines, palaces, factories, public buildings, and the avenues of commerce are at the mercy of desperate men in the ranks of anarchy and ruin.

Gloating over such powers of havoc, the Chicago socialists, in a public meeting boasted: "It is now certain that men of nerve can go into large congregations in broad daylight and explode their bombs with safety;" "a little hog's grease and nitric acid make a terrible explosive; ten cents' worth will blow a building to atoms. Dynamite can be made of dead bodies

of capitalists as well as of hogs; and private property must be abolished if we have to use all the dynamite there is, and blow ninety-nine hundredths of the people off the earth."

Such a diabolic spirit in the hearts of mad and reckless men armed with gigantic powers for ruin bodes awful danger for society; and the world's great need of to-day is a mighty, invincible, and subduing heart force, strong enough, as a moral purgative, to take the spirit of the Devil, root and branch, out of man's evil nature and restore him to right relations toward his God and his fellow-men.

Bless God for such a redeeming and saving power in Christ Jesus our Lord, who came into this world to destroy the works of the Devil and to glorify the name of God through the salvation of immortal souls: How beautifully the Saviour's mission is being accomplished among men! His Gospel lifts up humanity out of the gutter, washes away the defilements of transgressions, regenerates man's evil nature, liberates the soul from the bondage of sin, and sheds abroad in human hearts the Spirit of God—that Holy Spirit which guides believers in all truth, inspires them with love to their Lord and their fellow-men, and empowers them to know and to do the will of God in every discharge of duty.

Eulogizing these salutary powers of the Saviour's

Gospel in their national significance, Dr. Thompson appropriately says: "An earthly immortality has been bestowed on Christian nations; they can only die by willful suicide. Even their sins can be retrieved by turning back to righteousness; and out of their worst winter can come forth a new springtime of hope, a new harvest of righteousness."

The Gospel, as the great enlightening power of the world, is a national safeguard against the dangers of illiteracy and ignorance. "Knowledge is power," as Bacon has well said; but ignorance is also a power in the world—a power to degrade, to tear down, to retard progress, to breed evil, and to do harm—a dangerous power indeed.

In a government like ours ignorance is fraught with special dangers to the safety and welfare of the nation, because it empowers bad, designing men to mislead voters and to impose fraud and political intrigue upon the public. Our only safeguard against such dangers is Christian intelligence.

"We must educate! We must educate!" said an American patriot sixty years ago, "or we must perish by our own prosperity." Our country has not been heedless of this warning given, and though she is far short of her true ideal in the great work of education, yet, through her great public school system and numerous State normals and universities, splendid

results in the diffusion of knowledge among our people have been achieved. Despite the steady influx of foreign immigration and ignorance, our per cent of illiteracy has been steadily lowering and our standard of education has been continually rising.

Much of the zeal manifested in our educational work and a great deal of the success thereby achieved must, however, be ascribed to Christian sentiment and Gospel influences. Heeding the divine command, "Go, teach all nations," Christianity has not only awakened and fostered a general interest in common secular education, but has founded and maintained Christian schools, colleges, and universities in all our States and Territories, has established public libraries for the common good of society, and is to-day, through Christian teachers and through press and pulpit, the great leading educative power of the land.

The Gospel is a national safeguard against the danger of political lethargy and retrogression. Christian civilization has always been characterized by rapid and continued progress, while the Christless nations of the world have, as a rule, always been essentially corrupt and nonprogressive; and this has been one of the leading causes of failure in the history of pagan nations. Political torpor and inactivity breed corruption, and a monotonous fixity in things

obsolete and antiquated impede advancement and lead to retrogression and decay.

Nations, as well as individuals, are subject to the divine law of growth, progress, and development, and this explains why the history of prosperous nations has always been characterized by great revolutions and reformations. Our political blessings and national institutions are not to lie dormant under the mere pretense of preservation, but to be applied and used for the progress of our commonwealth. We dare not stop and be satisfied with past achievements or present attainments, but, with "Excelsior" as our motto, we must press steadily forward in pursuit of the highest ideal of progress in Christian civilization.

Conceding that our progress in the past has not been all that might have been desired, yet it is gratifying to know that the same Christian spirit which actuated our Pilgrim Fathers in their immigration to our shores in 1620, and which has, through continued Gospel influences among our people, been the leading source of progressive sentiment and actual growth in our civilization, is still with us as the mighty incentive to present advancement and as the guarantee of coming social and political victories. As a pagan nation we could not have prospered as we have, but the Lord our God has been our shield, our refuge, and

our support, and upon him, and him only, shall be stayed our hope of national vitality, and strength for the duties and responsibilities of coming ages.

Christianity is a safeguard against national imbecility, and is the leaven of prosperity and happiness in civilization because it proclaims a Gospel of glad tidings and good cheer to humanity. God, revealed in Christ, is gladness personified to create happiness in human hearts. Man's vision, illuminated and intensified by Gospel intelligence, perceives heavenly benedictions in all things and everywhere, expressing God's eternal desire to dispel the gloom and despondency of sin and to thrill with undying gladness the immortal souls of men. Where Christian piety prevails the evils that wound the heart and breed despair are sought out and found to be removed. Even the disasters and sorrows of Christian lands are stepping-stones of their betterment, and the very difficulties defying progress engender stronger determination to advance.

Thus the Gospel has been, and is to-day, a boon to our civilization, having enabled us to make noble advancements in both Church and State. That our work in the noble cause of civil and religious liberty is not all done, and that our opportunities for still greater triumphs, even in the face of opposition, are

continually enlarging our great responsibilities, is not by any means a matter of regret but rather of congratulation, and should cheer us onward in the paths of duty, trusting the sustaining guidance of King Immanuel, who ruleth in our national destiny, and who will surely lead us onward and upward to even greater and nobler victories yet to be achieved.

RESOURCES OF REFORM

OUR COUNTRY

God bless our native land!
Firm may she ever stand,
 Through storm and night;
When the wild tempests rave,
Ruler of wind and wave,
Do thou our country save
 By thy great might!

For her our prayer shall rise
To God, above the skies;
 On him we wait:
Thou who art ever nigh,
Guarding with watchful eye,
To thee alone we cry,
 God save the State!

—*Charles T. Brooks, alt.*

IV

RESOURCES OF REFORM

“All things are yours.”—1 Cor. 3. 21.

“**B**EHOLD, I make all things new!” This promissory declaration of our Lord inspires the Christian heart with hope and cheer. Though the earth is a storehouse of divine munificence, and the wonders of creation “declare the glory of God and show forth his handiwork,” yet it is true that sin is a ruinous power among men, and that there is much in the world that is not good or desirable—much, indeed, that calls for regeneration and transformation.

If the world is tending to perfection, as some optimistic reformers would surmise, it is, to say the least, perfection yet unattained. Man’s individual nature is depraved, and reveals human frailties in the innumerable disorders and wrongs of society. From the hour that sin came into the world, individual and social reform has been an abiding necessity among all people in all ages.

But, by the grace of God, Christianity, as the great transforming power of the world, meets the

necessities and requirements of human amelioration; and, during the nineteen centuries that have elapsed since the angels sang their carol at the Saviour's birth, many and great reforms have been accomplished through the noble triumphs of the Gospel. Human slavery has been abolished; the cruelties of the coliseum and ampitheater have been abandoned; war between nations has been rendered more humane and merciful; womanhood has been honored and restored to greater prominence in society; childhood has been shielded with the embrace of tenderness and care; the sanctity of marriage has been recognized and confirmed; the privileges of education and the rights of liberty have been extended; charities for the afflicted, the poor, and the fallen have been established; the advantages of civilization have been expanded; and the salvation of the Gospel has been proclaimed to all nations.

In all these measures of social progress, and in fact in all true reforms, Christ always has been, and ever will be, the ruling spirit. His spirit is the spirit of progress, and his Gospel laws of human betterment are fundamental.

Both by precept and by example Christ has demonstrated that men are not reformed *en masse*, but one by one. Modern socialism, which ignores the importance of the individual man as distinct from

collective bodies and corporations, and seeks to construct a perfect society out of strikingly imperfect individuals, is woefully mistaken both in theory and practice. As Herbert Spencer truly says, "There is no political alchemy by which you can get golden conduct out of leaden instinct." The Gospel appeals to both the personal and the social nature of man. It reaches and changes first the individual, and through him it transforms and elevates the collective life of society.

Nor are Gospel reformations accomplished by the powers of law, but by the powers of the Divine Spirit in the hearts and minds of men. The good old-time method of social reformation by way of personal repentance from sin and regeneration of the individual man appears too prosy and tedious to the average social reformers of the present day, and in their mistaken conception of social reconstruction they would resort to shorter cuts to universal reform by means of legislation. But experience proves that law alone can never be successfully applied as a moral panacea for the ills of society, and that the millennium can never be brought about by legislative enactments. The fact is that the prolific source of all the evils that afflict humanity, socially or otherwise, is sin in the human heart; and the cleansing of this fountain of bitter streams can never be

accomplished by human agencies alone. Christ, by the powers of his saving grace, must come to our rescue, or all our reformatory labors will be in vain. His blood must be applied, by faith, in atonement for sin, and his Spirit must be received by the reestablishment of a new divine life in the souls of men. Then, and only then, will men stand in right relations to each other and their God, and society, as a whole, be truly reformed.

That time is always necessary for the accomplishment of great social reforms is another fact that must not be overlooked. Even though Gospel methods be pursued and divine aid be implored, all reformatory labors must be rendered with untiring patience and with willingness to wait—long if need be—for successful results. If God could wait four thousand years to find the world ready for the advent of his Son, and if the Son, though the Prince of all reformers, could wait thirty years in preparatory seclusion before entering upon his ministerial and Messianic labors for the accomplishment of the reformation of humanity, then surely we, as his subordinate coworkers, can afford to labor and wait for the reformatory triumph of his Gospel. Impatience and overhaste, even in a good cause, may, by rash and imprudent endeavor, precipitate failure and disappointment.

The Lord has bountifully provided us with ample means for all labors of reform, both at home and abroad. Great indeed is our debt of gratitude to God, not only for our material wealth, but especially for the abundance of the Christian resources of our country. These, as Dr. J. M. King has well said, "include all there is of Christ and the Bible, in our history, government, laws, institutions, homes, and hearts."

Though to enumerate our wealth of Christian resources specifically and exhaustively would indeed be a task too great to be attempted in the narrow compass of space that can here be allotted thereto, yet it may be well to cast a passing glance at the "bow of promise" set before us in order that we may be reminded, in a measure at least, of just what resources God has given us as a Christian people for labor in his service.

OUR RELIGIOUS FORCES

While the numerical growth of evangelical Christendom in the United States, at a rate approximating an increase of a million souls in Church membership annually, is encouraging, yet the general progress of a distinct Christian sentiment, and the growing power and influence of the Gospel as a great reformatory and uplifting force among our people, is of still greater significance.

The social importance and applicability of the Gospel is becoming more and more apparent; and while the Gospel message from our Christian pulpits appeals primarily and directly to the individual souls within the pale of the Churches, it also reaches beyond the immediate circles of the congregations, and molds public opinion and sentiment among the masses. This spirit of Christian socialism which seeks to evangelize men not only from an individual standpoint, but also endeavors to Christianize humanity on the lines of social relationships and social ties, manifests itself in the discussions of our religious assemblies, in the deliberations of our popular conventions, in the organization of societies for works of beneficence and reform, and in the establishment of great missionary agencies and enterprises for the spread of the Gospel at home and abroad.

With the great absorbing purpose of reaching the masses at home, and of spreading the Gospel among all people in all lands, evangelical Christianity has established numerous channels of communication, and organized complete and extensive missionary enterprises conducted on such systematic principles and by such skillful methods as to make our Gospel resources best available to all our religious forces, and render them directly and quickly communicable to all parts of the world.

Thus evangelical machinery has been contrived by which any society or person can place work or means for Gospel enterprise in any part of the world. What magnificent opportunities for all manner of noble work, and what vast fields of labor for scattering seeds of Gospel truth that shall bring a glorious and an eternal harvest in the heavenly garner of our Lord!

OUR RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS

Though the racial contributions of foreign nations, by immigration to our country, have been, and still are, fraught with dangers against which we must constantly guard our shores, yet the fact is clearly apparent that Providence has undoubtedly displayed a guiding hand in establishing an Anglo-Saxon civilization in America.

That two thirds of our white population, our language, our civil and religious institutions are Anglo-Saxon is a national characteristic of inestimable importance, inasmuch as the Anglo-Saxon race is the exponent of the two great ideas, civil liberty and spiritual Christianity.

These two representative ideas, so potent in the spread of Christian civilization, are more effective and have a fuller development in the United States than in Great Britain, where civil liberty and spiritual

life are more or less restrained and hampered by the union of Church and State.

Whether or not an international Anglo-Saxon alliance should be sought and accomplished is yet an open question, but in our zeal for liberty and religion it is a happy reflection indeed to know that within the borders of our own national domain we already have an assured and a powerful alliance between forty-five sovereign States, a Union indeed of commanding opportunities and possibilities.

May God, who is so manifestly using Anglo-Saxon power to conquer the world for Christ, and who is continually opening new fields of usefulness unto us, and who is so marvelously enlarging our scope of influence, enable us to account ourselves worthy of our national responsibilities and help us to act well our part in the great and peaceful Gospel warfare of King Immanuel.

OUR CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

"Moral education," says Fénelon, "is the bulwark of the State." The founders and fathers of our Republic early foresaw that the safety, perpetuity, and progress of the nation depended largely upon the Christian education of our people.

They realized that true education consists, not alone in the acquirement of knowledge or the culture

of the intellect, but that it includes also the training of our moral nature and the uplifting of the soul on Gospel principles.

Accordingly, the common school of colonial days was strictly a Church school, in which the children were carefully educated in the orthodox faith. The school-teacher stood next in rank of profession to the minister of the Gospel, and religious requirements were incorporated in the laws.

The idea of purely secular education is, therefore, not an inheritance from our fathers, but evidently a product of modern atheism and irreligion, foisted upon the public under the hypocritical pretense of religious freedom.

The time has come when the Christian sentiment of our people ought to reassert itself and, returning to the foundation principles upon which rest our national rights and liberties, demand that the skeptical idea of pure secularity be banished from our public schools, and require that Christian morality be taught wherever education is maintained by public funds.

The inculcation of Christian morals and principles through our State universities, normal schools, and colleges is even still more urgent. These fountain heads of higher learning, from which go out among the people our educators for the rising generation, should be sources of Gospel light and savor, as

well as knowledge for public enlightenment and amelioration.

That the higher educational resources of our country are largely under Christian control is fortunate indeed; and the noble work of our various denominational schools should be duly recognized and encouraged. While the State should not, under any consideration, appropriate public funds for the support of parochial or sectarian schools; yet there should be no legislation or administration of State authority to discourage the work of Christian education on the part of the Churches.

Liberal support and patronage should, of course, be accorded our State schools in order to make them progressive and successful, but aside from this they should not be granted special privileges or advantages over other schools of equal merit, and there should be no partial discrimination between graduates from State schools and graduates from denominational schools of equal proficiency. Before our commissioners of public schools, and in fact everywhere, real merit on the basis of knowledge and Christian character alone should win.

Our Christian education should be fostered and cherished as our strongest resource of national virtue and prosperity. God bless the great army of Christian teachers in this our beloved land; and may that

same sweet spirit of Christian munificence which called the three hundred and seventy universities and colleges of our own country into existence maintain and prosper them in all the future.

OUR CHRISTIAN HOMES

That during the past twenty years three hundred and twenty-eight thousand divorces have been granted by the courts of the United States is indeed appalling; and this fact indicates very clearly that the perpetuity of the family and home life of our people is endangered, and should be vigilantly guarded by the powers of civil law and by every possible precaution to prevent improper marriages and divorces.

While the mania for divorce in the degenerated circles of society is deplorable, yet it is encouraging to know that when the total number of divorces is compared with the total number of marriages, in any given year, the per cent of unhappy marriages is, after all, comparatively small—so small, indeed, that there is probably no other important institution in all civilization that can show so small a per cent of total failure as marriage.

The family is not only the oldest and most sacred institution of humanity, but is also a divine ordinance, which has from earliest times been main-

tained and blessed of God as the nucleus of society and the basis of Church and State.

The Saviour, who wrought his first miracle at a marriage feast, has bestowed his choicest benedictions on family altars and family ties. "All hail the power of Jesus' name" in Christian homes!

"The foundation of a nation's glory," says Dr. Lucien Clark, "is the home, where men and women receive the bent and tone of their characters." The real heroes and benefactors of the nation are not our warriors who lead our armies to victory, not our statesmen who wield authority in our seats of power, not our authors of literary genius who mold public opinion—nay, not even our ministers who sway the multitudes with the powers of the precious Gospel. All these, it must be admitted, have wrought wonders for the public good, and merit immortal recognition in the laurels of the nation's glory; yet, in the light of Gospel history and Gospel truth, it is evident that, eventually, in the Lord's great and eternal day, the highest roll of honor will, doubtless, be accorded our Christian fathers and mothers as the true and fundamental reformers, civilizers, and builders in the national household of God.

Our Christian homes are our mightiest resources of social influence and power. Home is the school of character in which the earliest and most abiding

impressions are made by the moral and spiritual training of the human mind and heart. Here fatherhood has a mission, but motherhood must lead as the most impressing power. Home! what a noble sphere for the exercise of the gifts and graces of Christian womanhood! Though in our day ampler and more public spheres have been opened to women, through the professions and the various reformatory and benevolent organizations, and though it is true our sisters, as coworkers in the Lord's cause, have everywhere exalted the Gospel ideal of Christian stewardship, yet woman's first and highest mission is not, by any means, in doubt; her crowning glory of noble power and influence is, unquestionably, centered in the queenly administration of the Christian home.

OUR CHRISTIAN SABBATH

The observance of the Christian Sabbath as the Lord's Day in America is coeval with the most sacred usages of our fathers in the early days of our Republic. The Puritans of New England, the Huguenots of the Carolinas, the Roman Catholics of Maryland, the Dutch of New Jersey, and the Quakers of Pennsylvania were all observers and defenders of the Christian Sabbath.

The noblest men of our history—statesmen like Washington, Webster, and Lincoln—have recognized

the Lord's Day as a divine institution; Sunday laws have been enacted by the national government and by every State in the Union, save one; and more than a century of American history has demonstrated the moral, mental, and physical necessity of Sabbath observance.

The Christian Sabbath is our national citadel, our strongtower and bulwark against the moral degradation and physical degeneracy of our race; and hence, even from a purely secular and civil standpoint, the right and propriety of Sunday legislation is unquestionable.

The Sabbath is a salutary pause in the hurry and bustle of the busy age in which we live. It is the laborer's "Magna Charta" to an established septenary day of sweet franchise and needed rest from mental and physical toil; and, above all, it is a day of family reunions and social intercourse, a day of quiet Bible study and prayer in the Christian home, a day of public worship and spiritual edification in the Church—in short, a day of noble enjoyment in every good word and work, remembering that "to do good and to communicate we must not forget, for with such sacrifices God is well pleased."

"In holy pleasures, let the day,
In holy duties, pass away;
How sweet the Sabbath thus to spend,
In hope of that which ne'er shall end!"

How animating and edifying to the soul are the sacred memories of the Sabbath as the Lord's resurrection day; the day on which he, as the great Hero of the ages, led captivity captive by his glorious triumph over death, hell, and the grave; the day on which he, in his resurrection body, repeatedly appeared unto his followers; the day on which he instituted his Church by imparting his baptism of the Holy Ghost and by commissioning his apostles to preach his Gospel to all people in all the world.

These sacred and historic events made the Lord's Day holy in the estimation of Christ's disciples and his immediate followers, and naturally led to its observance as the Christian Sabbath for all time to come. On the Lord's Day the disciples met for devotional services. The great apostle Paul and the primitive Church fathers, as also the faithful of God's people in all the centuries of the Christian era, have remembered and kept holy the Sabbath of our Lord, who has so happily manifested his good pleasure over the observance of his day by the spiritual baptisms and marvelous benedictions vouchsafed unto his people.

But, regardless of such remarkable and memorable providences in the establishment of the Lord's Day, the State would be justifiable, even on purely secular grounds, in prescribing the first day of the week as

our Christian Sabbath. Sabbath legislation without recognition of any one particular day would be inspecific, ridiculous, and useless. Says Bishop John P. Newman: "The State is bound to intervene; the principle of reciprocity demands attention; rest for all men demands that all men shall rest; if one banker rests all bankers must rest, all merchants must suspend business, all professions must cease to labor. Uniformity and conformity must go hand in hand."

Christian unity in Sabbath observance ought to be as practicable and satisfactory to all as it is desirable and necessary. The Providence directing the change from Jewish to the Christian Sabbath by the resurrection of Christ is certainly just as clear and unmistakable as was the Providence directing the change from the patriarchal to the Mosaic Sabbath by the falling of the manna in the wilderness. That the divine law as to our septenary day of rest may apply as well to the first as to the last of seven days is also very apparent from the fact that man's first day on earth was a Sabbath day, and therefore, in the very nature of things, he, even in his original state of sinlessness before the fall, observed Sabbath first before he labored to "dress" and "keep" the "garden Eden."

All Christian people should labor and pray for unity and efficiency in a proper observance of the Lord's Day, and in the enforcement of our Sunday laws.

Sabbath desecration is one of the crying sins of our times. Evil in the unregenerate heart is the fountain head of the various causes leading to such a gross violation of the fourth commandment.

While the powers of law and force of argument must, of course, be applied, yet we must remember that only Gospel truth lodged in the soul, the divine Word, accompanied by the Holy Spirit moving the conscience and leading to divinely inwrought convictions in respect to Sabbath observance—this alone will be permanently effectual in the work of Sabbath reform.

In this great work the Christian people of our land must lead both by precept and example, as made effectual in the important work of the home, the school, and the Church.

OUR CHRISTIAN BENEFICENCE

Providence has placed great material resources at our command. Our national wealth, aside from our new possessions, is estimated at over \$94,000,000,000, constituting us the richest nation on the globe. One fifth, or \$18,800,000,000, of this wealth is in Christian hands.

Though it must be conceded that our Christian munificence is not what it might be and should be, in view of such vast resources, yet the consciousness

of stewardship in the use of wealth and the prevalence of a strong and growing spirit of benevolence in the hearts of our people is encouraging.

This spirit not only animates men and women of small means, who, as a rule, are the most liberal dispensers of their substance for the Lord's cause, but it also inspires the rich with the love that conquers selfishness and makes noble sacrifices in deeds of charity and munificence.

The increasing millions of consecrated wealth flowing out annually from the treasures of the rich for the establishment of benevolent institutions and for the maintenance of great educational, philanthropic, and missionary enterprises are living evidences of the fact that wealth, as well as talent, is becoming Christianized, and that many persons of ample means are realizing that riches are not given to be hoarded up in great fortunes to be squandered in sensuality, or to be displayed in gorgeous pomp and power, but to be dispensed in noble and immortal administrations of beneficence redounding to the glory of God and to the welfare of humanity.

Both the disposition to give and the substance given are of God, and are essential in the advancement of our Lord's kingdom. While there are certain divinely inwrought powers of faith, hope, and love that cannot be substituted by material things, yet it

is a fact that money has a noble mission and a commanding power in the great problems of Christian work. Says Dr. Strong: "For Christians to apprehend their true relation to money, and the relations of money to the kingdom of Christ and its progress in the world, is to find the key to many of the great problems now pressing for solution. Money is power in the concrete; it commands learning, skill, experience, wisdom, talent, influence, numbers. It represents the school, the college, the Church, the printing press, and all evangelizing machinery."

In view of such a relation of money to the Lord's kingdom, and in view of our opportunities for Christian influence, usefulness, and power, parsimony is certainly incompatible with a truly Christian character, and the giving of our support for Gospel enterprises should be considered by far more a joy and a privilege than a self-denial and a duty, inasmuch as our beloved Lord has declared, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." "He that giveth to the poor lendeth unto the Lord; and, look, that which he layeth out he will pay him again." "He that soweth plentifully shall reap plentifully." Therefore, "be merciful after thy power: if thou hast much, give plenteously; if thou hast little, give gladly of that little."

OUR CHRISTIAN JOURNALISM

Of the 15,000 newspapers and periodicals published in the United States, about 700 are religious publications, circulating more than 120,000,000 copies annually.

These religious journals in connection with the religious intelligence and influence also furnished by most of our secular papers constitute a literary potency of first rank among the Christian resources of our country.

While the freedom of the press is evidently exposed to many abuses that are fraught with danger of evil to society, yet it is true that the liberty of thought and speech, where properly applied, constitutes one of our most important resources of Christian intelligence and moral power for accomplishing wise and happy solutions of the social, political, and religious issues of our day and age.

The power of the press in exalting the ideal of life in the individual, in shaping the course of events in the history of nations, and in promulgating Gospel truth for the advancement of Christ's kingdom, is incalculable and inestimable.

Ours is a reading age, and our journalists, who are not only the historians of current events, but also the expounders of modern thought and public opinion, wield an immortal power for good or

evil, according to the merit or demerit of their influence.

Both those who write and those who read should heed the eternal responsibility devolving upon them and seek to account themselves worthy of their literary duties and opportunities.

In view of the deplorable self-prostitution of a large portion of our secular press, as manifested in the bent and tone of evil teaching and in the unblushing detail of all manner of revolting vice and crime, it becomes the duty of Christian journalists not only to make their papers pure, elevating, and inspiring to their readers, but also to use their power of influence in seeking to induce the editors of our great dailies to expunge from their columns all that is impure, degrading, and vulgar. Says Dr. M. B. Chapman: "Carlyle used to ask pathetically in his last days why God did not speak. Let him speak through the columns of the religious press, and let us reiterate the sweet message that came from our Lord: 'Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.'"

SOCIAL REVOLUTION

BATTLE HYMN OF THE REPUBLIC

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord:
He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are
stored,
He hath loosed the faithful lightning of his terrible swift sword:
His truth is marching on.

I have seen him in the watch fires of a hundred circling camps,
They have builded him an altar in the evening dews and damps;
I can read his righteous sentence by the dim and flaming lamps:
His day is marching on.

I have read a fiery gospel, writ in burnished rows of steel:
“As ye deal with my contemners, so with you my grace shall
deal;”
Let the Hero, born of woman, crush the serpent with his heel,
Since God is marching on.

He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call retreat:
He is sifting out the hearts of men before his judgment seat;
O, be swift, my soul, to answer him! Be jubilant, my feet!
Our God is marching on.

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,
With a glory in his bosom that transfigures you and me;
As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,—
While God is marching on.

—*Julia Ward Howe.*

V

SOCIAL REVOLUTION

“Fight the good fight of faith.”—1 Tim. 6. 12

THAT ours is a sociological and revolutionary age is not a misfortune, but rather a matter of congratulation and encouragement. Social revolutions on Gospel principles do not imply violence, and the extreme interest of the civilized world in social problems is not, by any means, a token of degeneracy, but by far more a living evidence of Christian progress.

The Gospel, though it condemns the spirit and practice of the skeptical and violent socialism of degenerated society, yet it teaches the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. It recants narrow and selfish individualism, it inculcates the spirit of kindness and good will to others, and enjoins the duty of altruism and mutual help. Christian socialism, born of Gospel intelligence, spiritual conviction, and moral betterment of men, is inspired by the purest motives and seeks the revolution of society, not for selfish ends, but for the common good, and not by violence, but by the power of applied Gospel principles.

Our Lord's counseling his disciples to buy swords

was not, even in the remotest sense, a repudiation of faith in the triumph of the Gospel through love and sacrifice, nor was it, in any way, an indication of the idea of violence in Gospel warfare, but was absolutely and clearly only a striking metaphorical expression suggesting the vehemence and uncompromising character of the great irrepressible moral conflict of Christianity against the evils and dangers which threaten humanity individually and socially.

That the great moral transformation of society to be accomplished by the Gospel may be properly termed a social revolution is unquestionable; for the struggle leading to this result is not an imaginary warfare against a mythical foe of only a mere superstitious significance, but it is the supreme conflict of ages by which the mightiest forces of the universe—Christ and Satan—clash; a conflict in which the greatest temporal and eternal interests are involved, and by which the destiny of individuals and of nations shall be determined.

Our country is evidently one of God's chosen battle-fields for this great social conflict, in which we are already so irrevocably involved; and we, as a Christian people, may congratulate ourselves upon our opportunities of moral heroism and noble warfare "for God and home and native land." The fact that there are many gigantic and dangerous evils con-

fronting us, and threatening the fate of our Republic, need not overwhelm us with despair, but should remind us of the earnestness of the conflict and lead us, in the fear of God, to seek and exercise the heroic faith and dauntless courage of a Caleb and a Joshua in facing the enemies of our national vantage ground.

“If God be for us who can be against us?” Our Hero of the Cross is invincible, and with a proper allegiance of ourselves to him victory is assured. Indeed, Christianity, though it occupies no visible throne and wields neither civil nor military forces, is already the coming mightiest power of the land. But while we thus emulate the winning powers of our Leader in Gospel warfare, and endeavor to appreciate the scope and the magnitude of the social revolution to be accomplished, let us also seek properly to locate the main strongholds of Satan and to comprehend the nature of the national dangers confronting our progress.

ATHEISM

Among the legion of evils and dangers threatening our fair Republic, atheism stands first in line because it is the fundamental principle in Satan's warfare against truth, virtue, and religion; and because it is the fountain head of the bitter stream swelling the flood gates of vice and crime in society.

As the old serpent in Paradise disguised falsehood

under the pretense of truth, so the Devil of atheism in our day conceals his Satanic identity and diabolic purposes under various names and pretenses. Atheism appears in various forms under the names Rationalism, Materialism, Pantheism, Socialism, Communism, Nihilism, Christian Science, *ad infinitum*; but the prevailing spirit and the ultimate ruinous results are invariably the same.

Atheism, if permitted to accomplish its baneful purpose, would annihilate the Holy Scriptures, abolish the Church of God, deny the existence of the Deity, the immortality of the soul, the reward of heaven, and the penalty of hell; it would substitute diabolic falsehood for divine truth; it would inspire the human mind with hatred for God and holy things; it would dethrone Christianity from human hearts, and establish the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, the pride of life, self-will, social disorder, and general debauchery as common and unrestrained evils in society.

The prevalence and progress of atheism as evident from the infidelic theories and practices of various anti-Christian elements of our social fabric and from the general estrangement of the masses from the Churches, and from Gospel precepts and principles, must therefore be regarded as a most serious national danger against which every Gospel force and Christian resource at our command should be vigorously directed

in defense of the faith of our Fathers, and the safety and perpetuity of our Republic.

With the dangers of atheism confronting us, we certainly cannot afford deliberately to expunge the name of God from the curriculum of our public education. "Culture," says Bunsen, "without religious consciousness, is nothing but civilized barbarity and disguised animalism."

There should be no divergence between education and religion in our common schools and State universities. Even in a free State it is not necessary that public education should be entirely divorced from revealed religion. With all the differences between our various religious denominations, there is, nevertheless, a common basis upon which the faith of all rests. The great fundamental truths concerning the existence and supremacy of God, the divinity and authority of Christ, the power and inspiration of the Holy Spirit, the immortality of the soul, the moral obligation in matters of right and wrong, the sacredness and solemnity of the oath, the certainty of eternal reward or punishment—these are doctrines upon which all forms of Christianity practically agree, and upon which the morality essential to our national preservation is founded.

Though it is not the function of a Christian free State to teach sectarian doctrines, or to support sec-

tarian institutions, yet it is nevertheless her duty as a power ordained of God to support Christianity and to secure her own preservation by fostering a broad undenominational system of Christian education to be supplemented by the more specific religious instruction of the Churches in the doctrines on which Christian denominations differ.

Apprehending the inadequacy of mere secular education in view of the dangers of atheism confronting us, it is indeed refreshing to perceive a strong and healthy Christian sentiment aroused and expressed in the declarations and purposes of our new national organization, the Religious Education Association. All hail the power of this timely organization, so full of promise for our future of Church and State; and may its noble purposes in the dissemination of religious knowledge in all branches of Christian education, and in the moral elevation of our people, be gloriously accomplished.

MAMMONISM

Mammonism consists not in the possession of wealth, but in the idolatry of things possessed. Mammonism is an evil, but wealth is a good thing. Our forefathers were poor, but the Republic which they founded has developed into the richest and mightiest nation of the world. This our material

progress is certainly not a mere coincidence, but a dispensation of Providence; not a calamity, but a benediction; not an occasion for pessimistic alarm, but a cause for joyful gratitude to God.

Wealth, beneficently employed, is an important factor in great industrial and commercial enterprises; it is the handmaid of art, science, literature, and religion among our people, and the fostering friend of the laboring class, who are thereby enabled to enjoy the reward and happiness that waits upon honest industry. Wealth, and the honorable accumulation thereof, from worthy motives, is therefore not an evil to be denounced, but a virtue to be encouraged.

But the idolatry of wealth, the love of money for money's sake, is "the root of all evil"—a menace and a danger that bodes degeneracy and ruin to our Republic. "Avarice and luxury," says Livy, "have been the ruin of every great State." History confirms the truth of this declaration. While poverty has never killed a nation, wealth has precipitated the ruin of many. Israel, Babylon, Rome, and Spain—as other fallen nations—each began their decline while in the zenith of their glory. Their great wealth and national splendor generated carnal security, false pride, moral corruption, discontent, and final destruction.

Mammonism is doubtless as progenerative of evil in

our times as in days of yore, and we know from living evidences innumerable that it leads men to ignore the claims of God and to indulge a materialism that pollutes the heart, sears the conscience, and stultifies the soul with the ban of a moral paganism that is as ruinous and damnable as the idolatry of heathendom. The passion for money breeds servility of trade to all manner of criminality; it engenders fraudulent money-getting monopolies that outrage every sense of honesty and justice; it spreads broadcast over the land a nefarious literature that demoralizes immortal souls; it distills the fruits of earth into poisonous liquids that brutalize human beings; it fosters dens of iniquity that curse society with pauperism, drunkenness, theft, riot, incendiarism, murder, and crimes, nameless and innumerable; it generates an aristocracy of mammon worshipers, who in their homage of the money god sacrifice principle for gain and grow fat on the lifeblood of the toiling masses; and it prostitutes the political life of the nation by placing in our legislative halls men who will abuse their official prestige and power to defraud and outrage the constituency which they represent.

Facing such dangers by the ravages of mammonism wise legislation on trusts, bribery, the money problem, and our growing land aristocracy is certainly in demand. In defense of the nation's honor and

perpetuity, the abuses of wealth must be denounced and restricted, fraudulent money-getting schemes must be condemned and abolished, and the great money accumulations of the country must be made to bear their due portion of the support of the government and of the care of the dependent classes.

We must not, however, depend on external remedies alone, or confine our reformatory efforts exclusively to certain localities or classes. Mammonism is a moral malady requiring a moral remedy, a cosmopolitan evil extending to all classes and all places; and though all may not be equally contaminated, yet perhaps none are entirely exempt, and all need the attention of the great Physician, "who healeth all our diseases, and redeemeth our life from destruction."

The Gospel of healing for this malady was proclaimed on the hills of Galilee two thousand years ago; and where the saving grace of this Gospel is applied the Spirit of Christ drives out the Devil of avarice and establishes the supremacy of Christian charity in the heart. The souls thus liberated look above the eagle on our dollars, and can truly and reverently say, "In God we trust!"

BACCHANALIANISM

"Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging; and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise." This

scriptural and proverbial saying is as vital and true in our day and generation as it was three thousand years ago. Other evils and idolatries have had their limitations of time and place, and have been restrained and overcome by counteracting forces, but the Devil of strong drink, deified by men and women into a mighty God of Bacchus, has not grown antiquated, but has survived and prospered through all ages, and is to-day the most diabolic and ruinous foe of humanity.

Depraved appetite and greed, the allied and licensed copartners of the hellish liquor traffic, have relentlessly conspired to thwart the powers of virtue and religion in society, and there is not a nation in all civilization that is free from the blighting and brutalizing curse of Bacchanalianism.

Gladstone declares: "Intemperance has injured the Anglo-Saxon race more than war, pestilence, and famine." Governor Dix, of New York, admits: "Intemperance is the undoubted cause of four fifths of all the crimes, pauperism, and domestic misery of the State." Indeed, it seems idle to quote eminent authorities or to reiterate the wrongs and woes of this appalling evil so commonly known and condemned since there is scarcely a home in our land into which the trail of the serpent has not entered, and whose happiness has not been marred by the fiery demon of strong drink.

The liquor traffic, so progenerative of the drink evil, is doubtless one of the most serious problems confronting the nation. This giant of iniquity so thoroughly organized, so powerful in its influence, so arrogant in its demands, and so confident in its rule of ruin, is "God's worst enemy and the Devil's best friend in the bosom of civilization."

Bacchanalianism fostered by the licensed liquor traffic degenerates our race morally, mentally, and physically; it creeps into our homes, our schools, and our Churches; it blasts the lives and fortunes of thousands of our citizens annually; it controls political parties, debauches legislators, and perjures courts; it prostitutes our towns and cities; it holds public officers and party machines with iron grasp; it bull-dozes and vilifies the advocates of temperance, morality, and religion; and seeks to muzzle the press, the platform, and even pulpit of the land.

With such a progeny of Bacchanalianism known by all men, and admitted even by liquor dealers themselves, the duty of Christian citizenship, in temperance work and legislation, seems to be very plain. Knowing that but very few of the victims of the drink evil are ever permanently redeemed, it is clear that prevention is better than cure, and that the only successful remedy lies in the principles and practices of total abstinence and prohibition.

Though a century of temperance warfare has not yet been able to overthrow Bacchanalianism in the United States, yet noble results in temperance reform have been achieved, and the encouraging outlook for the future is promissory of greater triumphs yet to come.

Agitation and discussion through the pulpit, platform, and press has placed the temperance question as a living issue in the minds of our best people, and Churches, political parties, financial enterprises, and business corporations, are studying its bearings and are more than ever alive to its merits.

Public instruction, through our common schools, on the evils of narcotics and intoxicating liquors is educating our rising generation on the drink habit, our people generally are becoming more practically enlightened on the evils of intemperance, and are realizing more and more that the liquor problem is not simply a moral issue, but a question of health, longevity, financial prosperity, social purity, and public safety.

While it is a self-evident fact that the liquor evil can never be wholly abolished by any law so long as men and women have a craving appetite for strong drink, yet it has been unquestionably demonstrated by legislative and judicial achievements that prohibition does diminish drunkenness and Bacchanalianism.

Though the power of saloon prestige in certain localities and the complete enslavement of the drinking element of our population is deplorable, yet the general growth of temperance sentiment and the increase of total abstinence are encouraging. Drinking is no longer looked upon as a common and unchallenged attribute of true manliness, while total abstinence is the becoming and laudable characteristic of the typical American.

Personal prohibition—total abstinence by individual choice—is perfectly consistent with the principles and practices of true American liberty, and this is the balm in Gilead that will eventually solve the drink problem of the land, reasonably, naturally, and conclusively. Our drunkard-makers and their dupes may declare that high license will not dethrone Bacchanalianism, that prohibition does not prohibit, that local option is a farce, but let all our sons and daughters of liberty not yet enslaved by the rum tyrant simply assert their rights, privileges, and duties in temperance reform by the enforcement of personal prohibition unanimously and permanently, and our drink problem will be gloriously solved. Our liquor traffic thus relegated to the exclusive support of our drunkards, who, as a rule, are poor and short lived, would soon die a natural death, and Bacchanalianism would become a thing of the past.

Let the temperance forces of Uncle Sam's dominion, such as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Anti-Saloon League, etc., take noble courage. Heaven's approbation rests upon the great reform for which they labor. God's power is mightier than the power of the enemy, and victory is bound to come.

The final abolishment of the army canteen, which for a time was a matter of contention between our citizens at home and a great demoralizing evil among "our boys" in the military service, was doubtless one of the happiest events of our national legislation in the first year of the new century. Though the harm done by the alleged ambiguity, which made inefficient the first Anti-Canteen law, can never be made good, yet it is gratifying to know that by the authority of the new law, more explicit and more stringent than the old law, the "army saloon" has now been abolished.

But legislative triumphs of still greater importance in anti-Bacchanalian warfare are the recently enacted federal laws prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors in our national capitol buildings, as also in our immigrant stations, and protecting the yet uncivilized islands of the Pacific Ocean from the liquor and opium traffic. May the providence of God, prevailing through the councils of men, so direct our future national legislation as to eventually establish

and strictly maintain the long-sought and much-needed interstate commerce law, which shall empower local option territory and prohibition States not only to control the liquor traffic within their own bounds, but also to forbid the importation of intoxicating liquors from other States—a power hitherto denied by the Supreme Court.

THE SOCIAL VICE

Licentiousness, the great social vice in all lands, is, according to an eminent statistician and expert in criminal history, one of the most powerful causes of crime, pauperism, and misery in the United States of America. The sexual purity of the rising generation and of the manhood and womanhood of the nation is threatened and largely prostituted by the immoralities of sex prevailing through a defective parental influence, a perverted social intercourse, a poisoned public literature, a degrading abuse of fine arts, and the allurements of houses of infamy in our towns and cities.

The social vice is a vulture which preys upon the rottenness of the vilest instincts and panders to the basest passions in human nature. It poisons the intellect, crucifies virtue, blunts the obligation of personal purity, disseminates loathsome diseases, spreads hereditary taints of evil, endangers the

home life of our people, and breeds moral degradation and ruin.

Alas, that the magnitude of this evil is so rarely comprehended, and that the remedies applied are so frequently by far inferior to the malady treated. The delicacy of the subject instinctively leads to an attitude of avoidance and inactivity regarding sexual vices. Parents shut their eyes and, even without counsel or warning, risk the exposure of their children to vicious social influences; teachers find difficulty in imparting proper instruction; ministers are tempted to avoid directness in broaching such subjects; and public journals are prone to treat social evils with silence. Hence, under the ban of a false sense of shame, the dangers of the social vice remain unexposed, and thousands of our youths are entrapped into the snares and follies of nameless sins.

Our duty in confronting this evil is unquestionable, and the remedy to be applied is plain and unmistakable. The work in the crusade against the social vice is largely a work of prevention, an ounce of which is better than a pound of cure. Impurity must be prohibited by teaching purity, dishonor must be averted by inculcating principles of honor, and vice must be counteracted by forestallments of virtue in the hearts and minds of our people.

In this noble work the Christian homes, the schools,

and the Churches must lead, while the White Cross League, the American Purity Alliance, the Western Society for the Suppression of Vice and kindred organizations, shall join in the ceaseless and vigorous warfare against the social vice, which is the corrupter of our youth, and the insidious foe of our race.

While the meagerness and futility of laws in the interest of social purity must be deplored, yet it is gratifying to see prevailing public sentiment discarding the passing idea of merely restricting the social vice to certain ill-famed localities in our cities, and seeking by the powers of prohibitory laws to suppress this loathsome evil everywhere.

Much credit is due the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, which, through the distinguished influence of Margaret Dye Ellis, at the national capital, has done such noble work toward securing, through the legislation of Congress, the restoration of the law to exclude obscene pictures and prizes from packages of tobacco, and the appointment of six women as immigrant inspectors at the port of New York to aid in preventing the importation of women for immoral purposes.

THE CITY PROBLEM

The rapid increase of our city population from four to over thirty per cent during the past century suggests the importance of the city problem. Our rural

population in many States is coming to a standstill, or even to an actual shrinkage, and the increase is in our cities, which are rapidly multiplying in number and growing in size and in power.

Attracted by superior privileges of enjoyment, the enticements of vice, the opportunities for speculation, the conveniences for commerce and manufacture, and the possibilities of social and political power, our population is gradually drifting to the towns and cities.

The fact that we already have within the United States nearly three hundred important cities, with the passenger elevators lifting them skyward, and the conveniences of rapid transit pushing them out to the remotest bounds of our territory, is certainly a significant, though not necessarily, as some would surmise, an alarming aspect of our modern civilization.

True it is, that evil is, and always was, most potent in large cities. The great cities of antiquity were, in a great measure, the citadels of Satanic powers and influences. Think of the debaucheries of Sodom and Gomorrah, of the pollutions of Tyre and Sidon, of the idolatry of Nineveh, the wickedness of Babylon, and of the degeneracy of even Jerusalem in her latter days. Casting our eyes from the past upon the present, we are painfully reminded of the fact that sinfulness, as an abiding quality of human nature, still

asserts its debasing powers by utilizing our great modern cities as the fountain heads of the polluting streams of evil, which are fraught with moral degradation and eternal ruin to human souls.

While it is true that ungodliness abounds everywhere, yet it is certainly most rife and powerful in the cities where all forms of dissipation that lure to vice and crime are shielded by an influence that is well-nigh omnipotent; and where gorgeous wealth, imposing splendor, persuasive eloquence, and social prestige are all in the ranks of the world, the flesh, and the Devil as weapons of wickedness against holiness, virtue, and religion. Here the low, the vile, and the outcast elements of society, as well as the fine-haired and blue-blooded vultures in human form, organize for purposes of intrigue, and prey upon the unsuspecting victims who are entrapped in their snares. Here, in the nightly debaucheries of gambling dens and houses of infamy, Satan corrupts the innocence of youth, destroys the purity of home, and enslaves the soul in chains of darkness, death, and hell. The city government only too frequently lays down her scepter before the powers of iniquity, and her police force, ignoring its mission of law, decency, and order, becomes the shield of vice and crime in these Gibbaltars of Satanic power.

Thus it is plain that the seats of the powers of

wickedness are located in our cities, and that here are the decisive battle grounds of civilization and religion. Herein lies the great importance of special effort for the evangelization of our cities. Bless God, for the powers of the Saviour's Gospel by which our cities are redeemable from the perils of wickedness, and may be transformed from centers of darkness into centers of Gospel light and power and purity. City evangelization is encouraged by the example and precept of our Saviour, who devoted his personal ministry largely to cities, and commanded his apostles to preach his Gospel, beginning at Jerusalem. Cities were the theaters of the Holy Spirit's first visitations, and marvelous achievements in the conversion of souls. Cities in our day enjoy peculiar advantages for the promotion of religion, besides exerting a commanding influence on the country and the world.

For the evangelization of our cities many things are needed—one of which certainly is the extension of Gospel privileges and opportunities to the careless, the vicious, and the neglected classes of society. Happily, the Institutional Church, our National City Evangelization Union, and other organizations, have set out in real earnest to study the solution of the city problem, to quicken the conscience of the Churches in the work, and to devise ways and means whereby the unevangelized may be reached and supplied with

the Gospel. God save our cities and make them great Gibaltars of power in the work of evangelizing the world!

POLITICAL CORRUPTION

Possibly our greatest national danger is political corruption, the disease of which governments die. History does not record a single instance of a government absolutely pure, and doubtless there has always been more or less corruption in the management of government affairs among all nations. That American government is subject to this common tendency of human depravity, and that there has been a marked and rapid decadence in the direction of political corruption in our own country during the last decade is painfully evident.

The cost of conducting political campaigns is growing enormously. Money is becoming more and more a powerful element in our politics, and King Dollar too frequently holds the balance of power in elections. This is unmistakable evidence of a dangerous political corruption. There is, of course, a legitimate use of money in elections, that is when money is applied for printing and circulating political literature, for the hiring of public halls, and for the employment of campaign oratory. But no intelligent person would suppose that the vast amount of money now being expended by the political parties in national

and State elections is thus applied to legitimate uses. The greater portion of it passes from the bribe-givers to the bribe-takers to buy votes.

Bribery—what a burning shame and a blighting curse to American politics! There was a time when bribery was despised as a disgraceful crime to which none but traitors would resort, but alas, the day has come when bribery no longer bows its head with shame, but even boldly defies honesty in politics and decides elections in its own favor. By such tactics the will of the people is defeated, honest government is overruled, public virtue is prostituted, politics becomes degraded, corrupt officials are conveyed to seats of power, and the stability of the nation is threatened.

Surely American freedom can and must be guarded against the rule and ruin of merchandise in political suffrage. The safeguards of the nation must be strengthened by elevating the standard of political morality—by teaching through every available resource of education that bribery and corruption constitute a crime against our flag and our country's God. With the aid of millions of loyal Americans, who, as worthy sons and daughters of liberty, could not be bribed by all of the combined forces of earth and hell, the outlook for the future of our Republic ought to be bright and full of promise.

The desire of the people for pure and honest gov-

ernment is manifested by the recent progress in ballot reforms, by the laws regulating the expenditure of money in elections, by the growing sentiment advocating the election of United States senators by a direct vote of the people, by the general crusade on behalf of pure civic life, and, with all these things favorable, the opening years of the new century should witness a marked and rapid cleansing of our State and national politics.

EXTRAVAGANCE AND LUXURIOUSNESS

Finally, before closing this chapter, extravagance and luxuriousness should be mentioned as dangerous foes to our Republic. Though wealth is no more a crime than poverty could be a virtue, yet it is apparent that our material prosperity, where not accompanied by a corresponding moral, intellectual, and spiritual advancement, is progenerative of a materialism that is liable to assert itself in an extravagance and a luxuriousness that bodes danger to our national welfare.

Luxury generates imbecility of manhood. Says Herodotus: "It is a law of nature that faint-hearted men should be the fruit of luxurious countries, for we never find that the same soil produces delicacies and heroes." Even more is true, Luxury not only unmans the individual, but it demoralizes society by generating

and fostering a spirit of envy, hatred, and sedition among men. Says George Bancroft: "Sedition is bred in the lap of luxury." The fallen nations of history are witnesses to this fact. By the dissolution of kingdoms, by the overthrow of empires, and the fall of republics, luxurious extravagance has sounded the death knell of great nations.

Having no guarantee that the rule of history shall be specially reversed for our national safety, we, as the people of a great and prosperous nation, with enticements to luxurious self-indulgence on every hand, may do well to apprehend the timely forewarnings of the dangers confronting us. Were the great nations of antiquity tempted by their material prosperity to indulge the sins of luxurious extravagance, then we would better be reminded that we are already undergoing the same trial and are indeed being threatened with coming judgment.

Behold the millions of our wealth lavishly and recklessly squandered in sumptuous State dinners, in riotous campaign feasts, in gaudy inauguration balls, in "vigorous foreign policies," in sensual amusements, in carnal indulgences, in social shams, and imposing bigotries innumerable; while the multitudes of the poor are in want for even the actual necessities of life!

Moreover, unworthy stewardship of God's bounty is revealed, not only in unblushing luxuriousness of the

rich, but is also manifested in the reckless extravagances of the people of moderate means; for by the influence of mechanical invention, which cheapens luxuries, self-indulgence has been so greatly extended and multiplied that even among common people the annual expenditures for luxuries far exceed the outlays for the necessities of life.

While there is much diversity of opinion as to the propriety and method of legal restrictions and prohibitions on personal indulgence, yet, from a scientific as well as a moral and political standpoint, the importance of counteracting luxurious extravagances by opposing them on Gospel principles is unquestionable. Our national perpetuity, as well as our advancement in Christian civilization, demands the protection of our young and rising generation against the evil of luxurious indulgences, the cultivation of the higher elements of human nature in individual lives, and the establishment of a public sentiment that will condemn and forbid the luxurious extravagances that threaten our race and imperil our nation.

Let the great work of modern social reform beginning at Washington go on and accomplish its mission there and everywhere throughout the land.

The old-time idea that official society at the national capital is or should be the whole or crowning thing in social life deserves to pass away.

Presidential administrations should no longer be embarrassed by the responsibilities of leadership in the events of the social season. Incumbents of cabinet positions, our senators and representatives in Congress, as well as all other public officials, should not be incumbered with social extravagances that would either tempt them to dishonesty or relegate them to private life. All hail the power of the public sentiment that frowns down the moblike functions of the official receptions, at which small fortunes are lavishly squandered. The official dishonesty generated by the enormous expenditure of such social eclat condemns such extravagance in the minds of the people. Ours is a practical business age, and the common sense of the people's representatives at the national capital is dictating a more simple and rational performance of social obligations in official circles. Though usage as well as social etiquette will command the future continuance of the formalities of official receptions, yet let us hope that the force of public sentiment and the practice of proverbial Jeffersonian simplicity will eventually eliminate the abominations of former extravagances and establish a more honest and healthy condition of things in social matters at Washington, as also in the capitals of the various States of the nation.

CHURCH AND STATE

THE PILGRIMS

Across the rolling ocean
Our Pilgrim Fathers came,
And here, in rapt devotion,
Adored the Maker's name.
Amid New England's mountains,
Their temple sites they chose,
And by its streams and fountains
The choral song arose.

Their hearts with freedom burning,
They felled the forest wide,
And reared the halls of learning,
New England's joy and pride;
Through scenes of toil and sadness
In faith they struggled on,
That future days of gladness
And glory might be won.

The men of noble spirit,
The pilgrims, are at rest—
The treasures we inherit
Proclaim their memory blest!
From every valley lowly,
From mountain tops above,
Let grateful thoughts, and holy,
Rise to the God of love.

—*P. H. Sweetser.*

VI

CHURCH AND STATE

“Render therefore unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s; and unto God the things that are God’s.”—Matt. 22. 21.

CHURCH and State are not organically related in the United States. Though both are recognized as divine institutions, yet they have separate functions, and each pursues an independent course in its own sphere. The Church, having to do with spiritual things, has religious liberty in all that pertains to the kingdom of God. The State, having to do with public affairs, has free course in all that relates to the administration of civil government. Notwithstanding this reciprocal independence, there is, however, a very close cooperative relation between Church and State in America. While the State depends for its existence upon the character given its citizens by the Church, the Church in turn depends upon the State for protection of property, of worship, and all beneficent work. This system of independence and cooperation between Church and State accomplishes the end of noninterference and free-working the most complete in history, and demonstrates to the world that civil and religious liberty are happy and fundamental

principles in a successful Christian "government of the people, by the people, for the people." "Whatever," says Dr. Schaff, "may be the merits of the theory of the American system, it has worked well in practice. It has stood the test of experience. It has the advantage of the union of Church and State without the disadvantages. It secures all the rights of the Church without the sacrifice of liberty and independence, which are worth more than endowments."

This relation of independence between Church and State must therefore not be misconstrued as a skeptical provision necessitating an absolute divorcement of religion from the State, but should be regarded as a consistent and practically applied principle of liberty that is essentially both republican and Christian in theory and practice.

From the State papers, the speeches, and the political literature of colonial days, it is evident that the deliberations of our fathers in framing our National Constitution were not actuated by skeptical motives, but that they fully realized the importance of the prevalence of Christian principles in the adjustment and conduct of public affairs, and in the promotion of our national welfare. But it is also apparent that the wise men who founded our Republic had read history with a full understanding of the baleful effects of the mingling of religion and politics, and hence,

endeavoring to solve the vexed problem of the ages and seeking to escape the serious difficulties encountered by the nations of the old world, they were careful to rear a structure of government unhampered by ecclesiastical entanglements.

Accordingly, the provision was made in our National Constitution that "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States," and that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Thus perfect religious liberty was assured, the establishment of a State Church was prohibited, religious institutions were forever debarred from the sphere of political controversy, and all ecclesiastical bodies were made absolutely equal before the law of the land.

For centuries past three theories concerning the relation of Church and State have prevailed in practice among the nations. First, Church supremacy over civil government. Second, State supremacy over the Church. Third, Church and State reciprocally independent. All three methods have been amply tried. In countries where Roman Catholicism has swayed power the doctrine of the supremacy of the Church has been assumed, and in countries where Protestantism has prevailed the doctrine of the supremacy of the State has been maintained.

Neither Church supremacy in national affairs nor State supremacy in Church affairs has ever given satisfaction, but both relations have been detrimental and harmful to both Church and State.

The independence of Church and State as practically applied and successfully in vogue in the United States, for very apparent reasons, deserves the commendation and support of every American citizen, whether Catholic or Protestant. Even between the two great opposing factions of Christendom there should be no occasion for strife over the true relation of Church and State in our Republic. Every patriotic American citizen should be a loyal advocate of civil and religious liberty and an uncompromising defender of the Union against any power or influence that would seek to bring the Church and the State into unnatural relations which would militate against the welfare of the nation.

Pure reciprocal independence is the ideal relation between Church and State; and, doubtless, our fathers were providentially guided in the establishment of this relation, by virtue of which we have not only escaped all theological embarrassments in our politics, but have secured, besides, all the advantages of religious sentiment and achievement. Our history demonstrates that the complete separation of Church and State neither signifies the secularization of the

State nor the effemination of the Church, but that such a reciprocal relation of independence is best for both institutions, and most conducive to the prosperity and happiness of the people.

Indeed, our national policy and practice relative to the principle of Church and State relation has been more than vindicated by the remarkable progress of religion in the United States, and by the clearly manifested tendency toward the disestablishment of State Churches in other countries. The sweeping tendency of modern times is in the direction of civil and religious liberty, and therefore, though we have no State Church in America, yet in view of the power of revealed religion in our country, we are, in the eyes of the civilized world, not regarded as a godless people, but are respected at home and abroad as a Christian nation.

The absence of an established State Church in our land is more than replaced by a multitude of free and independent Churches. The principles of the Christian religion underlie the foundations of our federal and State governments, and permeate our legislative, our judicial, and our executive departments. While as far as numbers are concerned, it must be admitted that in our country, as in other lands, the really nonreligious portion of our people is yet in the majority; yet it is a fact beyond

question that applied Christianity has been an active and a potent influence in the work of our national conquest and progress, and that the religious element of our population of the present day is largely the controlling power in our national life.

In remembrance of the superintending Providence guarding us, and in recognition of the beneficence of religion promoting our national welfare, our government has, from its origin to the present day, honored and embraced Christianity in various ways. In all the colonial charters and compacts, in the Declaration of American Independence, in most of our State Constitutions, and in all the inaugural addresses of our Presidents, save one, we find distinct recognitions of divine rulership in national affairs. Besides the chaplaincies in our army and navy, in Congress, and in our State Legislatures, the use of the Bible in our inaugural ceremonies, and in public institutions, the administration of the oath in our courts of justice, the enactment of laws pertaining to Sabbath observance, to public worship, and to moral obligations, the annual Thanksgiving proclamations by the President of the nation and by the governors of every State in the Union, the inscription on our coins, "In God we trust"—all these and many other things are evidences of the fact that our

government embraces religion and that we are really a Christian nation.

The propriety and beneficence of the mutual independence of Church and State in a Christian nation are easily apparent. This relation places the Church in a consistent attitude toward the teachings of Christ, who has declared that his kingdom is not of this world, it liberates the Church from servile submission to political relations, and influences and gives her the power of self-adaptation and self-development as a divine institution; it places the Church on a self-sustaining basis, demonstrating to the world that Gospel enterprises and religious institutions can stand alone and are not dependent upon national support.

Moreover, freedom of the Church encourages Christian unity by inciting spirituality and enthusiasm in religious endeavor, and by evoking a sentiment of common loyalty to the noble cause and high calling in Christ Jesus. True it is that some people of the State Church idea would denounce religious freedom under the plea that it has generated a denominationalism that has been detrimental to the cause of Christian unity in America. Now it is true that, while State Churchism has fostered a dead formalism and even a rank skepticism in European nations, the abuse of religious liberty has, in many instances,

disturbed the peace and harmony of religious workers and corporations by placing sectarianism at war with the best interests of true Christian unity in America. Even at the present day, and in all the future, we shall do well to recognize the danger of religious strife and to avoid the sins of denominationalism, remembering that a divided Christendom wages an unequal contest against united sin.

Fortunately, however, the folly of denominational rivalries is becoming more and more apparent, and religious sentiment in America is moving in the direction of Church federation and Christian unity. The Congregational National Council of 1898 approved the proposal for a confederation of all our Protestant denominations. Actual attempts at local Church federation in Pittsburg, New Haven, Hartford, in a portion of New York, and in other cities, have shown excellent results. More significant still is the accomplished federation of the principal denominations of the State of Maine, as having already existed for half a dozen years.

Even the two great opposing factions of Christendom, Catholicism and Protestantism, are laying aside many of their former antagonisms, and are being drawn closer toward each other by various affiliations in different forms of work. The Hon. Justice David J. Brewer, in an article published in *The*

Independent, cites two remarkable instances showing the growing spirit of fraternalism between Catholicism and Protestantism in America. He relates: "Cardinal Gibbons, the head of the Catholic Church in this country, and Bishop Paret, of the Episcopal Church, were invited to attend a gathering in which, by reason of its official character, the rank of the various guests was a matter of consideration. The bishop, turning to the cardinal, said: 'Which has the higher rank, a cardinal in the Catholic or a bishop in the Episcopal Church?' 'I do not know,' was the reply; 'let us not raise the question, but let us go in side by side,' and they did." At a gathering of Congregationalists in Pennsylvania the eloquent Catholic Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia, was a welcome guest, and in the course of his speech truthfully said, that "the spirit of charity is the spirit of the day. The time is past when the Protestant should look back upon the horrible things of the Inquisition and denounce Roman Catholicism on account thereof, or the Catholics, on the other hand, look back at the hanging of the witches, or the persecution of the Quakers, and denounce Protestantism therefor, but each should shake hands and join in a common effort to further the cause of a common Master."

This growing spirit of religious charity effecting

cooperation in Church work does not by any means indicate that denominationalism shall cease, and that an ultimate organic unity of the Churches shall take place in this country; but it does indicate a growing Christian unity without organic Church unity, which are two quite different things, as may be clearly seen from many forms of undenominational Christian work now being done; for instance, by the Young Men's Christian Association, by the Christian Endeavor Society, by the Sunday School Unions, by the Children's Aid Society, by the Chautauqua assemblies, and by various other associations and organizations instituted for Christian cooperation in many lines of evangelistic and beneficent work.

Such evidences and possibilities of growing Christian unity in a land of civil and religious liberty speak volumes, not only for the maintenance of our Church and State independence, but also for our adherence to the old landmarks which characterize our Republic as a Christian nation. There are those who denounce the old established usages recognizing the supremacy of God and the importance of religion in national affairs as only so many relics of an antiquated State religion that ought to be abolished, and who, under the plea of independence between Church and State, emphatically demand the complete separation of every vestige of religion from everything pertaining

to the government; and there are those also who, by the abuse of political prestige, would seek to establish and intrench ecclesiastical power and influence through access to our public treasuries for the purpose of securing funds for sectarian interests.

Both of these influences should be promptly and vigorously rebuked in defense of our national welfare. Should our government ever become completely secularized by an absolute divorcement of religious precepts and principles from all State affairs, she would thereby become bereft of her only safeguard of national virtue and security, and would be hopelessly doomed to the same downfall and ruin that has befallen every other godless nation in the world's history of bygone ages.

Nor would an organic union of Church and State in our Republic be free from impending danger. "History," says Dr. J. M. King, "shows that where religious sects have been allowed to take public lands or public money they become gorged with wealth, and have forced a union of Church and State. It also shows that, wherever religion has been wedded to the State individual conscience has been debauched and a gigantic, tyrannical, political machine has been instituted."

To avert both the perils of secularization on the one hand, and of ecclesiasticism on the other, for all

future time, the same patriotic vigilance that has hitherto confronted the intrigues of atheism and Mormonism in this country must also assert itself in prompt and vigilant resentment against both the infidelic and the politico-ecclesiastical agencies threatening our national welfare.

Generally speaking, however, it is gratifying to know that Christian faith is a much greater power in our religious and political relations than infidelity can now hope ever to be, and that the politico-ecclesiastical aspirations unfriendly to our civil and religious independence is limited exclusively to the primitive branch of Christendom. The Protestant Churches of the United States, though representing perhaps even a hundred denominations, differing with each other in their creeds, their forms of worship, and in their Church administrations, yet, as a rule, they are not in any wise antagonistic to the Constitution or the laws of the land, but are in harmony with the government, and regard the national welfare as a matter of great and common interest. They are, of course, interested in national affairs, they hold their convictions on all questions of public welfare, and in their conventions and conference assemblies they declare themselves freely and emphatically on the moral and living issues of the day, but they are never found dictating a political party

policy or seeking to control State or national legislation for sectarian purposes. The Churches, as a whole, are truly patriotic and loyal to our flag, they respect and uphold civil law and authority, they foster morality and virtue, and seek the safety, perpetuity, and progress of the nation.

Therefore, though Church and State are not and ought not to be organically united in this country, there is every plausible reason for a truly friendly and cooperative relation that should lead them as twin divine institutions into a spiritual unity and unto a harmonious power in confronting the great moral evils that threaten ruin to humanity, and in fulfilling the eternal obligations devolving upon them for the complete establishment and successful advancement of Christ's kingdom in every State and Territory or new possession of our entire national domain.

INTERNATIONAL FRATERNALISM

WELCOME TO THE NATIONS

Bright on the banner of lily and rose,
Lo, the last sun of our century sets!
Wreathe the black cannon that scowled on our foes,
All but her friendships the nation forgets!
All but her friends and their welcome forgets!
These are around her: but where are her foes?
Lo, while the sun of her century sets,
Peace with her garlands of lily and rose!

Welcome! a shout like the war-trumpet's swell
Wakes the wild echoes that slumber around!
Welcome! it quivers from Liberty's bell,
Welcome! the walls of her temple resound!
Hark! the gray walls of her temple resound!
Fade the far voices o'er hillside and dell;
Welcome! still whisper the echoes around;
Welcome! still trembles on Liberty's bell!

Thrones of the Continents! Isles of the sea!
Yours are the garlands of peace we entwine;
Welcome, once more, to the land of the free,
Shadowed alike by the palm and the pine;
Softly they murmur, the palm and the pine;
Hushed is our strife in the land of the free;
Over your children their branches entwine,
Thrones of the continents! Isles of the sea!

—*Oliver Wendell Holmes.*

VII

INTERNATIONAL FRATERNALISM

“On earth peace, good will toward men.”—Luke 2. 14.

THAT the Gospel millennium of peace on earth and good will to men is not yet at hand is very clearly evident from the daily records of modern warfare. The Devil of grasping greed and brutal conflict has not yet been subdued and banished from the realms of civil authority, but he still reigns as the great disturbing element in humanity, and still reveals his diabolic power in the upheavals of bloody strife among the nations. Hence, in spite of all advancements in the arts of civilization, we still have wars and rumors of war. The great armored navies on the seas and the large standing armies on the continents menace the peace of the civil powers. Indeed, the transition from the old into the new century has been marked by deplorable conditions of war, involving the leading nations of the world; and the horrid scenes of bloody conflict portrayed from the various theaters of war in Africa, in the Philippines, and in China, have brought about the common observation that the world is passing through a crisis, with the

question at issue, whether civilization or barbarism shall prevail. Yet, with all the discord and strife between the powers of the present day, we must not ignore or overlook the salutary and pacifying influence of Christianity in the international affairs of the world.

Though the present status of international relations is very far from its true ideal of what it should be, yet, when we compare the present with the past, there is evident a pleasing and a remarkable progress toward international fraternalism in Christian civilization. Among the nations of antiquity there was no such thing as acknowledged international law. With the Greeks and Romans the opponents in war were regarded as barbarians, and their laws and practices of warfare knew no limit beyond enslavement and extermination. Their captives in war were supposed to have lost all rights of life or liberty, and were tortured, enslaved, or killed at the captor's pleasure.

Though the *jus gentium* was finally evolved as a branch of international law among the Romans, and though the Greeks had their Amphictyonic League to regulate differences between the Hellenic States, yet, in either Grecian or Roman warfare with other lands, these laws were frequently suspended and, as a rule, had little power over complications with

foreign nations. In those times a nation's *right* to exist depended solely upon its *ability* to exist. International communication was frequently denied or violated, ambassadors were often savagely executed, and hostility, with the base motives of subjugation, extermination, or plunder, was regarded as the natural attitude of nations toward each other.

That the progress of the modification of international relations on Christian principles, and according to established laws, was, from the beginning, fragmentary and slow, is true and quite natural. It could, from the very nature of prevailing conditions and circumstances, not be otherwise. There had to be a distinct national organization of civil governments before a code of international laws could be formulated; and, since international law is a voluntary thing, there had to be a free and a submissive surrender of the independent and self-controlling States to the rules and regulations of national arbitration before the laws of nations could be applied and enforced in the adjustment and settlement of differences between the civil powers of the world.

International law, like every other good thing, has been confronted by opposing difficulties. The centralization of power in the Roman empire and the chaotic confusion of the formative period succeeding

the fall of the Western empire were, for ages, the chief impediments to the progress of Christian principles as expressed in the powers and regulations of laws between the nations. "But," says Dr. Storrs, "in spite of all that was weak, ignominious, and morally disgraceful in these centuries, and in those which followed, the undestroyed power of the Christian religion continued to operate."

The march of Christian civilization from the Middle Ages to modern times, the settlement of international disputes by papal arbitration as practiced until the close of the fifteenth century, and the importance of the Reformation during the sixteenth and succeeding centuries are facts of history, showing how Christian principles in international relations were eventually established "in good faith" between the nations, and how finally, by the treaty in 1648, international law was stamped with a positive character as an authority and a means of justice and fraternal regard between the civil powers.

In the progress of Christian civilization from that time to our day and age, international relations have been greatly ameliorated. The growing ideas of justice and good will have ripened into dominant principles among men recognizing the fraternal obligations of nations toward each other. Though the Armenian and Chinese massacres, as also the

atrocities of recent wars, are unwelcome reminders of the barbarisms of darker ages, yet it is gratifying to know that the frequency of war is lessened, the occasion for it is limited, and its horrors have, on the whole, been greatly diminished. War between nations is now only an ultimate expedient reluctantly resorted to after all efforts of diplomacy have failed. Arbitration as a means of settling national disputes is growing in favor, international law is becoming more and more a recognized standard of universal authority, and the good offices of peaceful diplomacy are, as a rule, regarded with favor and approval throughout the civilized world.

But in our review of present international relations our attention is quite naturally directed to the growing principle of national expansion as now prevalent with the leading powers of civilization. The transition of the political world from the once prevailing principle of nationalism to that of imperialism, or national expansion, is remarkable and significant. Both principles are important factors of civilization. Nationalism was the predominating influence which developed the leading civil powers of the nineteenth century into strong national States; and national expansion will doubtless be the sweeping political principle of the twentieth century for the spread of Christian civilization throughout the world. Expansion

is a natural consequence of nationalism. The nations, having passed through their historic evolution, have developed into great sovereign powers competing with each other for supremacy. Expansion in population and resources necessitates expansion in territory and generates the endeavor to extend control over as large a portion of the world as power and opportunity will permit.

National expansion, though not altogether a modern political principle, has become of paramount importance mainly within the last decades. As late as the middle period of the nineteenth century there was still, among European nations, much indifference toward colonial possessions. But later on, England's example, of looking beyond the sea for an extension of territory and for a reinforcement of national powers and resources, aroused the envy of the other continental powers and eventually started a general international competition for the yet unoccupied portions of the world, with an eye directed, in later times, especially toward the vast and wealthy realm of China, which because of its apparent inefficiency as a civil power threatens to become a prey to foreign invaders.

Remarkable, indeed, is the manner in which the United States, involved by unforeseen complications of war, was drawn into a change of our traditional

foreign policy and placed unexpectedly in the center of oriental politics, thus incurring far-reaching national obligations relative to the foreign territorial encroachments upon various portions of the Celestial Empire.

In this new and responsible attitude of our Republic toward foreign affairs the American people must not suffer themselves to be misled by a false and sentimental enthusiasm, under the plea of "patriotism" and "the flag," but should seek to recognize and guard against the threatening dangers of national expansion.

Political phariseeism, daring the informal seizure of territorial and other national possessions under hypocritical pretexts, should be condemned at home and abroad. While a vigorous and respectable foreign policy must be maintained, we cannot afford to allow the national rivalries in foreign relations to so consume all our energies that we shall be compelled to neglect home interests or domestic reforms; nor should we sacrifice principle and adopt the un-Christian methods of foreign competing powers and thus become untrue to our real social and political mission as a great Christian Republic.

In view of our present international relations, into which we seem to have been providentially called, it is vain twaddle to deny or discuss the propriety of

national expansion on Christian principles. We are, once for all, in the arena of international competition as one of the five great sovereign powers of the world, and our position is irrevocable. We have no time to lose for argument over "what might have been," nor for pessimistic deliberations over the great harm that has been done to the noble cause of Christendom by the grasping greed and bloody strife of other nations in foreign lands, but we must seek to apply ourselves worthily to the work to which we have been called, and endeavor, in the fear of God, to imbue ourselves with becoming Christian motives for the important part we are to play in the great international drama for the advancement of Christian civilization among the nations of the world.

Neither the glory of conquest nor the absurd ideal of a great world-republic, nor the grasping greed for greater material resources, but the amelioration of existing antagonistic relations between the civil powers, and the promotion of the principle of international fraternalism among all nations, should be our ruling motive in our national attitude toward the now prevailing issue of territorial expansion as advocated and practiced by the leading nations of the world.

In our day and age of great missionary enterprises spreading Christianity among all people in all lands,

permeating heathen institutions and promising an abundant harvest of Gospel transformations by the peaceful agencies of Christian virtue and revealed religion, commercial greed and political ambition, spurred with the fury of gory conquest, should not be allowed to threaten destruction to the noble achievements, which the faithful messengers of Christ have accomplished by centuries of self-denying service. In behalf of the great cause of Christendom all Christian nations should observe a peaceful policy toward each other and especially toward heathen lands.

Though it is true, as Dr. Parkhurst has well said, that God can overrule all things to his own glory, and to the spread of the Gospel, even the denials of Peter and the betrayal of Judas Iscariot, yet this should not by any means encourage "the wrath of man" because "God can make the wrath of man to praise him." Whatever there may be of truth in the sentiment which regards the pagan nations of the world as "the threshing floor where God is using the armies of civilization to tread out the wheat that will be used for seeding to bring forth a harvest of righteousness and contentment and prosperity in the dark places of the earth," yet it must be conceded that this Mohammedan way of spreading religion by the sword of conquest and by political power is absolutely incompatible with the teachings of Jesus

of Nazareth and positively unworthy of Christian nations.

The founder of Christianity was characterized by inspired prophecy, as the "Prince of Peace," whose Gospel dispensation should bring an era when men "shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks; and when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." And when in the fullness of time the promised "Prince of Peace" was born into the world the plains of Bethlehem resounded with the immortal anthem of the heavenly host: "Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good will to men." The Saviour incarnate among men was a messenger of peace on earth. His ministry was inspired by the purest motives of love and good will to all, he labored by both precept and example to proclaim and perpetuate the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and one of his final benedictions upon his followers was: "Peace I leave you, my peace I give unto you."

To be true to its fundamental principles, to be loyal to its founder, and to accomplish its mission of Gospel dispensations preparatory to our Lord's final coming and reign in millennial sovereignty, Christianity must be the advocate and guardian angel of peace and fraternalism among all nations. That the

nations bearing the emblem of the cross have not always adhered to the pacific principles of the Saviour, and that the history of Christian civilization is largely a record of gory conquest is unfortunate and deplorable.

The trend of civilization toward peace and international fraternalism is, however, gratifying and encouraging. Though wars still exist, yet it is the common desire among men that peace might prevail. Indeed, the conviction that the clash of arms between nations is wrong and unnecessary lies so deep in the common consciousness of our day that it is needless to recount the fearful cost, to emphasize the miseries, or to condemn the barbarities and cruelties of war. Public sentiment in all civilization demands that wars shall cease.

Arbitration, which has already averted many armed conflicts, is rapidly growing in favor as a method of settling international disputes, and the twentieth century bodes well to become a period of association, of union, and fraternalism among nations. The Peace Conference at The Hague, the most notable event in the history of international arbitration, is a great step toward the abolishment of war and the final establishment of amicable relations between the sovereign powers of the world. The historic details of that conference, though not to be discussed here, merit the

most careful and universal study. Wise Christian statesmanship has doubtless gained an important triumph over the prestige of war by the organization of arbitration and by the establishment of a permanent international tribunal.

Hitherto arbitration in national affairs has been greatly discouraged by the time and patience required for the selection of the court, the designation of the place of meeting, the specification of the rules and regulations of procedure, and the arrangements of numerous minor details before a final decision in pending national differences could be reached. Now, however, the establishment of a permanent court of international justice, through which diplomatic differences can be easily, speedily, and fairly settled, creates a powerful and almost an irresistible incentive to the use of peaceful arbitration, in preference to war, for the adjustment of difficulties between contentious civil powers. This method of adjustment in national affairs is so humane, reasonable, and practical that it can hardly fail to meet universal approval, and it will doubtless accomplish more to avert war in future national history than all other agencies combined now operating toward the establishment of a universal peace among the sovereignties of the world.

Our zeal for arbitration, however, must not mislead us to suppose that the international court at The

Hague will, in spite of a yet unconquered Devil of strife still at large in the world, be able to legislate humanity into the glorious millennium of universal peace at once and without fail. The fact that, before the echoes of the high debate at the great Peace Conference had fairly died away, wars originated in the Philippines and in South Africa and in China reminds us very forcibly that there are some issues of civilization that cannot be arbitrated, but must be settled by force. Says Baron de Constant, one of the strongest advocates for arbitration at the Peace Conference, "No one at The Hague flattered himself that disorders, strikes, riots, nationalist, or other uprisings could be prevented in any civil country, much less in China. Every day we see newspapers in London, Paris, New York, Berlin, and Rome preaching war upon foreigners. Too often these agitations are followed by attacks upon individuals and property." In the tumult of such disorders, when they occur, as they do, by riotous and anarchistic mobs, maddened with diabolic hatred and inflamed with hellish designs of destruction and ruin, there can be no thought of arbitration, since arbitration can only be a method of compromise to prevent war between civil and law-abiding corporations or powers that have reasonable issues to settle and are willing to adjust their differences on peaceful terms.

Arbitration, for instance, in such atrocities as the Armenian and Chinese massacres would be ridiculous and futile. In such diabolic uprisings for wholesale murder it behooves the national "powers that be," as institutions "ordained of God" for the maintenance of law and order and for the protection of life and liberty, to remember that "they do not bear the sword in vain" and to extend the strong arm of protection to those "who are persecuted for righteousness' sake." While Christian nations should never forget that their Eternal Sovereign is the "Prince of Peace" and should, in view of this fact, always seek to avoid an attitude of hostility toward each other and especially toward non-Christian lands, and while there should be no thought of "extending the Gospel with the power of the sword," or of "guarding the cross with Krupp guns," yet it must ever be remembered that national responsibility cannot be shirked and God-given national prestige, in principles of honor or justice, cannot be sacrificed without sin against God and humanity.

When people are being ruthlessly oppressed and murdered, as they were by the violent and bloodthirsty mobs in Armenia and China, the nearest nation that can come to the martyrs' rescue is their natural and responsible protector. That the disgraceful sin of noninterference, committed by the European pow-

ers in the first instance, was not repeated by the United States and other nations in the second instance, is a pleasing record of modern history; and it is well that the danger of such anti-Christian upheavals, as probable obstructions to the future progress of Christian civilization in Mohammedan and pagan lands, has been recognized by a cooperative union of the principal Christian States of the world in defense of their rights and interests in foreign non-Christian lands. In the unforeseen and peculiar origin of this international alliance, the mere idea of which only a short time ago would have seemed chimerical, but which has now by force of events, become a reality, it is not difficult for the eye of Christian faith to perceive the guidance of a superintending Providence of God in national destiny.

May the newborn union between the Christian nations become universal and permanent as an alliance of the powers against barbarism and as a shield of civil and religious liberty in all the world; and may the perceivable indications of Providence lead all nations to comprehend their becoming relation to peace and war in the civilization of the twentieth century.

While complete disarmament of the civil powers would yet be premature, and while it is apparent that war will still have a place in the civilization of

the immediate future, let us hope that it will have a much narrower place than it has had in the history of preceding centuries. Wherever peace can be maintained without the sacrifice of principles more precious than blood and without the tolerance of anarchistic and barbarous disorders that would meet the displeasure of the God of all government and threaten ruin to Christian civilization—yea, wherever diplomatic differences can be settled by just and amicable arbitration—there let peace be the motto and the aim of all Christian nations.

But if, by the prestige of diabolic powers beyond control, wars prove inevitable, let them, as Dr. Hamlin suggests, occur for fewer and more reasonable causes, let them be prosecuted more humanely and terminate more speedily into more lasting peace, by replacing a lower by a higher civilization, and by supplanting the martial spirit by the not less brave but more gentle spirit of the "Prince of Peace." This, it seems, should be the endeavor and the successful accomplishment of the international frater-nalism of Christian nations in the future history of the world.

RACE PROBLEMS

AMERICA FOR FREEDOM

America for Freedom!

That was the old-time cry;
The word for which our fathers stood
To battle and to die.
From throned oppression fleeing,
They felt the galling chain
A tyrant held within his hand,
To pluck them back again.

The word with which they started
The globe has girdled round,
Across its seas and deserts
The wild man knows its sound;
And something of the story
That lifts our hearts to-day,
How one heroic handful barred
The old wrong from its way.

When ours it was to struggle,
All good men wished us well;
To them our crownéd conquest
A prophecy did tell:
“That beauteous land doth promise
Joy to the troubled earth,
With welcome wide and peaceful
For all of human worth.”

O friends, we owe this promise
To all the world to-day:
The children of the fathers
Who for our weal did pray;
The tawny-hued Mongolian,
The dusky slave of Ind,
Have had of us an earnest
God's hostel here to find.

Woe worth the day we conquered
If we this pledge forsake,
For greed or wild ambition
A devious record make!
Against the world's injustice
Rings still our battle cry,
America for Freedom!
By this we live or die.—*Julia Ward Howe.*

VIII

RACE PROBLEMS

“God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth.”—Acts 17. 26.

DOUBTLESS the most serious and complicated questions confronting the American people are the race problems. Our types of racial inheritance from other lands are varied and many-colored like the ever-changing figures in a kaleidoscope. While, by the subtle action of climatic and social influence, our racial mixture has, in some localities, gradually melted into a comprehensive and fixed assimilation of American character, yet in other sections amalgamation has been much retarded by a continuous infusion of new blood from mixed types through the channels of foreign immigration, and thence racial differences are marked and well preserved.

The advantages of Anglo-Saxon predominance in our racial evolution may be recognized with a becoming national pride; but the danger and ruin that may come from Anglo-Saxon arrogance, which stigmatizes other races as inferior and which can see no equality and few rights among the Freedmen of

the South or among the people of Cuba, Hawaii, Porto Rico, or the Philippines, should be guarded against and counteracted by a broad and cosmopolitan spirit, which discards race prejudice, which recognizes the good in all races, and honors the equal rights of all people.

Though some races have more genius, more brilliancy of intellect, and more moral sensibility than others, yet the moral betterment and the intellectual elevation of all races bases itself, not on their collective ability as a whole, but upon the base-rock of their individuality. Races are not collective entities, but individual personalities that can be reformed, civilized, educated, and Christianized only by an individual process and on personal principles. It is wrong and unjust in any case to degrade men in our estimation as subject to fixed racial laws which must inevitably doom them to foreordained and hopeless inferiority; but, remembering "that God has made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth," we must regard all people as human beings of equal rights, and honor men as men, individually, according to their personal merits, irrespective of color, race, or nationality. Christian magnanimity certainly has grand opportunities for the promulgation of great and far-reaching reforms by the wise, impartial, and humane solution of the mo-

mentous race problems among the mixed and multi-form population of the great American Republic.

OUR FOREIGN POPULATION

Foreign immigration, which has contributed so much toward our national growth, still brings thousands of people annually from all parts of the world into our country. Hitherto the Anglo-Saxon was so largely the predominant element of the inpouring flood of immigration that assimilation was quick and easy. The main body of the people being of English descent, Puritanism gave its spirit of simplicity and religion to our racial amalgamation, and the love of liberty, intelligence, and progress characterized our national origin and development. But later on, and especially in recent years, a radical change has set in, and other races have been coming into our country; so that aside from the English, also the Germans, the French, the Irish, the Italians, the Poles, the Swedes, the Danes, and Bohemians now constitute a large proportion of our population. But a change of races implies also a change in our institutions, in our politics, in our intelligence, in our religion, and in our customs far-reaching and, in many instances, dangerous to our national welfare and progress.

Now we may regret these changes and their accompanying dangers, as occasioned by the continuous

influx of undesirable racial elements, but we can neither alter the force of circumstances beyond our control nor blame our newcomers for seeking to better their condition by coming to our country. The fact, however, that some restriction upon the coming of foreigners is desirable and necessary as a safeguard to the integrity of our institutions and the welfare of our posterity has been recognized by our legislation on immigration and nationalization in recent years. But such legislation, to be compatible with the American spirit of liberty and good will to all nations, must always be free from all odious discriminations against nationalities or classes. Whatever of restriction or limitation is imposed on the Chinese ought to apply equally to all others, whose coming is not desirable. There are classes of Europeans whose immigration to our country is just as detrimental to our social, our industrial, and our religious interests as the influx of the Mongolian races from Asiatic lands; and the Christian statesmanship of America ought to be sufficient to maintain our cherished doctrine of equal rights and to meet all future necessities of restriction upon foreign immigration or naturalization by enacting laws that shall be honorable to ourselves and satisfactory to all nationalities, because they do not discriminate against races or classes, but apply to individuals on equal conditions.

But what is to be done with the yet un-Christianized and un-Americanized foreigners who are already here and here to stay? Many of them are ignorant, poor, immoral, disorderly, and but half civilized. Some of them, coming from countries where they have had few or no advantages of a Christian civilization and where they have been hardly dealt with, have become narrow and prejudiced in their opinions, and are full of hatred and bitterness against all civil and religious institutions. These, of course, are dangerous classes, and we can never hope to reform or benefit these poor benighted and misguided people by denouncing or suppressing them, or by allowing them to override our institutions of law and order. For the ignorance, intemperance, and barbarism of foreigners, as well as of vicious Americans, there is but one remedy, and that remedy is the Word of God in the Gospel of Christ.

In the great work of reforming and Christianizing our foreign population, Christian citizens, irrespective of religious creed or party affiliations, must co-operate in earnest personal endeavor, vigorously and successfully, to counteract the constant agitation of nihilists, atheists, and infidels who antagonize all religion, denounce the Scriptures, and seek to subvert all faith in divine and holy things. False apprehensions must be removed by Christian teaching;

the people must be enlightened and persuaded to turn from evil and to accept, by faith and personal consecration to God, the Gospel of our coming Lord. Much has already been accomplished. Many have been won over to nobler opinions and better lives by kindness, love, and Christian teaching. Much more remains to be done. Let all Christians realize their duty toward their neighbors and their country's God and then do with all their might what their hands find to do, and the result will go very far toward solving the great problem of the foreign element in America.

OUR NEW RACES

The result of the Spanish-American War has imposed upon us a new national phase of the race problem. Ten millions more of the darker races have been added to the care of the United States, and our assumed responsibility of government for the people in our newly acquired territory places us before the nations of the earth with the obligation of defending our national honor by demonstrating to all the world that in our war with Spain we were actuated by humane motives, and fought to relieve and liberate the oppressed people who have now become a part of our national heritage in order to enjoy with us the securities and benefits of American sovereignty.

Broad-minded, unselfish, and cosmopolitan statesmanship will be in demand to render us equal to the obligations imposed upon us as a nation. The loyal millions of the inhabitants of the conquered islands, recognizing American sovereignty, must be protected both against the invasion of foreign imperialism and the outrages of lawless elements disturbing the peace of the people and defying the authority of law and order. Our sense of liberty and justice, as already manifested in our enforced policy for the establishment of a free and independent government in Cuba, must reassert itself and go with us into our new possessions in the islands of the seas. Our aim must be to civilize and Christianize the people who have come under our national care, and by God's help eventually to make them competent for self-government in the same way that our people at home are qualified for Christian sovereignty and citizenship. Ours being a "government of the people, by the people, and for the people," the right of self-government, as hitherto recognized in our Territories, must also be respected in the islands, and the privilege of Statehood in our Union, or separate independence under American protection, should be granted as soon as the people in question can be safely trusted to govern themselves. Our Territorial government, as now extended over lands under tropic suns in dis-

tant seas, must be free from pecuniary greed, political ambition, or moral degradation, and our methods of reconstruction and pacification, as applied through our administration of sovereignty, should demonstrate to the world that the American people are fully equal to the civil and racial problems confronting them.

Public schools, free, unsectarian, and sufficient for the education of the people, should be established and supported out of the revenues of the islands, and American institutions should be generally introduced to enhance Christian civilization and material progress.

A great work and a long task confronts us in the problem of successfully evangelizing and Americanizing the people of our new territory in the West India and Philippine Islands. The accomplishment of great civil and religious reforms and the uplifting of abused and degenerated races are difficult and require great effort. Sacrifice is the price of success in great undertakings, and progress is usually hampered by opposition. Time, patience, and persevering endeavor have thus far been necessary in every advancement of our Republic, and the forward movement among our new races will doubtless be subject to the same conditions and requirements. Indeed, it would be presump-

tuous to suppose that the people of the islands of those tropic seas should at once throw off the evil habits and usages that have been formed and hardened by centuries of Spanish misrule. At least three fourths of the people of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippine Islands can neither read nor write, many of them are scarcely half civilized, they know practically nothing of God, of home rule, or honest government; and we must not be discouraged, even though it may require several decades of persistent and earnest work on our part, to discharge our national duty in this our new field of labor for God and humanity. Nor should our solution of the mighty problem of civilization resting upon us be further complicated by the mistaken and unworthy doctrine that "we shall lose our own liberties by securing the enduring foundations of liberty to others." As the immortal William McKinley, in his second inaugural address, wisely said: "Our institutions will not deteriorate by extension and our sense of justice will not abate under tropic suns in distant seas. As heretofore, so hereafter will the nation demonstrate its fitness to administer any new estate which events devolve upon it, and in the fear of God will take occasion by the hand and make the bounds of freedom wider yet."

THE AMERICAN INDIAN

"The only good Indian is a dead Indian!" This proverbial saying of Indian haters is replete with animosity, misrepresentation, and fatalism. Prejudiced observers of Indian life, reviewing the sad history of savagery and degeneracy among the Apaches, the Comanches, the Chippewas, the Delawares, the Shawnees, and indeed among Indian tribes generally, have been erroneously led to suppose that Indians were hopelessly bad and were never providentially designed to live civilized lives, but that by the pressure of civilization this entire race, in all its branches, is destined to disappear and pass away entirely within the next few generations.

To the more humane element of those who believe in the eventual extinction of the red man there has never appeared to be any other course left open to the American people, in the solution of this phase of our race problem, than to keep the Indians within the territorial limits of their reservations, and by government aid to supply their animal wants until these poor creatures shall cease to exist. Others, however, repudiate this conception of Indian affairs and entertain a more reasonable and hopeful idea of the red man and his future. Depravity is evidently a sad, threatening reproach among red men, but it is also a reproach among white men. Indeed, much

of the degradation and savagery among the Indians is the fruit of the wickedness and debauchery of the white men, who by the profligacy of frontier life, the fraudulency of perverted government agencies, and the abusiveness of military forces have been the prolific causes of the moral degradation and physical degeneracy of the American Indian. Christian evidences demonstrate that for the common evil of sin there is but one common remedy, and this, irrespective of races or nationalities. And blessed be God for the universal efficiency of the remedy wherever applied. The same Gospel of redemption which converts Caucasian sinners into good white men also converts American savages into good Indians; and this marvel of salvation is accomplished not by eulogies of the dead, but by the virtues of the living—Indians as well as white men—who stand monumental to the powers of saving grace in Christ Jesus. Thus in the light of Gospel dispensations, aside from ethnological principles, the Christian mind observes that the Indian is not a mere animal doomed to extinction, but that he is a human being, a living soul, having a mission and a future in this world and in the world to come.

Over a quarter of a million of our population are Indians, and we find their scattered tribes in Maine, New York, North Carolina, Michigan, Minnesota,

Iowa, Montana, Kansas, Nebraska, Oregon, Washington, North and South Dakota, Colorado, Idaho, Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, Wisconsin, Wyoming, California, Florida, Texas, and the Indian Territory.

Realizing that our original government policy of paternalism, treating with the various tribes as independent sovereignties, granting them reservations and annuities under fixed regulations, has never been satisfactory, inasmuch as such provisions encouraged indolence, dependence, and profligacy, besides impeding the moral betterment, the civilization, and progress of the red race; and perceiving that our primitive methods of adjusting and regulating Indian affairs is no longer expedient, there now appears to be but one solution of our Indian problem, and that is to break up by amicable methods the tribal relations, gradually to withdraw government support, and to put the red man upon the same basis of legal protection and self-support as the white man, besides extending to him, under proper conditions, the same privileges of citizenship.

With this end in view the Indians must be civilized, educated, and guided so that they may, as speedily as possible, become an intelligent, industrious, and self-supporting people, able and willing to obtain their means of subsistence by their own industry,

ready to assume the responsibilities and privileges of citizenship, and eventually to be merged into the general body of the people of our Republic.

Some progress in this direction has been made, and the outlook for the future is promising of ultimate success. The most, however, in the great work of Indian reform remains yet to be done. Until the Indians shall have become civilized and no longer require special guardianship they should still remain under the direct control of the national government. Intrusions by pilfering agents, liquor dealers, and swindlers should be prohibited. Habits of indolence should be counteracted and discarded, labor as an equivalent for support received should be strictly required, and instruction in manual as well as intellectual training should be liberally imparted. A uniform system of licensing and recording of marriages should be introduced and enforced, and at each Indian agency a permanent register of marriages, births, and deaths should be kept for convenience and justice in supervision of allotments. Public schools should be established in all reservations, and a law should be instituted compelling the attendance at school of all Indian youth of school age. Asylums should be established and maintained by the government for the insane; the poor, the orphans, and the blind of the various tribes. The forming of private corpora-

tions, and the issue of bonds by incorporated towns for the maintenance of water works, sewerage, and public institutions in the Indian Territory should be authorized by laws of our Congress. While the government thus does its work among the Indians, let the evangelical Churches, the Christian philanthropists, the benevolent societies, such, for instance, as the Indian Rights Association and other charitable and missionary organizations of the land, fall in line and, recognizing their great opportunities and responsibilities in this home field of labor, lay hold of God's noble work in the redemption and civilization of the American Indian.

THE NEGRO PROBLEM

The fact that there is a Negro problem in the United States is not wholly to our credit as a Christian nation advocating equal rights and liberties to our people. In time, as our civilization advances in the universal extension of our constitutional rights and privileges, irrespective of races or nationalities, this problem will be fully and finally solved, and then the Negro question will no longer be, as it now is, a living and a burning issue in our national politics. Regardless of admitted Caucasian superiority, and despite the bitter prejudice against the much hated doctrine of Negro equality, it must be conceded that

with God, who is no respecter of races or persons, color is not regarded as a badge of inferiority, but industry, intelligence, and virtue are the divinely recognized standards of merit; and equality of rights and privileges of education, of franchise, of business opportunity, and of complete citizenship for both white and colored races is the only true solution of this and all phases of our race problems.

How to accomplish this ideal solution of our race problems is a vital question that touches not only the interests of our colored people, but which also indirectly involves the welfare of our whole country. When, in consideration of the disfranchisements, the lynchings, the stockade horrors, and the general disorders among the Freedmen of our Southern States, we are painfully reminded how far we still are from a solution of the Negro question, and are thus forewarned of the black terror threatening us, then it seems awful to contemplate the fate of our Republic in the event of failure to meet properly our irretrievable responsibilities toward the colored people within our borders. Our national penalty suffered for the sins of slavery should forewarn us of the possible retribution of this issue, which, indeed, seems difficult to solve and is of sufficient complication and magnitude to tax our resources of philanthropy and statesmanship to the utmost.

The Negro problem assumes greater proportions and doubtless engages in a severer way the thought of the country now than it ever did at any time in our history since the stormy days of the abolition movement. Although the result of our civil war gave the Negro his liberty, yet even that awful and bloody conflict could not completely settle our colored race problem. The Negro himself realizes that by his emancipation he has only been thrown into the great struggle of the race course to battle for his place among the races of mankind, and to strive with earnest endeavor to reach the final goal for which the races and nations of the world contend. The blunders and wrongs of political demagogues in the history of the formation period of the Negro question have aggravated the solution of our colored race problem, and we are now in the earnest of the conflict, in the transition period, where danger threatens, where wise leadership must be our guide, and where the best moral, intellectual, and spiritual forces must be vigorously applied to properly meet our obligations and responsibilities toward the claims of God, the demands of our black population, and the necessities of our own national security.

Frederick Douglass in his day deplored the practical defeat of Negro emancipation, and without pessimistically augmenting the woes of the black man in our

time it may be truly said that the Negro's pathway has been rough and trying, his history in our national record is largely a sad story of enslavement, suppression, disfranchisement, and persecution. Rampant Negro hatred declaring the Negro must remain subordinate, that he must be abused, reenslaved,* or driven out of the country breeds violence and disorder so common in localities where our colored population is strong.

Common sense, however, reminds us that Negro suppression and subordination cannot thus go on unabated and indefinitely. As Negro ignorance, stupidity, dependence, and submissiveness pass away by the enlightening and elevating powers of Christian education, moral progress, and practical civilization, his latent manhood will assert itself, his ambition will rise higher, his dignity will declare that superiority and inferiority are not racial but individual characteristics, and his hot African blood will repudiate and resent with vehemence every dictum affirming his subordination and inferiority before other races. Then the sphere of action will be changed from the harm-

* Negro reenslavement, as predicted by the late Robert Toombs in an interview in the *Atlanta Constitution* nearly twenty years ago, is to-day boldly asserted and actually carried out by the infamous peonage system in different sections of the South; a system which is in some respects even more disgraceful than lynching, because it is created and protected by law.

less, inoffensive, thoughtless, unobtrusive Negro submissiveness of to-day into an attitude of open contempt for Caucasian arrogance, and of violent defense, if necessary, in behalf of the constitutional rights and liberties of the American Freedman.

Thus the gravity of the Negro problem threatens an inevitable crisis to the American people, and it would be folly indeed to suppose that the crisis could be averted by Negro suppression or subjugation. The divine Providence which by force of events wrought the Negro's emancipation has evidently also decreed his progress as an important element in the future history of our Republic. That the progress of the American Negro, during the first period succeeding his emancipation, has been slow and difficult is true and quite natural; but the fact remains unquestionable that in spite of the various hostile forces and causes, which for a third of a century have conspired and militated against Negro progress in America, the black race, favored by an uplifting Providence, human and divine, has been continually rising, and is to-day more than ever a progressive element of our population.

The statistics of progress among our colored people from the lowest stratum of ignorance, superstition, and poverty to their present stage of advancement indicate very plainly that their emancipation was not a failure, but was the beginning of a brighter

and more prosperous day and age of the African race in America. Forty years ago the Negroes of the United States were as penniless as paupers; to-day their real estate and personal property is valued at \$700,000,000. Only a third of a century ago our colored people had no land and no homes; to-day they own 150,000 farms and 175,000 homes.

On the day of their emancipation only a very small portion of the Negroes of the South could read Lincoln's proclamation of freedom, to-day 45 per cent can read and write. The rising generation of the Negro race bodes well for intelligence. There are 1,500,000 colored pupils in the public schools, 45,000 students in higher institutions, and 35,000 teachers in educational work.

With such a showing it is easy to see that the condition of the colored people in this country is all that could be expected under the circumstances, and considering the time they have had for the progress made, and knowing that they are doing their share toward producing the wealth of the nation, it is, to say the least, idle and impractical to entertain for a moment, the idea of solving our Negro problem either by continued subjugation of the race, as hitherto in vogue in some parts of the Union, or by exportation of the Negroes to Africa, Cuba, or the Philippines, as has been proposed.

Realizing that the Negro is an important and a permanent element of our population, and perceiving that, after all that has been accomplished, the great work of lifting up our Negro population, now ten millions strong, has in fact only been begun, while the vast field of labor in this part of our Lord's vineyard still lies unexplored before us, it behooves us, as Christian people and American patriots, to seek properly to apply ourselves and to act well our part in the final solution of our Negro problem. Our disposition of this question should be based on Christian principles. America, equal to her mission for God and humanity, should demonstrate to coming ages the practicability of interracial unity and equality, thus creating a new and as yet undiscovered page in the history of the world.

Race prejudice, sectionalism, and partisanship should have no voice in our solution of the Negro problem. The animosities of the civil war and the "reconstruction period" should be forgotten. North and South should not judge too harshly of each other, but remember that both have sinned and consider that racial differences have always and everywhere been difficult of solution. The historic unity of the whole country against a common foe during the late Spanish-American War should reassert itself in the settlement of this momentous question. Press, platform, and

pulpit should not be abused to foster political partisanship and racial prejudice, but should unite to mold public opinion and popular sentiment according to the best interests of the common welfare, irrespective of nationality. Differences of opinion should not necessitate a division of the people on this issue, since all have a common interest in the solution of this and all national problems. The colored people of the land should not widen the breach by bitter denunciations, but seek by amicable and pacifying methods of procedure to win public favor for their race, and to aid materially and substantially in the final disposal of this issue so vital and far-reaching in their own behalf. Surely all sections of the American people should be too great to be small, too magnanimous to be oppressive, too just to perpetrate wrong upon an unfortunate race, but seek, in the fear of God, to make honorable restitution for the sins of human slavery by now and forever making the most of the blood-bought liberty of the American Freedman.

THE JEWISH QUESTION

Jewish ascendancy and the consequent anti-Semitic movement, forming in recent years an exciting feature of social affairs in some countries of Europe, has occasionally assumed some importance in the United States. Out of the entire Jewish population of the

world, variously estimated at from eight to eleven millions, our country's portion would not much exceed one and a half million. Though not numerically strong, the Jews are recognized as God's chosen people, whose wonderful history, occupying two thirds of the Bible, is an authenticated story of ancient prophecies fulfilled, of divine powers manifested, and of heavenly Providences revealed—a remarkable race, which is the marvel of nations and the standing miracle of ages.

The chaplain of Frederick William of Prussia, being requested by his sovereign to furnish in a single sentence a proof of Christianity, replied: "The Jews, your majesty." Well said, indeed! The Jews as God's elect people were heaven's torch-bearers of divine truth for the enlightenment of the world. In their golden age these people, though not strong in numbers, were strong in the Lord and the might of his power, a great and glorious kingdom of commanding importance and influence among the nations of the ancient world. And though the day of apostasy and sad retrocession came in Israel, so that for a time God's light of revelation burned very low, though the Jewish commonwealth has long since passed away, and the sons and daughters of Abraham have been scattered to the four winds of the earth, yet God, in his gracious and marvelous Provi-

dence, has maintained these people, and they are to-day a living evidence of God's truth, not only as manifested in the teachings of Moses and the prophets, but also as incorporated in the precepts and principles of the Gospel of Christ, the King of the Jews. Says Ossian Davis: "In one long stream the Jewish race flowed down through the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Persians, and the Spaniards, without getting lost in those races. How wonderful their vitality and their preservation. The mixed and persecuting races are disappearing and the *persecuted* race remains. The Jew of this century is as much a Jew as old Abraham was. Faces graven on a slab lately exhumed from Nineveh closely resemble the faces we meet with in London to-day." To the skeptical mind there is no solution of this riddle of racial vitality; but to the believer it is apparent from the teachings of the Bible that Israel had been chosen of God for a moral purpose to be realized in human destiny by the establishment and maintenance of the worship of the true and living God, the preservation and application of the divine statutes and ordinances in the Church of God, the recognition of divine authority and the execution of righteousness in civil government, and the entertainment and setting forth of the hope of salvation in Christ as the Saviour of the world. In these things the Jewish people, as a race,

have, to some extent at least, served a purpose; and though, as is only too common in all human obligations, they have fallen far short of their high calling, yet the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob has spared this historic people as monumental to his truth and grace, and by his endurance and mercy they still have a mission and a promise in the final triumph of the Gospel kingdom of our coming Lord.

God's estimation of the Jewish people may be conceived from the prophetic promise vouchsafed unto his chosen nation. In the divine Word we read: "No weapon that is forged against thee shall prosper—though I make a full end of nations whither I have driven thee—yet will I not make a full end of thee. I have chosen thee in the furnace of affliction. Thy seed shall inherit the Gentiles." In the truth of these promises lies the secret of the Jewish vitality. God, though no respecter of persons, as his Word emphatically declares, found it expedient and even necessary for the execution of his great plan of salvation for humanity to grant special promises for the encouragement of the Jewish nation. These divine promises full of hope and cheer were the prophets' antidote against popular despair in the dark days of tribulation, and were the means of inspiring the upright and faithful hearts to action in God's service.

Jewish faith in the promise of divine protection for God's chosen nation has been maintained and strengthened by the occasional striking phenomena of penal retributions that have befallen the persecutors of Israel among the nations. "To oppress the Jews," said Frederick the Great, of Prussia, "has never brought prosperity to any country." Indeed, Jewish persecutors are ill-fated characters in history. The great Rameses of Egypt enslaved them and sought to prevent their departure to their promised land; as a result, his people were cursed by plagues and his army was buried in the Red Sea; Sennacherib assailed them, and his host was smitten by pestilence; Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar outraged Israel's holy things, and both were doomed to downfall and ruin; Antiochus Epiphanes oppressed them, and Crassus plundered their temple, but each in turn came to a miserable and disgraceful end. Nations hostile to the Jewish race have shared the same fate as their sovereigns. Spain, disgraced by her cruelties to the Jews, is to-day a warning evidence of national retribution. Infidels may cry superstition at such citations from history, but believers will recognize a divine Providence in such startling national retributions.

Alas, that Jewish persecution still continues even in Christian lands of the present day. Let us hope that

the anti-Semitic crusade may never stir up social and religious animosities among our people. Anti-Jewish prejudice should have no tolerance in this country. On the basis of religious freedom granted by our National Constitution the Jew has as much right to be an Israelite as the Gentile has to become a Christian. Of course, our Christian Churches have a justifiable mission in seeking by amicable methods to evangelize the Jews, but aside from this antagonism against this race on the common anti-Semitic principles is indefensible. Jewish vices and defects must be condemned, not as racial instincts, but as individual wrongs, which in a great measure may be ascribed to the debasement and oppression that have in many instances warped the conscience and weakened the sense of honor in the Jew.

Many features of the Jewish scramble for wealth must be denounced, but the average Yankee, who in his tricks of trade is quite a match for his Jewish competitor, must not be excused for avarice under the plea that the greed for wealth is a common and deplorable evil in all lands. There is really but little occasion for war between Jew and Gentile on economic grounds in this country, and the anti-Jewish sentiment, therefore, rarely takes an acute form in the United States.

Americans see that Jewish energy has contributed

much to our country's wealth, and that Jewish charity has also been a very important factor in many lines of beneficial work. Nor should we condemn the Jew for his zeal for Zionism, but pardon the Israelite's love for the land of his fathers under the plea that this peculiar race still has an important and a wonderful mission in the future dispensations of God among men.

INDUSTRIAL SOLUTIONS

RISE ON THE SHADOWED NATIONS

Rise on the shadowed nations,
O Sun of Righteousness!
With heavenly revelations
The sin-worn people bless!
Break with thy radiant splendor,
O glory of our God,
With light divine and tender,
O'er every land abroad.

O Christ, our sky is lighted
With beams that fall from thee;
Rise thou on souls benighted,
Thy light let all men see.
Stay not for heathen blindness,
Stay not for unbelief!
Come, in thy love and kindness,
And bring the world relief!

Send heralds swift before thee,—
Men who have seen the King;
Those who will show thy glory,
And joyous tidings bring.
The Church, thy love confessing,
Be filled with holy zeal
To speak the words of blessing,
To seek, to save, to heal!

Let her, in faith victorious,
Subdue earth's sin and pain;
Prepare the way all-glorious
For thy most blessed reign.
Desire of every nation,
Come in thy love and might;
Bring in the great salvation,
The world-wide reign of Light!

—*Mrs. Merrill E. Gates.*

IX

INDUSTRIAL SOLUTIONS

“All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.”—Matt. 7. 12.

TWO men passed through the wards of a great hospital.* Both were visitors and made intent observations. Both were directed by the same guide and reviewed the same scenes, yet their distinctive impressions were entirely different.

Said one of them: “I am thrilled with horror over what I have seen and heard. That hospital is a place of sighs and tears and groans. I cannot banish from my memory the spectacle of the little children, the cripples, the consumptives, and the other distressing sights which we witnessed in the surgical ward. The glitter of the surgeon’s scalpel flashes even now before my eyes with dreadful effect. I can never go there again. It is a horrible place.”

Said the other: “I have quite another impression of the hospital from that which has horrified you. I saw all the painful things that you did, and I am as easily affected by human suffering. But, for the time,

* For the above illustration the writer gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to the New York *Christian Advocate*.

I lost sight of everything except the provisions which medical and surgical skill, prompted and supplemented by the humanitarianism of the Gospel, has made for the alleviation of pain, the relief of the crippled, and the healing of the sick. As I saw the nurses and the physicians moving through the midst of the patients, I could not help thinking of the great Physician of Galilee, who himself took our infirmities and bore our diseases. In fancy I could see him once more on the earth, surrounded as he used to be, with a great company of sick people, hearing their appeals, speaking words of cheer to them, and healing all their diseases. My heart throbbed with gratitude as I reflected that we are blessed in our day with speedy, painless, and effective methods of medication and surgical treatment, such as our fathers never dreamed of. My visit to the hospital inspires within my heart a spirit of gratitude for the wonderful things which medicine, surgery, skilled nursing, anæsthetics, and aseptic treatment have combined to do for all manner of human ills."

Such a diversity of opinion is quite natural and reminds us forcibly of the striking contrast between the pessimistic and optimistic observations concerning the status of society in the industrial world of to-day. Appropriating and misappropriating the advantages we enjoy for the study of social and

industrial issues, would-be social reformers, with reason and without reason, are reviewing this great "hospital world" of ours and are passing all manner of diverse and conflicting opinions and judgments on the rights and wrongs of our capital and labor problems, and cognate issues.

Pessimists and demagogues declare: "The world is wrong and growing worse. Plutocracy is king and civilization is a failure. Our economic system is simply a game of the big fish swallowing up the little fish. The country is in the grasp of soulless autocrats, who through gigantic trusts control the wealth of the land, and as a result the rich are growing richer and the poor are growing poorer. The working men and women are already being trodden under foot by those who have wealth, and with the present tendencies toward the centralization of wealth things will grow rapidly from bad to worse, and soon our much boasted liberty will be a farce, inasmuch as the great mass of our population will become more and more dependent upon the capitalists, and will eventually be hopelessly doomed to serfdom and practical slavery. Surely the machinery of the industrial and economic world is unhinged, and everything is hurrying to destruction. Sorrow, want, crime, greed, vice, and disease are rampant everywhere. Indeed, one hears nothing but groans, sees nothing but misery, feels

nothing but despair, and life is scarcely worth living in this horrible world."

While such pessimistic language by those who have unfortunately grown sour and unappreciative, by becoming absorbed with one-sided views of human wrongs and woes, is a sad reflection, it is indeed a pleasing thought to know that by viewing our industrial and economic systems from a more enlightened and optimistic standpoint this selfsame world appears in a much happier aspect and prospect.

The Christian optimist, believing in a divine Providence, which counteracts and overrules the works of the Devil, proclaims a Gospel of good cheer and hopeful encouragement, saying: "This world is not all wrong nor is it hopelessly doomed to grow worse. True it is that there are real and intelligent reasons for tremulous anxiety about our capital and labor problems, and that certain phases of our industrial and commercial life are of sufficient gravity to command the most serious contemplation and the promptest action, yet when we compare our past industrial history with the present we see no special occasion for hysteric alarm. Plutocracy has not yet and never will be enthroned in the United States, and our civilization compares favorably with that of the best nations of the world. While it is true that, as a rule, the rich are growing richer, it is not shown,

by statistical evidence, that the poor, on the whole, are growing poorer. It is not true that the masses of our labor population are living in penury and hunger, with the gloomy prospect of eventual serfdom or slavery. The poor we shall always have among us, as the Saviour, who honored poverty by embracing it himself, has declared; but observation shows that most of our laboring people are living in tolerable and enjoyable circumstances. Reliable statistical evidence has proven beyond a doubt that the wages of labor have risen greatly in recent years and are still rising. The laboring man of to-day is much better off than was the wage earner of one or two hundred years ago. The common people of to-day have better chances than ever before enjoyed. They have larger popular franchises, ampler educational opportunities, more comfortable homes, more books, better current literature, and better religious advantages than our forefathers enjoyed. Altogether, reviewing the accomplishments of the past, the achievements of the present, and the prospects for the future, the American laborer, as well as the capitalist, has much occasion for gratitude to God for prosperity and progress."

Whether or not the pessimistic or the optimistic view of the world is the better and more becoming state of mind for noble enterprise and successful work in the solution of great issues it is scarcely necessary to say,

but it may not be superfluous to remark that there is much needless hysteria in the cry of alarm connected with the many present-day theories and solutions of our social and industrial problems. Of course, we are not without occasion for work and worry over living issues on social and industrial lines. Every age has its dark, as well as its bright side, and might, as Professor A. W. Small, of Chicago University, remarks, find use for a Jeremiah or two, but doubtless he is also correct in saying: "The truer note for every age, however, is that of Isaiah—the Isaiah who saw the evils, but who also foresaw the way of remedy, and did his bravest to make it a beaten path." But that our modern reformers are not all of the Isaiah stamp, and that there is much fakery and bombastic humbug in their alarming and revolutionary accusations against the present order of things is apparent, not only from the vagueness of their pessimistic harangue of teaching and from the ridiculous and impossible reforms, by which they propose to affect a "new redemption" in the present social and industrial world, but this is also evident from actual facts in our continued and indisputable prosperity and progress, speaking a louder and truer language than is contained in the current social theories of the Anarchism, Bellamyism, Communism, Georgeism, Knights of Labor schemes, Nationalism, German Socialism, Christian Apostolate revolutions,

and all the so-called Christian Socialism of the self-professed martyrs and saviours of poor dependent and down-trodden humanity.

While true Christian Socialism is a good thing, and enjoys the support of the best men and women in Europe and America, yet we all know that much in the so-called Christian Socialism of our day is not Christian but diabolic in spirit and purpose, inasmuch as it engenders envy, jealousy, and strife in both Church and State, contrary to the peace of society and the spirit of the Christian religion. This kind of socialism is known and condemned by its fruits. It has never had any well-defined influence for good in the past, and, under the irrepressible light of progressive truth which is mightier than diabolic falsehood, it will fail to maintain an existence of its own in the future.

Pure, unadulterated Christian Socialism, however, deserves to live and, as already indicated by the many noble reforms now actually in progress, will doubtless accomplish an important mission in our industrial future. This kind of socialism, actuated by motives of peace and good will to all mankind, is to-day inciting our best people in all parts of the country to a serious study and to earnest endeavor in the solution of our industrial problem on the established principles of practical altruism and Christian brotherhood.

OUR INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM

Capital and labor are prime factors in our industrial problem. Capital is the product and representative of labor, and labor is God's law of life and progress. In this world of work both God and man must labor to accomplish the designs of Providence. God's providence is manifest not only in the achievements of religious progress but just as well also in the achievements of useful and honest industry. Both capital and labor are sacred and should be utilized in doing the world's work for the upbuilding of Christ's kingdom and the promotion of his glory among men on earth. If all men could maintain this view of capital and labor and be persuaded to make a proper consecration of themselves to God and his service, then there would be no difference or strife between employer and employee, and there would really be no industrial problem in the present sense of the word. But because men differ in their perverted opinions of what they have and what they do, and because many are neither reasonable nor righteous in their motives and relations toward each other, therefore we have an industrial problem which has come down to us as an old landmark of inheritance from our forefathers and which in the peculiar vitality of its bearings bodes well to remain a living issue in future generations.

This is the problem of the ages. From the earliest

dawn of civilization up to the opening of the twentieth century the struggle for social equality and industrial fraternalism has been a continuous problem. This problem was the bone of contention between the slaves and the masters in the realms of Persia and Greece, between the plebeians and the patricians of the Roman empire, between the serfs and the knights of the Middle Ages, and in our own day and age the struggle goes on between the laborers and capitalists. Philosophers, statesmen, economists, and philanthropists in all ages have labored to solve this problem. Our country, on the birth of her independence, solved one phase of this problem over a century ago, and, on the emancipation of our slaves, another phase of this problem was solved over forty years ago. Though some progress has thus been made, yet certain phases of this problem remain still unsolved and the long-sought-for Utopia of the coming golden age has not yet been realized.

Progress only brings about new conditions of life, new environments of men, new labors of enterprise, and new theories of reform, but in fact the old social problem, though reconstructed by new phases of social relations, still remains, and Dr. Small is doubtless correct in saying: "There is no social problem to-day which has not been in principle the problem of every day since men appeared on the earth." Hence, we must

not be discouraged if this problem will not down, but let us rather rejoice over the divinely inwrought immortality of this continuous struggle upward and onward toward the final goal of equality and brotherhood. Let both laborers and capitalists cooperate in settling all their differences, according to the precepts and principles of the Golden Rule, and let all, in the fear of God, aim for righteousness, peace, and good will among men.

PREVAILING CONDITIONS

Though the lot of the laboring class of our people compares favorably with that of other countries, yet it is universally conceded that our economic conditions are wrong in many respects. While a few, by an adroit use of the money-getting advantages enjoyed, are accumulating large fortunes, which run into the hundreds of millions, many of our laboring people are oppressed by poverty and are exposed to the ravages of want. Many are not fairly remunerated for the labors which they perform, while thousands are unemployed. Poverty and idleness, thus generated, breed misery, moral degradation, and crime among the people. Machinery, introduced in all branches of industry, has rendered capital more and more independent of labor, and the result is a dearth of employment, and an unfair distribution of the wealth produced

by the living industries of the country. Differences of advantages between capital and labor engaged in mechanical enterprise have generated a feeling of estrangement between employees and employers and an unwholesome stratification of society, which by the occasional upheavals of industrial warfare through the riotous disorders of strikes and boycotts have disgraced our fair civilization with humiliating scenes of violence and barbarism. That such economic conditions are wrong and far beneath the true ideal of wholesome industrial life in a great Christian Republic is self-evident. Certainly there should be no unfriendly differences between our working and capitalistic classes. Both the common laborer and the moneyed employer should stand upon an equal basis of rights before the laws and business usages of the land. Machinery, the blessed fruit of inventive genius, should not be misapplied to monopolize the power of capital over labor, but should be utilized to lessen the burdens of toil and enhance the productiveness of all branches of useful industry. Shrewd, unprincipled capitalists should not be allowed to fatten on the lifeblood of the laboring people who are the bone and sinew of the land. Blue-blooded plutocrats should not be permitted to centralize the wealth of the land into a tyrannous plutocracy that would sound the death knell of our national democracy. Nor should the in-

dustrial toilers of the nation be suffered to drift into a condition of practical servitude that would disgrace our boast of American equality and liberty; but the God-given fruits of honest toil should be distributed in accordance with the laborers' industry, ability, and actual worth as related to the capital invested in the production of industrial commodities.

REMEDIAL METHODS

Though all are everywhere agreed that prevailing conditions in our social system are wrong, yet opinions differ as to the causes of what *is* wrong. Here the contention over our industrial problem begins. All know that "Poverty ails the world," but we are not agreed as to what causes poverty and how it can be remedied. Atheistic socialists contend that the cause of poverty is attributable to our social conditions and that it can be remedied only by a complete and wholesome renovation of our "social system." But Christian reformers and political economists, though admitting that much in our social system is wrong, urge that *sin* in the individual man is the fountain of all social wrongness, and that accordingly our social malady must be remedied not only from *without*, by a renovation of our social system, but mainly from *within* by a radical reconstruction of the *individual man* as a member and component part of our social system.

The causes of poverty, as enumerated by Dr. William A. Quayle in his book on *Current Social Theories*, are: 1. Intemperance; 2. Crime; 3. Dishonesty (noncriminal from the standpoint of law, but causing poverty in creating an inability to secure credit); 4. Shiftlessness, including a roving disposition; 5. Laziness; 6. Extravagance (disposition to live up to the limit of income rather than under that limit); 7. Improvidence, which while apparently included under extravagance, differs sufficiently to justify a separate head; 8. Incompetency in workmanship, which throws the worker out of employment; 9. Misfortune.

Now, it will be seen by a glance at the above enumeration, which is doubtless reasonably exhaustive, that the first eight of these causes originate with individuals and that the ninth element alone can be properly attributed to our social system. Thus it is plain that, while there are some people who are worthily and unavoidably poor, yet, by a fair estimate, the main bulk, perhaps ninety-nine per cent, of the world's poverty is attributable not to the misfortunes of our social system but to the wrongs of individual causes. Accordingly, the malady is interior and requires an individual remedy more drastic than any theory of social reform.

The four leading methods of suggested social and

industrial reform are: Nihilism, Communism, Paternalism, Christian Individualism.

Nihilism.—Nihilism is of Russian origin. Previous to 1878 Nihilism contented itself with orderly socialistic agitations, but from the year named to the present date its revolutionary endeavors have been characterized by violence and bloodshed. Its recruits have been gathered from every social grade, alike from the nobles and peasants of the land of its nativity; and now the spirit of Nihilism appears to have permeated every stratum of Russian society. Its growth, however, has not been confined to the imperial realm of the Czar alone, and to-day we find more or less of Nihilism in all lands, and it is as violent and diabolic in America, where individuals have equal rights, as in Russia, where the rights of the individual are overruled and ignored. Nihilism is maddened individual supremacy. Its aim is annihilation, disorder, and ruin under the guise of bringing about a new social creation in a coming golden age. This social monster of annihilation, though influenced by environments, is bred and born, not of conditions or circumstances, but of character that is as Satanic as it is real and ruinous.

Communism.—Communism is that branch of socialism which sacrifices individual interests for the common welfare, in a greater or less degree, and which

in its most radical form adheres to the tenet: "Nobody own anything, everybody own everything." In the book of Acts we read of a pure operative Christian commune in the first Church at Jerusalem, where all sold their goods and lived in common. This community of goods as practically in vogue during the first few weeks or months of that society was, however, never instituted by Christ himself as a permanent thing; but it was only a temporary apostolic arrangement pertaining to the mother Church and was not compulsory. Ananias and Sapphira were not compelled to sell their goods, nor were they punished for retaining a part of what they had sold, but for lying. As the Christian societies grew larger and more numerous, Communism became impractical and was abandoned. Individual possession of property is not forbidden by our Lord, but is declared by him to be a stewardship, for the administration of which each possessor is personally accountable to God.

Communisms, as instituted at Plymouth, Jamestown, and other places in modern times have all failed. Their failure was inevitable. Absolute and equal division of property among persons who differ not only in their needs but also in their intellectual, industrial, and moral capacities is both un-Christian and impractical. Experience teaches that the equal sharers in the wealth of to-day would be the unequal

possessors and bankrupts of to-morrow. Absolute equality on communistic principles is impossible and, therefore, entirely outside of the question of practical economics. Nor is the partial Communism proposed by the single tax and land confiscation schemes of Henry George and others to be considered as, in any sense, a wise, a just, or even by any means a possible solution of our social or industrial problem. Henry-Georgeism, replete as it is with misconception and false logic, grossly overrates the magic properties of the remedies it proposes, and in the light of Christian liberty, justice, and reason stands self-evidently condemned and doomed to failure.

Paternalism.—Communism being abandoned as a failure, and the compulsory socialism of Europe being discarded as inapplicable to American industrial life and enterprise, voluntary socialism as applied through the ownership and conduct of industry by the State has been advocated and set forth as the kind of socialism America needs. To some this seems to be a very plausible and happy solution of our industrial problem. The government is to own what are conveniently termed "public rights," such as lands, mines, forests, railways, telegraph and telephone lines, street railways, rivers, canals, harbors, municipal water works, light plants, public schools, and currency or moneys, and operate them immediately

by the people and for the people, to whom all the profits shall accrue. This means national Paternalism, an economic system by which the government is deified into a great common fatherhood providing for everybody as a child is cared for by its parent. By such a system it is proposed to liberate the people from the "tyranny of trusts," and the "slavery of corporations," to avert the disorders of abominable strikes, and bring about the long-sought economic ideal of industrial equality, peace, and prosperity.

This gospel of Paternalism sounds well in socialistic oratory and reads smoothly in Utopian literature, but in fact it would hardly be worth the cost of an experiment to realize that in practice such a system would be incompatible with the spirit and genius of American institutions, and would not work with any degree of satisfaction to those who appreciate the importance and dignity of God-given individualism. Of course, the advocates of Paternalism do not explain how the government could get possession and control of all these properties termed "public rights" without saddling upon the American people a hazardous multibillion-dollar national debt many times larger than that of the worst debt-ridden nation of the Old World, nor do they demonstrate intelligently the propriety and consistency of seeking to abolish private corporations, that can be legally controlled

and whose industrial enterprises have been a benediction to our progress and civilization, by transforming the national government into a gigantic monopoly, against which there is no appeal save revolution—and which is meant in its last and consummate stages to swallow up all the individual enterprises of the land.

Paternalism, as applied in European countries, demonstrates that State ownership and control does not abolish poverty by cheapening the necessities of life; it ignores the desire of individual possession; it stifles personal enterprise; it reduces the laborer to the condition of a soldier under military law, and in case of any personal grievance leaves him without recourse for the adjustment of inflicted wrongs; and, last but not least, in a republican form of government it breeds a political corruption that is hazardous and contemptible. In the face of much government ownership in Europe the Italian Railroad Commission, after accumulating an immense mass of information by a careful and exhaustive investigation, requiring three years of time, declared that it was not expedient for the State to run railways for three main reasons: 1. Private companies can give better and cheaper service than the State; 2. State management is more costly than private management; 3. The political dangers would be very great.

Paternalism in America, where people believe in the largest personal liberty consistent with public order and the general welfare of the nation, would be even less satisfactory than it is in the monarchies of Europe where the people believe in the "divine right" of kings and where the government consists largely in the will of the sovereign. True American statesmanship will never resort to Paternalism for a solution of our industrial problem. President Grover Cleveland, in his second inaugural address, wisely said: "Paternalism is the ban of republican institutions and the constant peril of our government by the people. It degrades to the purposes of craft the plan of rule our fathers established and bequeathed to us as an object of our love and veneration. It perverts the patriotic sentiment of our countrymen and tempts to a pitiful calculation of the sordid gain to be derived from their government's maintenance. It undermines the self-reliance of our people and substitutes in its place dependence upon governmental favoritism. It stifles the spirit of true Americanism and stupefies every ennobling trait of American citizenship. The lessons of Paternalism ought to be learned, and the better lesson taught that, while the people should patriotically and cheerfully support their government, its functions do not include support to the people."

Christian Individualism.—The last here named of

the four leading methods of industrial reform is first in importance. In our government of the people, by the people, for the people, Individualism is a sovereign power both in our national life and in our industrial progress. The regeneration of the individual on Christian precepts and principles is therefore essential and fundamental in our social and industrial reform. "We must be born again," applies primarily to the individual, but where this doctrine of our Lord is experimentally carried out and true religion becomes vitalized and exemplified in the Christian lives and characters of our American manhood and womanhood, there the true philosophy of our social amelioration and the whole secret of a proper and successful solution of our industrial problem have been conceived and realized in miniature. Christian Individualism exemplifying, in model characters, the highest type of true manhood and womanhood demonstrates to the world that godliness is profitable in all things and wields a pacifying and progressive power in the successful solution of the trying problems connected with industrial life and enterprise.

What Nihilism, Communism, and Paternalism must inevitably fail to do will be accomplished by Christian Individualism in our industrial progress. Individualism, vitalized and made potent by the shields of Christian organization maintaining order, and secur-

ing permanence and peace, has been the mighty propelling power in our country's history, in winning our freedom, in overthrowing error, in forbidding wrong, in accomplishing reform, in supplying the energizing forces of government, and it will doubtless be, in the future as it has been in the past, the great invincible and advancing power in our industrial progress.

APPLIED CHRISTIANITY

Though Christianity does not teach Nihilism, Communism, and Paternalism, or other fads of modern socialism, yet it does magnify Christian Individualism. Christ himself was ideal Individualism exemplified, and this not only in the personality of his nature but also in the dispensations of his ministry, including not only the multitudes but also the individuals who were the happy recipients of his marvelous bounties and his heavenly benedictions. Indeed, many of his sweetest and most important messages and the great majority of his miracles were his direct attentions given to individuals, including even the poorest, the weakest, and meanest of mankind, demonstrating to all the world and for all time to come that God is not a respecter of classes, high or low, and that divine Providence, as well as human responsibility, is direct and personal in the purest and strongest sense of Individualism.

While the Saviour's Gospel is not, and does not contain, a treatise on political economy, and though Christ, once for all times, sternly refused to comply when urged to settle a property dispute between two brothers, yet Christianity is not by any means left without Gospel teaching pertaining to capital and labor and the solution of industrial issues. In the New Testament self-denial is set forth as a cardinal virtue, diligence in business is specifically enjoined, mammonism is emphatically forbidden, violation of the rights of property is condemned, servants are instructed to discharge their duties faithfully, "not with eyeservice, as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart," and employers are commanded to treat their employees "no longer as servants, but as brethren beloved."

Christianity enlightens and spiritualizes man's understanding. It teaches plainly, as human experience reiterates, that a man's real happiness does not depend upon the abundance of earthly things possessed, and that an equal distribution of wealth would not bring about the promised millennium of industrial peace, contentment, and happiness, as proclaimed by modern socialism. In the light of Gospel intelligence it is easily and clearly perceivable that neither riches nor poverty are to be necessarily regarded as vices or virtues, and that the unwholesome extreme

or abuse of the one may be as prolific of misery and ruin as would be the abuse or extreme of the other. Indeed, the Gospel indicates very plainly that wealth may be the greater snare to the soul, since "it is hard for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven."

That the majority of our American people, though happy, healthy, and comfortable, in only tolerable living circumstances—in other words—that in our time and in our country, as in all ages and in all lands, the few are rich and the many are poor, may be, and doubtless is, a blessing in disguise. Says Dr. William A. Quayle: "Poverty is healthy, and supplies the centuries with poets, painters, philosophers, statesmen, orators, preachers, inventors; indeed, all but the whole of human genius. To vilify the condition from which the world's betterment has sprung would be captious at least, and foolish at worst. Poverty makes nothing against usefulness, goodness, worth, and happiness, and is not, therefore, to be accounted an evil. People do not commiserate the rich, should not commiserate the poor, and need only to commiserate the ranks of penury."

Applied Christianity in the industrial world dignifies labor. Alas, that the mistaken idea of ancient heathendom discarding labor as a disgraceful drudgery akin to slavery still survives and lives in the benighted

misconception of those who look upon honest toil not as a blessing but as a curse, and who shirk the duties and privileges of even honorable and profitable employment because they erroneously suppose manual labor beneath their dignity and standing in society. Counteracting this idle fancy, which from the days of Aristotle to modern times has been prolific of so much unwholesome shame and misery, Christ, the Son of God and King of kings, dignified labor by exalting it to a nobler estimation in enlightened opinion. Our Saviour, who by choice might have been as rich as Dives, identified himself with the common people. He himself labored at the carpenter's bench. His chosen disciples were from among the laboring class. All his associates and first Church members were working people, and his whole life and teachings tended to elevate and bless laboring humanity. Thus in the Gospel dispensation labor is no longer an evil burden to be despised, no humiliating drudgery of which to be ashamed, but, in its true estimate, a noble calling which is an honor and a blessing before God and men.

Christianity not only dignifies labor, but it also proclaims the royalty of service through the practical application of the Saviour's decree that "he who would be greatest among men must be the servant of all." This law of service, however, is universal

and applies not only to the sons and daughters of daily toil, but alike, and, indeed in a much higher and more obligatory sense, to the capitalists of all Christendom, because their capacity for service is much greater and more powerful for usefulness to God and humanity. The Christian capitalist living up to this law of Christ finds in happy experience that not selfish gain but faithful service in true evangelical humanitarianism brings in return the richest and most enduring reward. Thus by service, through helping others, he invests in men instead of things, securing thereby unto himself an instrumental relationship in the advancement of Christ's kingdom, an eternal revenue of reward far more enriching and enduring than ownership in material wealth could be.

It is gratifying, indeed, to know that with the spread of Christianity among the people this spirit of service is spreading, and is teaching men and women everywhere that not gain but sacrifice, not selfishness but love, not mammon but usefulness, not ease but activity, not the nobility of wealth but the nobility of character is the true ideal and mission of a successful Christian life. True Christianity thus applied to both capitalists and laborers will banish strife from the industrial arena and bring men together in a becoming and an abiding spirit of cooperation and fraternalism.

COMBINATIVE TENDENCIES

The tendency toward organization and combination in the industrial and commercial world is a remarkable characteristic of our times. Prevailing social tendencies and business expediency have incited and wrought a union of forces, both of capital and labor.

Under the competitive system, in the days of our forefathers, when the labor of manufacture was done by hand and when commerce was limited to individual enterprise, there was little occasion for the combination of either capital or labor. Competition then had full sway, and was either a blessing or a curse. Every man stood on an equal basis of industrial freedom, and enjoyed comparatively equal chances of business success. Both employers and employees were independent of allied influences and stood in direct individual relations toward each other. In those "good old times" there were no "trusts" or "combines" to monopolize business or to rob society, and no labor "organizations" or "unions" to paralyze commerce or to disgrace civilization with riotous strikes.

But the invention of machinery for all kinds of labor, the multiplication of public carriers for rapid transit, and the vast increase of all lines of manufacture, agriculture, and commerce have brought about great changes, and have reversed the condition of

things in the industrial world. The productive capacity of manufacturing industries has been increased a thousandfold, and commercial enterprises have been extended and augmented to gigantic proportions. Capital has gained a commanding prestige over labor, wage-earning individuality has been largely discounted, and single-handed competitors with small means have been driven from the race for wealth.

This new condition of things has disturbed the industrial peace of society, has raised the temperature of the battle for bread and gain to a white heat, and has naturally brought both capital and labor into masses and combinations. Workmen, seeing their individuality practically destroyed, and knowing that without combined action they would be absolutely helpless against the encroachments of organized capital, naturally resorted to organization and union. On the other hand, the investor, seeing himself involved in a double conflict, with strong competition for markets on the one side and powerful labor unions on the other, found himself unable to carry on the battle single-handed, and hence resorted, first to partnerships and corporations, and finally to combinations and trusts.

Now it would be idle to overlook the natural causes and forces of circumstances leading to and generating these combinative tendencies; and certainly it would

be misguided pessimism to decry unequivocally all organization, of capital or labor, as the mere outgrowth of moral retrogression, commercial greed, and unblushing mammonism, now threatening the country with financial vampirism, economic despotism, and political ruin. Though much in the combinative tendencies of to-day is both unrighteous and unwholesome, yet not all of our economic system is necessarily of evil, but much in the organizations of investors and workmen for mutual protection and improvement is unquestionably legitimate and beneficial, not only to capitalists and laborers but also to the general industrial and commercial interests of the people.

Organization, where properly conducted, does not necessitate the annihilation of individualism nor the sacrifice of liberty, but in its legitimate sphere it may mean and does accomplish the betterment of economic conditions, the increase of personal usefulness, the promotion of industrial progress, and the securement of human comfort and happiness. "That," says Henry King, "is the difference between freedom and slavery, independence and servility. The tendency of organization on the part of any element of society is to stimulate its self-respect, to concentrate its energies, and to make it more effective. It is easy to understand from the reading of history that all important results have been accomplished by associated effort,

by the combination and cooperation of men having a common interest and seeking a common object. This fact is exemplified in the annals of military conquest, of political progress, of religious development, of material prosperity. Every great man has been a great organizer, carrying out his designs by enlisting a large number of people in the service of a given cause or movement. The whole wonderful story of civilization, in short, is a series of illustrations of the power of aggregations, as distinguished from individualities, of united endeavor in contrast with strictly personal exertion."

The material benefits of organization, both in behalf of capital and labor, are indisputable. Organization destroys unhealthy competition, it commands a recognition of rights, it wields social and political influence, it curtails the expenses of manufacture, it regulates the output and the sale of commodities, it protects mutual interests, and, where the stock books of the corporation are open to the employee as well as to the employer, and laboring men become investors, the great interests of labor and of capital become united in a state of mutual ownership and cooperation. Thus organization is a good thing and serves a beneficent purpose.

But even a good thing may be abused and transformed from a blessing into a curse. Though organ-

ization and combination is, within certain restrictions, a good thing, yet, under conditions where the union and cooperation of either capital or labor, or of both, combined, is flagrantly abused to rob and tyrannize the people, there the "union," the "trust," or the "combine," whatever may be its name, becomes a menace to society and a dangerous threat upon industrial peace and individual enterprise. The objections to combinations or trusts, either of capital or labor, are that they create monopoly, they deprive society of the advantages of competition, and concentrate dangerous powers in the hands of a few men as officers and managers of corporations. Organization, if abused, is fatal to individualism and single-handed enterprise. It robs the poor man of business opportunities; it groups men together in masses to be dealt with collectively as mere numbers or commodities; it reduces the laborer to the flesh and blood functions of an animal or a machine, and generates hatred and strife between the capitalists and the laboring classes.

Certainly these evils in our combinative tendencies must be recognized and counteracted. How and how *not* to deal with trusts and corporations is and doubtless *will* continue to be a much debatable question that shall tax the wisdom and skill of our best statesmanship in coming time; but society's *right* and *ability*

to control such combinations cannot be gainsaid, and surely we cannot afford to allow organization to crush our independence, energy, and manhood, by completely abolishing or paralyzing single-handed effort and personal enterprise. Trusts, whether of capital or labor, must not be allowed to control our courts, to govern our legislation, to quash our industrial freedom, nor to override our institutions of law and order. While our past is beyond recall and tears of repentance cannot wash away our stains, yet our wrongs must be righted and our future republicanism must, irrespective of political creeds or partisan interests, brave the conflict between monopoly and private enterprise by demanding that neither individualism nor organization shall be unduly exalted or empowered, but that both contending forces, having a mission in our civilization, shall be restrained and punished in their wrongs, as well as encouraged and protected in their rights.

OUR INDUSTRIAL FUTURE

Carnal security is dangerous and unbecoming for nations as well as individuals, and political wisdom and foresight will command vigilance and precaution against the perils of monopoly and organization.

But whatever may be our future policy toward organization and capitalization, as shall be manifested

in the amendment of our corporation statutes, and the new restrictions upon our present system of capitalist production, we shall always remember that both organized labor and incorporated wealth, though sometimes abused to evil purposes, are and always will be potent and indispensable factors in our industrial progress and civilization. To seek to destroy organization or to abolish capitalization would be the height of political folly, for in the future, as in the past, we shall need to utilize and apply both the powers of capitalized wealth and organized labor in the development of our industrial resources, in the extension of our commerce, and in the promulgation of our civilization.

There is no immediate occasion for pessimistic alarm over our prospective industrial future. Our present prosperity, resulting partly from the advantages inherited from our fathers and partly from our industrial developments blessed of God, bodes hopefully for our coming advancement. Both capital and labor, though never fully satisfied, have much occasion for satisfaction and gratitude.

The prevalence of harmony and good will as manifested in the humanitarianism shown in the reduction of pauperism, and in the securing of help for the unemployed, are hopeful signs of our times. Moreover, the experiment of voluntary cooperation and profit-

sharing as introduced by some of our leading industries, showing the advantages of mutual benefit between capital and labor, has brought forth a new and very important factor in the future solution of our industrial problem.

Organization of both capital and labor encourage and facilitate conciliation, and with the growing and universal desire for peace and harmony the doctrine of arbitration, supplemented by New Zealand's successful demonstration, that the disorder and violence of strikes can be abolished, is rapidly winning favor, and from present indications, permanent peace by arbitration between the two great contending forces, capital and labor, is one of the practical certainties of our industrial future.

GOD IN OUR INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM

God's dealings with his people in bygone ages teach us very distinctly that in the solution of our industrial problem we must not limit ourselves exclusively to mere secular conditions or human agencies. We say: "Man is the architect of his own fortune," and ascribe economic conditions solely to the potency of material agencies and influences. We speak of good and bad, or of hard and prosperous times, and name their various causes. The supply of profitable employment, the amount of money in

circulation, the condition of the banks, public faith, tariff legislation, the values of stocks, the monopoly of trusts, the prestige of labor organizations, these, and many other things, are material agencies affecting our times. Recognizing the potency of these various elements, as related to our economic system, we apply ourselves to the solution of our industrial problem, seeking by political agitation, by enforcement of reformatory measures, by legislative enactments, and by the control of industrial and capitalistic corporations, to evade the financial disasters of threatening panics, and to restore public confidence and business enterprise. Yet, after all, we fail to prevent the reoccurrence of the hard times, the business depressions, and the panics that overcome us, and often we are all in a quandary as to their cause and cure.

Here we may learn something from the holy prophets of old—some of the wisest and best men the world ever saw. They looked beyond material forces and human agencies. They recognized the sovereignty of God behind all times, good or bad. They attributed the evils of the hard times befalling the people, not to their defective financial system, but to the divinely inflicted retributions on account of the sinfulness of sin, and proclaimed righteousness as the only safeguard against national ruin—a great moral

principle as fundamental in national prosperity to-day as it was three thousand years ago.

God still reigns. He is the one great sovereign power whose retributive justice can never be defeated or debased by national politics or economic systems, and we, as a people, at all times, in all things—and especially in our solution of our industrial problem—will do well to study the relation of God to nations and national sins. On God's favor and blessing depends our national destiny in all coming time. If we violate his laws and reject the rulership of his Son, in our departments of government or in our industrial systems, he will smite us like a potter's vessel, as he has smitten other fallen nations by judgments inflicted for their sins. "These," says Bishop Warren, "are times when every good man should come to the aid of establishing righteousness. To do this every public teacher should be burdened with the most vivid idea that God reigns, that his law is supreme, that he is not slack as some men count slackness. We are conscious of the power of gravitation only when some house falls, or an avalanche slips from the mountain to bury helpless villages. So we are not conscious of God's supreme rulership until he comes in judgment. But when once the soul of a community is vividly full of the reality of God's presence and man's accountability, every man will think of his own sin

and amend. It is better that the felt 'woe is me' should come from the seen holiness of God than from any reasoning of others. He, thus impressed, is taken by a flank movement and surrenders at once. Hard times in commercial circles are good times for the Church and soul's prosperity. When God has a controversy with a nation there is no way to settle it but on God's terms."

OUR NATIONAL IDEAL

FORWARD

God, to the human soul,
And all the spheres that roll,
Wrapped by his Spirit in their robes of light,
Hath said: "The primal plan
Of all the world, and man,
Is forward! Progress is your law—your right."

The despots of the earth,
Since Freedom had her birth,
Have to their subject nations said, "Stand still."
So from the Polar Bear
Comes down the freezing air,
And stiffens all things with its deadly chill.

He who doth God resist—
God's old antagonist—
Would snap the chain that binds all things to him,
And in his godless pride,
All people would divide,
And scatter even the choirs of seraphim.

God, all the orbs that roll,
Bind to one common goal—
One source of light and life—his radiant throne
In one fraternal mind
All races would he bind,
Till every man in man a brother own.

—*J. Pierpont.*

X

OUR NATIONAL IDEAL.

“Righteousness exalteth a nation: but sin is a reproach to any people.”—Prov. 14. 34.

STATECRAFT, or the art of government, has been the study of mankind in all lands and in all ages; but nowhere and at no time, perhaps, as the student of political history will observe, has this theme attracted greater interest and attention than it does at the present time among the American people, who by the acquisition of new territories, as the result of the recent Spanish-American War, have gained a new and universal interest in the question of government, and particularly in that branch of it relating to the extension of our sovereignty over our new possessions. Though, of course, there can be no variation in our form of government, and the essential principles of our national sovereignty must always remain the same regardless of our change of policy as to national expansion, yet our aim must be to advance continually and press forward and upward in pursuance of an ever-rising and progressive ideal of Christian government.

In all the world, and especially in all civilization,

the desire and the struggle for better government is continually going on, and though often the struggle is characterized by violence and bloodshed, yet, on the whole, there is everywhere a manifest tendency to discard dishonorable methods of political agitation and to aspire to higher and better forms of political existence. The false conceptions of national greatness as originally inherited from the barbarisms of heathendom are rapidly passing away and giving place to the nobler and more elevating ideals of Christian government as now entertained by the leading nations of the world.

Our Republic, therefore, to retain her place or to take the lead, as she should, among the sisterhood of the great nations of the earth, must pattern all her advancements after the noblest ideal of Christian government. Though there is no such a thing as infallibility in government, yet there is such a thing as a becoming national ideal, which gives definite direction to endeavor for political progress.

History demonstrates the power of ideals in national destiny. High ideals exalt, and base ideals degrade nations. For healthy, progressive government our national ideal must not be a stereotyped or a fixed model of sovereignty independent of times, conditions, or circumstances, but must be such as to command a perpetually rising standard of national

duty as time and emergency in the march of civilization shall demand. Only a rising standard of action continually improving on the past and constantly going forward to the new ranges of national life, to which the risen standard of duty calls, should be conceived as our becoming national ideal.

Since no one can foretell the complications and problems of our future national history, therefore, it would be difficult for anyone to say, in detail, just what should be our national ideal for all the future. But with ideal, popular government as our aim a few general but very important and permanent principles may here be explicitly and profitably suggested.

CHRISTIAN REPUBLICANISM

The American conception of popular self-government seems to be the divine ideal of national organization and sovereignty. Israel's commonwealth, as divinely instituted and supervised under Moses and Joshua and the Judges, was a popular government and remained so until in the days of Samuel, the degenerated sons and daughters of Abraham, enticed by heathen nations, ignored God's plan and purpose of sovereignty by demanding a king. Jehovah's concession to Israel's plea for a monarchical sovereignty is only explainable on the grounds of God's supremacy over all forms of government, because, as

the inspired Word declares, "there is no power but of God," "and the powers that be are ordained of God."

The divine favor of republicanism is inscribed by characters of living light in the annals of governmental history. God's displeasure has sounded the death knell of the cruel despotisms and tyrannical monarchies of ancient and mediæval times, and the new light from Bethlehem's manger illuminating the political firmament by the rise and progress of civil and religious liberty has generated and inculcated an irresistible spirit of democracy so gloriously manifested in the noble achievements of Christian republicanism of modern times. Indeed, so marvelous and progressive has been the sweeping march of Christian civilization and political liberty that to-day not only in the republics of the new continents, but also in the greater number of European nations, representative government has been established, either in the form of republicanism as in the United States, or in the form of a limited monarchy as in England.

What a charming privilege and what an inspiring observation to trace the guiding hand of God directing the course of events, leading to the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus and to the founding of our Republic by our forefathers. With an inspiration thus obtained, Henry W. Grady was more

than justified in saying: "Our history has been a constant and expanding miracle all the way—even from the hour when, from the voiceless and trackless ocean, a new world rose to the sight of the inspired sailor. Let us resolve to crown the miracles of our past with the spectacle of a Republic compact, united, indissoluble in the bonds of love—blazing out the path and making clear the way up which all the nations of the earth must come in God's appointed time."

To reciprocate God's favor vouchsafed unto us in the birth, perpetuity, and progress of our national life, and to accomplish our mission in the noble cause of Christian republicanism all our endeavors and movements in the administration of sovereignty must be Christocentric. Christ's spirit of love for God and humanity must be our ruling incentive in freedom's great conflict against national sins, and Christ's kingdom must be our aim in the defense and propagation of liberty among the nations of the world.

EXPANSION OF LIBERTY

Liberty is the keynote of our national ideal. Our Pilgrim Fathers, who first planted Christian civilization upon American soil, were men whose virtues had been kindled by the spirit of the Reformation and whose hearts had been ennobled by the passion for

civil and religious liberty. That inherent and irrepressible principle of liberty, which was so strong that it could not be subdued even by a superior alien power, eventually found expression in the immortal Declaration of American Independence in 1776, and led to the establishment of our Republic under a federal Constitution, the whole genius of which is popular freedom.

American liberty thus originated has been expansive and progressive from our nation's birth to the present day. Jeffersonianism, in the early days of our Republic, was a triumph of the people over aristocratic forces and tendencies, and opened the way for the further extension of American liberty as finally accomplished and expressed in the Constitutional Amendments augmenting our freedom, in the expansion of our territorial domain, in the abolishment of slavery and the establishment of equal rights for all races. Thus, through all the great political epochs and national conflicts of our history, has the trend of our liberty been continuous and unabating. Yet, in the face of all our expansion of popular sovereignty it is evident that the final goal of our freedom and the highest ideal of our continually rising standard of liberty is still unattained. Indeed, with the rights and blessings of freedom taught in our public schools, preached from our pulpits, proclaimed from our platforms, magnified by our press, and worshiped by our

people, who can preconceive or foretell the glorious and happy possibilities of our expansion of liberty?

The expansion and progress of American freedom is blessed and magnified in its ennobling power and prospect by a rapidly growing Christian sentiment continually exalting our national ideal of civil and religious liberty. In the progressive light of that Christian liberty, which is already dawning upon other less favored nations, and which in God's appointed time shall enlighten the world, the imported false ideas of liberty inherited from darker ages and brought to our shores by ignorant and benighted immigrants, who have misconceived liberty to imply a license for drunkenness, anarchism, and unbridled wickedness, must be suppressed and replaced by that noble heritage of freedom imparted by the Son of man, who maketh free indeed. As Christian liberty makes progress and develops the true ideal of freedom our people will learn in theory and demonstrate in practice that real liberty consists in doing as we please only in so far as we please to do right. This noble ideal of liberty adhered to will guard us against prostitutions of our freedom at home, will forbid a career of imperialistic tyranny abroad, and will inspire us with worthy and becoming motives in all the policies and practices of our future political life.

The United States of America, in her protection of

Cuban independence and in her extension of republican sovereignty over her new possessions in Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Philippines certainly has a great and important mission in the noble cause of liberty for God and humanity. The task assumed, of establishing self-government in those tropic lands among a but half-civilized people, saturated with treacherous cunning and incapacity for self-rule, is indeed one of the most intricate and perplexing problems of modern times. Sacrifice, patience, forbearance, and resolute endeavor will be necessary in the discharge of our assumed national duty; reaction and disaster must not be precipitated by a hasty and premature bestowal of independence before a capacity for self-government has been developed; and the God of all true liberty must be our shield, our guide, and our sustaining power to enable us fully to accomplish our purpose, through our new departure, in the expansion of popular sovereignty, which by force of the example of American republicanism may be the providential means for "extending the bounds of freedom further yet."

MONROE DOCTRINE

Peacefulness is a cardinal feature in our ideal of government. Our national self-respect, as a great and free people, prompts and maintains our desire for amicable relations with all nations.

It was our love for peace and the hope of averting further military invasions upon American soil that originated our foreign policy as expressed in the Monroe Doctrine. Forewarned by England's threat of seizure upon territory claimed by Venezuela, President Monroe declared that "the American continents are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power."

This declaration against the aggrandizement of American territory by non-American powers was indeed a wise and justifiable departure in our foreign policy favorable to the universal peace of the world, inasmuch as it debarred Old World powers from further imperial warfare in the New World and shielded us from the necessity of becoming a military power in defense of our liberty.

The amicable purposes of the Monroe Doctrine so often proclaimed in our Presidential messages and other State documents have been demonstrated in our historic attitude of peace and good will toward the nations of both hemispheres. Our war with Mexico was, of course, a deviation from our usual policy of peaceful diplomacy in settling national differences, but even that regretful episode in our history has, in a measure at least, long since been atoned for by our government invoking the Monroe Doctrine to drive Maximilian from his imperialistic

war path out of Mexico; and our paternal disposition toward Cuban independence and popular self-government in our newly acquired territory demonstrates conclusively that in our late war with Spain we were not actuated by the base motives of territorial aggrandizement or the glory of conquest, but by our moral obligation toward a flagrantly oppressed people, and by the principle of the Golden Rule as expressed in the enforced purpose of the Monroe Doctrine.

European imperialistic nations have, of course, questioned our motives, and even the American Republics have, at times, been jealous and somewhat afraid of us; but as time brings up truth, and newly made history, as incident to the recent Venezuelan imbroglio, vindicates our noble purposes, the world is learning to understand our sincerity in declaring that we are not an imperialistic nation and do not aspire to become a military world power, but that we desire peace and prosperity not only for ourselves, but also for all nations, and especially for our sister Republics of North and South America.

While we shall in the future, as in the past, as much as in us lies, seek to avoid an attitude of hostility toward other powers, both trans-Atlantic and cis-Atlantic, prudence and foresight born of experience will command us to remember that an adequate and highly trained navy is "the best guarantee

against war and the most effective peace insurance." Says President Roosevelt, in his first annual message to Congress: "Probably no other great nation in the world is so anxious for peace as we are. There is not a single civilized power which has anything whatever to fear from aggressiveness on our part. All we want is peace; and toward this end we wish to be able to secure the same respect for our rights from others which we are eager and anxious to extend to their rights in return, to insure fair treatment to us commercially, and to guarantee the safety of the American people. Our people intend to abide by the Monroe Doctrine and to insist upon it as the one sure means of securing the peace of the Western Hemisphere. The navy offers us the only means of making our insistence upon the Monroe Doctrine anything but a subject of derision to whatever nation chooses to disregard it. We desire the peace which comes as of right to the just man armed; not the peace granted on terms of ignominy to the craven and the weakling."

COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISE

Akin to our policy of peace, as formulated in the Monroe Doctrine and the Golden Rule, is our industrial growth, which has developed a commercialism that has become a marked characteristic of our national ideal. Says our Secretary of State, John

Hay: "We frankly confess we seek the friendship of all the powers; we want to trade with all peoples; we are conscious of resources that will make our commerce a source of advantage to them and a profit to ourselves."

Originally, in the primitive days of our pioneer life, immediately after the discovery of America by Columbus, there was, of course, but little traffic directly consequent upon that discovery. The early settlers on our eastern borders were agriculturists and hunters, whose meager productive capacities were limited to the plow and the gun, and whose colonies, for want of means of communication, were isolated from all association with the outer world. But that same unmistakable and favoring Providence which led to the discovery of the New World also directed its development and progress; and soon after the *Mayflower* landed our Pilgrim Fathers on Plymouth Rock, there dawned a new era of both civil and religious advancement on American shores.

From the landing of the Pilgrims to the present day the salutary powers of the Gospel have been applied to evangelize our rapid growing population, and the invincible powers of labor and genius have been utilized to transform the rich hunting grounds of Indian savagery into a national commonwealth whose industrial and commercial resources are already the

marvel of civilization. Manual labor, combined with inventive ingenuity blessed of God, has developed the vast resources of our agricultural and mineral wealth, has multiplied the manufacturing capacity of our industrial interests, has harnessed the gigantic powers of electricity and steam as now applied in the public carriers that facilitate commerce, and has extended our traffic in all lines of trade, placing our nation in the commercial supremacy of the civilized world.

Speaking of our industrial and commercial achievements during the last quarter of a century, the Hon. Charles Emory Smith has fittingly said: "Familiar as we are with the legend of our national growth, we do not realize its stupendous proportions until we analyze and measure it by comparison. In 1870 the annual value of our manufactures was \$3,700,000,000; now (1900) it is about \$12,000,000,000. For half a century England had been the workshop of the world, and we had only just begun. Still we had got such a start that in 1870 the manufactures of the United States just about equaled those of Great Britain. But since then our growth has been so prodigious that now our manufactures amount to two and a half times the total volume of Great Britain, Germany, and France put together. The increase in the annual American products within thirty years has been double the combined increase of those three great nations

of Europe. In other words, if you match the United States against Great Britain, Germany, and France together our manufactures are now equal to all theirs and are growing twice as fast. We are manufacturing nearly two thirds as much as all Europe, with its 380,000,000 people, and more than one third of all that is manufactured in the world."

Marvelous as our industrial growth appears in the presence of such comparisons, yet present conditions of industry at home and abroad are promissory of still greater advancements in our commercial future. Our perpetual growth in natural capacities for production, our rapid advancements in the arts of manufacture, our increased facilities of transportation over land and sea, our commercial advantages achieved by our new possessions giving us an "open door" even to the markets of the vast Chinese empire, all these, and other signs of progress, headed by the new Department of Commerce and Labor in our national government, indicate the correctness of Julian R. Elkins's prediction, that "the United States is to be commercial mistress of the high seas," and point to the fulfillment of Mr. Gladstone's prophecy that this country would replace Great Britain as the leading commercial nation of the world.

In our commercial supremacy we shall do well to look to our motives, our methods, and our responsi-

bilities, and to seek to avoid the abominations of other avaricious nations who in their greed for filthy mammon have disgraced civilization by the rum traffic, the opium trade, and other evils progenerative of degradation and ruin. Commercial prosperity is, of course, more or less perilous to any nation, because, as a rule, success is naturally accompanied with temptation and danger. Yet it is not prosperity, but *sin*, that ruins nations. Our commercial progress need not be inconsistent with our Christian civilization, nor need it hasten our national decline, but may, and should be, the means of greater opportunities for the extension of Christian sovereignty.

Indeed, our own national origin and progress from our colonial days to the present time, as well as the history of other nations, indicates that the lines of Christianity and commerce move so closely side by side that they have been fittingly declared "the twin sisters" and "the handmaids of progress" in the march of civilization. "Whether the one or the other," says Dr. W. S. Hooper, "is the predecessor, they are handmaids in human progress. Commerce is the binding link of nations, the element that induces intercommunication and promotes fraternal feeling, but Christianity purifies the people, promotes morals, and prepares for the higher commerce of nations. Commerce is as essential to the divine plan for the

protection of government and the well-being of the people as Christianity to the salvation of the soul. The establishment of multiplied lines of commerce is the immediate result of continued necessity and man's desire for gain; they are not the product of the thought of a moment, but of long-continued study, necessity, and experiment. But behind them all is the overruling hand of Providence as the great determining cause who uses them as civilizers and agents in the progress of Christianity."

INTERIOR DEVELOPMENT

Our recently attained commercial supremacy is doubtless related, in a great measure, to the new phase in our national ideal demanding an internal expansion of our industrial capacity through our interior development. Called, on the one hand, by the opportunities and responsibilities of our exterior expansion to be the torchbearers of a new civilization, and the espousers of true republicanism and Christian liberty in the islands of tropic seas, we are, on the other hand, impelled, by the trend and pressure of enlightened public sentiment demanding the development of our domestic resources, to a new national policy proposing important interior improvements of our national landed heritage on home territory. Thus, our so-called "vigorous foreign policy" is

matched, as it should be, by a correspondingly vigorous home policy.

Interior development has been advocated in the party platforms of both great political organizations, our Secretary of the Interior has declared that there is no one question now before the American people of greater importance, and our President, thoroughly familiar as he is with the conditions in the West, has advised and urged important measures, to be pursued on lines of the broadest public interest, for saving our forests, for reclaiming our arid lands, for conserving our water supply, and for utilizing the yet unoccupied territory of our vast public domain.

Our future prosperity and our trend toward progress in all lines of industry and commerce necessitate the execution of these measures for our interior development. The importance of forestry to the mining, grazing, and lumber interests of our country demands that our future administration of government over the timbered lands of our public domain be such as to henceforth not only shield our forests from destruction by the ravages of fire or public intrusion, but also to perpetuate their growth, so as to maintain or even increase their utility and value for the future.

The fact that one third of the home territory of the United States is still vacant, and that, as investigation shows, there still remain 600,000,000 acres of

vacant land that is now barren and practically worthless, but could be reclaimed by irrigation and made valuable productive soil for cultivation, demonstrates conclusively the importance of the new national policy of interior development and improvement.

Colorado, Utah, California, Kansas, and Arizona have already taken the lead in this new departure by introducing irrigation, partly by canals with vast mountain reservoirs and also by artesian wells. The work thus far done by private enterprise or State capital proves satisfactorily the plausibility of the great national irrigation plans now proposed. However, what has been done is only a beginning of what may and should be done by the government, because the great work of reclamation proposed is entirely too large in scope and too expensive in construction for private enterprise. Besides our arid public lands to be reclaimed are of right the common heritage of our people and should not be made the subject of speculation by private enterprise, but should be irrigated by the national government and made available for industrious settlers who will build homes and create productive communities.

As to reimbursement for the great expenditures occasioned by such vast irrigation works, and as to the salableness of the lands thus reclaimed, our Secretary of the Interior, the Hon. Ethan Allen Hitchcock,

who is now about to put in operation the national irrigation act of 1902, has well said: "It is safe to predict from recent struggles for homes upon the public domain that every acre of vacant land to be supplied with water would be immediately taken in small tracts by men who would not only cultivate the ground when water is had, but in the meantime would be available as laborers in the construction of works, and would ultimately refund to the government the cost of the undertaking. In this manner thousands of the best class of citizens in the country would be permanently located in prosperous homes upon what is now a desert waste. It has been estimated that the western half of the United States will sustain a population as great as that of the whole country at present if the waters now unutilized are saved and employed in irrigating the ground."

INDUSTRIAL PEACE

Our national aim of peace and progress would be futile without the inclusion of industrial peace and harmony in our ideal of government. In the great industrial conflict for bread and gain, capital and labor are the two prime factors and contending forces. Both are indispensable to production and should seek to cooperate in friendly relations to each other on the fundamental precept and principle of the Golden Rule,

which is the acknowledged standard of justice with all honorable men.

But experience teaches that differences will occur and that offenses will come disturbing our industrial peace. That such disharmony arises is, of course, not desirable, yet it is quite natural and perhaps, in many instances, inevitable. Though capital and labor are twin brothers, dependent upon each other and are mutually interested in their ends and aims, yet their rights and claims are by no means identical, and complications will arise where conciliatory mediation will be necessary for an adjustment of rights and for the establishment of peace.

Such prevailing conditions, though inconsistent with the ideal state of society, are, nevertheless, living evidences of a virility, which is preferable, by far, to that torpor and quietude, which is born of helpless submission to injustice, and is, therefore, a greater evil than even strife in defense of sacred rights. The tranquillity to be sought, in any event, must not be attributable to passiveness, dependence, or subjection; nor should peace ever be desired as an end in itself, but only for the purpose that it serves in accomplishing a just and amicable result of mutual concessions satisfactory to all.

While there are no inherent powers in government capable of averting strife or of securing unbroken

peace in the industrial world, yet in the light of observation and experience the fact remains apparent that much can be done on the part of the State in behalf of industrial peace by impartially recognizing the rights of both capital and labor and by maintaining a healthy equilibrium between the two contending forces, so as to reduce their friction, to mitigate their antagonism, to lessen the wastes and damages of the economic conflict, and to encourage more humane ways and means of adjusting differences in doing the world's work.

Let us hope that our solutions of industrial problems may always be consistent with righteous principles and that the recently instituted Industrial Committee of the National Civic Federation may accomplish much for the promotion of peace in the industrial future of America.

RIGHTEOUS GOVERNMENT

Every precept and principle of our national ideal, in order to be true and consistent with God's demands, must be centered in righteousness, which, as Canon Farrar has appropriately said, is as much the law of Christ as it is the law of Sinai. Our Christian republicanism, our expansion of liberty, our Monroe Doctrine, our commercial enterprise, our interior development, our industrial peace, and, indeed, every

aspiration of our whole political career must, in order to be ideal and permanent, be based upon righteousness as the fundamental and all-inspiring principle.

Faithless men who adhere to the secular idea of government may sneer at moral obligations in political measures and proclaim other principles as their criterions of civil government, but with God and Christlike citizens there is no national standard higher than righteousness, the supreme and abiding principle by which all nations under the sun are judged in God's estimation and shall eventually stand or fall in accordance with their merit or demerit in the scales of eternal justice. Righteousness is our only safeguard against the awful doom of the godless nations that have already gone down in the terrible judgments that have befallen them. For this reason God's word must be vitalized in our statesmanship, our laws must be enacted in accordance with the Decalogue, our national sins must be condemned, and our evil practices must be forever repudiated.

Righteousness applied and manifested in our national life will command honorable diplomatic relations with other nations, incite just methods of taxation and home rule, and maintain honest policies in all our public affairs. By a strict regard for righteous principles we may happily cherish the hope of divine

approval and meritoriously enjoy national stability and progress in coming time.

If in our past, which is now beyond recall, we have come short of our true national ideal, then let us not be discouraged, but let us, as a great Christian nation, seek all the more to make the most of our future, which still lies before us as an unwritten page to be inscribed, not as fate may by chance determine, but as we ourselves shall dictate by our relation to the mandates of Him, who ruleth in the kingdom of men.

Should our great ship of State ever founder she will be shattered upon the rocky shoals of skepticism, and will go down in the whirlpool of worldly and unrighteous ambitions, but if she steers clear of the threatening dangers, as we hope and pray she may, by heeding God's signals of warning, and finally enters the haven of saved and triumphant nations gathered into the glorious realm of the eternal King, she will enter there by obedience to divine truth, with righteousness inscribed upon her banner, and as the herald of Gospel liberty.

SUPREMACY OF LAW

GOD FOR OUR NATIVE LAND

God's blessing be upon
Our own, our native land!
The land our fathers won
By the strong heart and hand,
The keen ax and the brand,
When they felled the forest's pride,
And the tyrant foe defied,
The free, the rich, the wide—
God for our native land!

Our native land! to thee
In one united vow,
To keep thee strong and free,
And glorious as now—
We pledge each heart and hand
By the blood our fathers shed,
By the ashes of our dead,
By the sacred soil we tread,
God for our native land!

—*Rev. Dr. Bethune.*

XI

SUPREMACY OF LAW

“The Lord reigneth, he is clothed with majesty.”—Psa. 93. 1.

AMERICA has many occasions of gratitude to God for the bounties of her national heritage. Columbia may justly glory in the vastness of her territory, in the wealth of her material resources, in the variety and healthfulness of her climate, in the intelligence and enterprise of her people, in her institutions of education and benevolence, in her forces of virtue and religion, and surely she may rejoice in her noble systems of law and government, the best ever known or devised.

Law is the common heritage of all mankind, and is indeed as universal as God's omnipresence and handiwork. In all the realms of nature, of providence and redemption, law is the absolute and eternal king to whom every atom of matter and every germ of life, every volition and every power, every intelligence and every spirit, earth and heaven, men and angels, must bow and yield in submission to his authority. Thus there is no vacuum—no place of absolute anarchism or of coincidence by chance—in

all the universe. From the throne of God to the depths of hell, law is as perpetual and as supreme as God himself. Therefore, it is suicidal folly to ignore or defy the supremacy of law.

Nor can there be a reasonable motive for contempt of law, for, as Burke truly says, "Law is beneficence acting by rule." As God bestows his loving-kindness in every ray of light, in every drop of water, in every atom of matter, in every spire of grass, in every flower of the field, and in every fruitage of the earth, so God, the one great Lawgiver, who is the fountain head of all authority, dispenses his beneficence to humanity, and indeed to every creature of his hands, through the inestimable benedictions of law and authority. Says John P. Newman: "Law is no less good in what it forbids than in what it commands; all its prohibitions promote the highest interests of society. It throws its muniments around life, marriage, property, reputation, home, and heaven. Every act of obedience adds to the perfection of man's moral nature; it enlarges and ennobles. Obedience and happiness are inseparable. 'The law is holy, and just, and good.'"

Law implies free agency and personal responsibility. Our Lawgiver recognizes his own image in human souls and appeals to their volition governed by conscience, forewarned against disloyalty by the

fear of punishment, and encouraged to obedience by the hope of reward. Law and retribution are inseparable. God's decree of eternal justice is irrevocable and inviolable: "Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap." Loyalty and virtue may, at times, seem to go unrewarded, and evil-doers evading the penalties of the broken law may appear to be the scapegoats of justice, yet God's law of retribution can never be defeated, and justice will eventually be dispensed as the eternal reward or doom of every soul. Even in the joys and sorrows of the present life, ensnared by so many powers and influences that militate against righteousness, may be seen the unmistakable evidences of retributive justice consequent upon the merit or demerit of human conduct. By word and deed, in characters of living fire, divine truth declares: "The way of the transgressor is hard;" "There is no peace, sayeth my God, to the wicked;" "The wages of sin is death;" but "blessed is the man whose delight is in the law of the Lord; and in his law doth he meditate day and night. And he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season; his leaf also shall not wither: and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper."

Even Christ our Lord, who vindicated the law by his glorious triumph on the cross and who is to all nations the herald of Gospel grace, declares: "I am

not come to destroy the law, but to fulfill it." "Verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled." Says Dr. J. M. Buckley: "The redemption provided by Jesus Christ is not to make void the law, but to magnify and make it honorable. If, reacting from despair to presumption, we sin in hope of finding forgiveness, we turn the grace of God into lasciviousness. The highest dignity, the purest happiness, the only security of man is in alliance with the only Lawgiver. Independence of him is impossible. Indifference, resistance, or alliance are the only choice. Indifference is resistance; the alternative is to resist or to ally one's self by repentance, faith, and a holy life to Him who sitteth upon the throne of the universe. Such alliance does not weaken, but does immeasurably strengthen man for every physical, mental, and spiritual struggle, burden, and work, and is the sole source of that true hope of everlasting life which is an anchor to the soul."

Aside from the hope of eternal life attained through the powers of saving grace upon the terms of the Gospel, personal alliance of our citizenship with Christ, our Lord and Lawgiver, is the only reliable safeguard against disloyalty to authority and the only means of establishing and maintaining the supremacy of civil and religious law in both Church and State.

AUTHORITY OF LAW

The supremacy of law commands obedience to all properly constituted authority as divinely delegated to the home, the school, the municipality, the commonwealth, the nation, and the Church. "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers," and this not only because "the powers that be are ordained of God," but because our country's welfare demands that the majesty of law and authority be respected and maintained.

The disloyal and socialistic plea of liberty and equality, as viciously misconstrued from our Declaration of Independence, is grossly incompatible with the real design of our fathers and the true spirit of American freedom. As Abraham Lincoln, in one of his speeches, wisely observed, our fathers did not declare that all men are "born equal," but that they are "created equal." The two expressions are very different in meaning, the former implying a natural identity of individuality and the latter a conferred equality of rights and opportunities under the common heritage of independent sovereignty. Sanctified common sense will always concede the prevalence of indisputable inequalities of natural gifts, of acquired capabilities and personal fortunes, as well as demand an equality of rights and opportunities in the privileges of our citizenship. Surely our declara-

tion of equality and freedom was never intended either to annihilate the God-given diversity of individualism or to establish anarchism under the insane and hypocritical pretense of personal liberty. True American liberty is not by any means the inherent and unrestricted right of the individual to do as he chooses irrespective of the rights of others; nor is it in any sense the liberty of the barbarian who defies authority and gloats in unrestrained lawlessness and wickedness; nor is it the despotic liberty of the plutocrat who would claim the right to swallow up the material wealth of the nation and relegate the laboring class of our people into practical serfdom or slavery; but it is the civil liberty of a free and independent nation respecting alike the rights of the citizen individually, and the rights of the people collectively.

There need be no question as to the limitations of our liberty, no misunderstanding as to its purpose, and no dissatisfaction as to its universality or franchise. With all the prerogatives of sovereignty vested in the people without discrimination as to race, nationality, or person, every citizen stands on an equal basis with every man, so far as rights and opportunities are concerned, and shares alike not only in the benefits of government but also in the obligations of patriotic loyalty toward his country and its laws.

Notwithstanding this, however, it must be conceded that while the increase of crime in the United States is not as great as some sensational writers would make it appear, yet the appalling depravity of human nature, the decline of discipline in our many homes, schools, and Churches, the perversion of public sentiment, the malpractice in law, and the general laxity in the administration of civil authority have generated a growing lack of reverence for God and government, and a lessening respect for law and order, as now so appallingly indicated by the multiplication of crime and mob violence, which is one of the gravest aspects of our modern degeneracy in civilization. Such ugly sores on the body of our American society should remind us that liberty without conformity to law is a disgraceful failure, and that in spite of our much boasted progress in civilization we need above all a thorough revival of civic virtue to dethrone wickedness from high places, as well as to counteract meanness in low places, besides seeking, on the whole, to remove the causes of disrespect for authority and to inculcate principles of loyalty in the hearts and minds of the people.

PROMULGATION OF LAW

Intelligence and morality are two prime factors in the promulgation of law. There must be an edu-

cation of the heart as well as the intellect and a recognized distinction between the divine authority and the human administration of sovereignty. Inferiority or worthlessness in administration of power can never justify disloyalty, but the majesty of law must be recognized wherever we meet with properly constituted authority.

Loyalty as well as charity must begin at home. The proper administration of parental authority is fundamental in the promulgation of loyalty through the young and rising generation.

As is our discipline in our homes so will be our administration of law in the community and the nation. Any tendency toward undue laxity in the administration of parental authority, or any inclination to allow home government to go by default, must therefore be looked upon as a dangerous malpractice, which is fruitful of much harm by generating a spirit of unrestrained liberty and disloyalty that threatens a breaking down of law and order in our nation's future. Therefore, as our American fathers and mothers recognize their eternal responsibilities toward their children and honor their duty toward God and the nation, they will seek to avoid the sin of lawlessness in their homes and endeavor to strike the golden mean between Puritan severity and modern laxity by making their households amenable to law and by

enforcing family government under rules of discipline consistent with Christian principles and adaptable to our free institutions of civil and religious liberty.

The work begun by our parents in our homes must be supplemented by the pastors in our Churches in order to fully develop and maintain Christian loyalty in both our present and prospective citizenship. While our Churches are not political clubhouses, and must stand aloof from organic relations to political parties, yet they certainly have a very important mission in the civil life and national destiny of our people. Without Gospel teachings and religious influences we should be on a common level with the degraded and disorderly pagan nations of the world. Our Churches, though not State corporations, are law-abiding institutions having clearly defined rules for their own regulation, besides exerting a moral influence that incites loyalty to both civil and religious authority. Laxity of discipline must be avoided and authority must be strictly maintained in our American Churches if they shall accomplish their God-given mission, for they are destined to be and to remain in all coming time the heralds of both the law and the Gospel, the fountain heads of educative influences, flowing out from pulpit, press, and school, enlightening and elevating the people morally, mentally, and spiritually,

thus qualifying them for the duties of an intelligent and law-abiding citizenship.

Next to the parents in our homes and the pastors in our Churches stand the teachers in our schools as promulgators of law and order in American society. Not only the accumulation of knowledge, but also the inculcation of respect for authority, the learning of obedience to law, and the training of "Young America" in orderly deportment, is recognized by our leading educators as an essential part of our school work. The discipline in our common schools compares favorably with that of other schools in other lands. Perhaps nowhere is order more observed, and with so little physical punishment, as in American schools, and yet there is much room for improvement. Realizing that teachers will impress their individuality upon their pupils, school boards should always seek to select teachers of the right stamp for the inculcation of Gospel precepts, moral principles, and loyal sentiments. Parents should recognize the difficulties of school government, and should avoid the disparagements of unfriendly criticism, and always, so far as consistent with righteousness, uphold the authority of teachers.

In like manner the powers of sovereignty vested in our municipalities, our commonwealths, and our national government, should, of course, always be so

administered as to command respect for authority and to promulgate obedience to law. Civil authority and legal power should never be abused for selfish ends or extravagant purposes, but should be executed in the fear of God and in the interests of the people, who, in our system of popular government are the ultimate and real sovereigns of the land. Our laws, when once made, be they enacted by our city Councils, our State Legislatures, or our national Congress, must be respected and rigidly enforced. Dead statutory laws or unpunished violations against civil authority are abominations which American government cannot afford to tolerate. The Christian virtue in the patriotic manhood of our American citizenship must assert its power in the promulgation of statutory law by strongly resisting disloyal practices and sternly demanding the enforcement of the powers and penalties of the law, in order to maintain the dignity and majesty of civil authority.

PERILS OF ANARCHISM

How noble the mission of law and government. Law is to establish and uphold authority; to protect life, property, and the pursuit of happiness; to teach in matters of right and wrong; to direct in the discharge of duty; to deter from evil-doing; to show the obligation of men toward God and each other;

and to exemplify retributive justice in human affairs. How ennobling are these prerogatives of law. What an inspiration to the soul to bow before its majesty, and to acknowledge in thought, word, and deed our obligation to authority and our allegiance to the throne of the Highest by the behests of laws enacted both for our temporal welfare and our immortal glory.

Yet even in this enlightened age of faith and civilization we find anarchism in open revolt against law and authority as a serious and an ever-present danger threatening the nations of the world. "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown." King George the Third is reported to have said: "The life of a king belongs to any man who will pay his own." Between 1848 and 1878 there were twenty-eight attempts upon the lives of rulers, and in the last forty years three Presidents of the United States, one for every three terms, or three elected Presidents out of the last seven, have fallen as victims to assassins' bullets.

Thus red-handed anarchism, criminally displayed in horrifying deeds of violence upon the heads of governments in both hemispheres, is a sad and shocking reminder of the awful and unwelcome fact that there is in all the leading countries of the civilized world a prevailing sentiment of criminal hostility

against established authority regardless of the forms of government or the dispositions of character in rulers. Anarchism does not discriminate between monarchies and republics, nor between severe and liberal administrations of sovereignty. It is simply and insanely opposed to all law and authority, and, regardless of every principle of virtue or reason, proposes to abolish government and to establish the supremacy of criminal liberty and social disorder.

Even the best governments and the noblest rulers have not been exempted from the deadly blows of anarchism, but seem rather to have been the chosen targets of this monstrous and insane progeny of diabolic violence. Indeed, with few exceptions, the victims of murderous anarchism have been the friends of the people. Alexander II, emperor of the Russians, the great Czar who liberated the millions of serfs in his dominion; M. Sadi-Carnot, the president of the French Republic whose character was above reproach and who, in the most extreme period of French history, guided his ever-rolling and tossing ship of State so gallantly and so successfully; King Humbert of Italy, the brave and popular ruler whose charity endeared him to his people and whose statesmanship was a national safeguard in the turmoil of Italian politics; Elizabeth, the empress of Austria, that noble woman whose life had been par-

ticularly beautiful, so far as her relations to the Austrian empire were concerned; James A. Garfield, a man of the people and a Christian statesman whose administration so nobly begun was full of promise for the best interests of his country; Abraham Lincoln, the great emancipator of American slaves and God's chosen instrument, with charity to all and malice toward none, directing the shattered Union's destiny during the dark and stormy days of the great rebellion; and William McKinley, a gentle, kindly, spotless man of God, a wise and noble President, solicitous of discharging the duties of his high office in the interests of his people and in the fear of God—these were the victims of some of the historic assassinations that have disgraced and grieved the civilization of modern times.

Even in the face of such a record of murder criminal anarchism is aided and promulgated by a certain class of self-styled reformers who would seek to shield anarchistic sentiment under the plea that they can see no good in the existing conditions of society, and who, under the guise of innocent disloyalty—which is rebellious inconsistency—would argue a respectable difference between a creed of peaceful anarchism and the propaganda of criminal anarchism. But such arguments, though claimed to have been suggested by the teachings of Count Tolstoi, who, though a respect-

able man, is almost or quite an anarchist in philosophic conviction, or by the creed of the Society of Friends, a reputable body whose doctrines, though not directly anarchistic, very closely approach the denial of the rightfulness of human government, can hardly substantiate the avowed harmlessness of so-called peaceful anarchism. Some anarchists may not contemplate violence at the beginning, yet the fact remains that sin always multiplies and theoretical anarchists are the easy prey of anarchistic lecturers and infamous journalists, who by slanderous speech and libelous caricature are continually misrepresenting the officials of the government and viciously appealing to the basest passions of human nature in those who, by the false logic of anarchist sentiment already embraced, soon become the contemptible dupes for diabolic violence as expressed in the destruction of property and the taking of human life. Thus there is, doubtless, a much closer relation between the apparent harmless and the open criminal anarchism than is commonly supposed.

Nor should anarchism receive any tolerance or comfort from any tendency in public sentiment declaring that anarchism is *prima facie* a freak of irresponsible criminal insanity, and that the frequent recurrence of such deeds of violence, must be accounted for as the acts of individual cranks or fanatics who are

not accountable for their deeds of havoc and murder. The assaults of criminal anarchism are undoubtedly the ultimate results of disloyal influences and tendencies which have a serious meaning but which have usually been regarded with a puzzled and passive attitude of mind in public sentiment. Miserable and disreputable anarchists, whose names are the very synonyms of corruption, have been allowed, through press and platform, to proclaim their seditious doctrines and to organize anarchist societies with a degree of unchallenged freedom that has been directly dangerous to the peace and safety of society. Hitherto the opinion prevailed that even anarchists, so long as they did not resort to violence against the government, were harmless and had a right to promulgate their doctrines, which dared not be restrained until they had actually occasioned public calamity. But the day of easy-going tolerance and of *laissez faire* has passed. People are waking up and beginning to see that it is criminal indifference and negligence to allow anarchists to go unrestrained until their hostility is actually demonstrated in deeds of public violence.

It is the right and duty of nations to protect themselves against vital danger, and the time has come when strong and vigilant repressive action on the part of all governments against anarchism is in demand. Too many precious lives have been sacri-

ficed already, and every reoccurrence of successful anarchistic violence stirs up and revives throughout the world the copperhead fiends who, unlike the rattlesnakes that always warn their victims before they inject their venom, quietly and stealthily deal their deadly blows without warning or even under the disguise of pretended friendship, as Czolgosz did.

Great evils require strong and radical remedies. The zeal of our government manifested in the enforcement of the anti-anarchist law in the Turner case is commendable. The law excluding anarchists, as passed after the assassination of President McKinley, provides, that "No person shall be permitted to enter the United States who disbelieves in, or who is opposed to, all organized government, or who is a member of, or affiliated with, any organization entertaining or teaching such disbelief in, or opposition to, all organized government."

This law is directed as well against the teachers of anarchistic doctrines as against the perpetrators of anarchistic violence. Both are justly excluded. Within the past year there have been anarchistic assaults upon the king of Belgium, the king of Spain, and the French premier; and plots have been made against the life of the German emperor, of the king of Italy, and of the Czar of Russia, to say nothing of the at-

tempts of armed cranks to get at the President of the United States.

All these crimes remind us of the necessity of vigilance against anarchism. The appointment, last year, of a special immigration inspector to learn who the European anarchists are, and to keep track of their movements, was decided upon because it was thought important to gather information about all kinds of potential assassins, not only those who seek to kill rulers or government officials, but also those who incite murder by anarchistic teaching. The experiences of the past, supplemented by the threatening dangers of the present, remind us that the solution of the anarchist problem is not the easy offhand work of a day, but that it is a complicated and a vital issue that will require our best statecraft, sustained by the loyalty and patriotism of the entire country.

LYNCH LAW

Lynchings are revolting ulcers on our body politic sadly indicating the poison of anarchy in the life-blood of American society. The seeds of disloyalty sown by the organization of the Ku-Klux-Klan in the reconstruction days of the Central South have generated a deadly upas of social disorder that is in recent years bringing forth an abundant harvest of barbarism in the infamous atrocities of lynch law.

Though the unlawful execution of criminals is supposed to have been introduced by a man named Lynch long before the Ku-Klux days, yet the alarming increase of lynchings in the United States is doubtless to be accounted for in the manner here indicated. The organization referred to was originally in the hands of good men, who never dreamed of resorting to violence, much less to murder, but who simply proposed, by apparent legitimate and systematic methods of intimidation, to shield themselves against the thieving propensities of that class of Southern plantation negroes who had become demoralized and unruly by the suddenly conferred and much abused boon of emancipation.

But the result in this and all similar instances shows that it is always dangerous to resort to an unlawful expedient even for the accomplishment of what may appear to be a laudable and praiseworthy purpose. Crusaders, though actuated by good motives in advocating commendable reforms, must be careful to keep their endeavors within the limits prescribed by law, otherwise, they may, by unlawful proceedings, inadvertently institute mischievous practices calculated to attract disloyal elements and to generate disorders, leading to actual crime and violent abominations. Such was the case in the history of the notorious Ku-Klux-Klan, which in its evil course of

events, as it extended its unruly membership, passed from bad to worse by going over from a once harmless vigilance to ultimate criminal violence as manifested in unlawfully whipping and killing negroes and terrorizing the people until it became a vast conspiracy against the public peace, and originated the horrible practice of lynchings, which are a growing menace of the country to-day, although the organization that formally introduced those barbarities has long since disappeared and no longer exists as an organized body.

The earlier lynchings, it is alleged, were the desperate efforts of the people to protect their women from the outrageous assaults of black monsters who fully deserved the terrible penalties inflicted upon them. But the public records of lynchings show that as time rolled on the mania for lynch law continued to grow, negroes were lynched not only for high crimes but for the most trivial reasons, such as unpopularity, violating contracts, testifying in court, refusing to tell where fugitives were concealed, being relatives of accused persons, etc.

The fact that during the last five years one hundred and forty-seven white persons were lynched indicates that these outrages are no longer limited to negroes. The frequent occurrence of lynchings in the other States within the last few years shows that these atroc-

ities are no longer confined to the South, but that also the North, the East, and the West, and, indeed, the whole of our fair-famed Union is threatening to become disgraced by these hellish barbarities, that are not only increasing in number, but are also growing in shocking brutality, so that out of the two thousand persons put to death by mobs in the United States, during the last ten years, fifteen were actually burned to death with demoniacal cruelties that will not bear description in decent public print.

Such barbarisms are worse than the crimes for which they are inflicted. Much sadder indeed than the appalling increase of crime is the alarming growth of lynch law resorted to in the unlawful and brutal retaliation of crime in America. No commonwealth in the Union can tolerate lynchings without losing caste abroad and suffering moral deterioration at home. Lynchings have aggravated criminal violence in this country. Crime is not diminished but increased by barbarisms in the infliction of punishment. Great Britain's history under Henry VIII, when two hundred and sixty-three crimes were punishable by death, and when, as it is claimed, seventy-two thousand persons were executed during his sovereignty, is an historic object lesson demonstrating that a reign of terror is no protection to society, and that crime thrives on horrible penalties. If newspaper reports be true,

black desperadoes were never more numerous, criminal violence was never more frequent, and white women were never less secure than now in those States where burnings and lynchings originated and have been most frequent in recent years. When, in view of such a baleful progeny and progress of lynch law, we think of the cruelties in the dreadful days of the Council of Ten in Venice and of the terrors of the Inquisition we may with deep concern raise the question, What shall the harvest be if these burnings and lynchings continue to multiply in number and to increase in cruelty as they have in the last two decades of our history?

Surely it is time for Americans to realize the danger and the inexcusableness of mob violence. Though the Vigilants of '49 in the border mining camps or in frontier communities, where legal authority had not been fully organized, had a mission with some shadow of excuse for the punishment of crime without due process of law, there can be no reasonable apology for lynch law in our time when we have established courts in all parts of the Republic, besides all the legal machinery that is necessary for the dispensation of justice.

We have undoubtedly reached a crisis in this matter of lynch law. The eyes of God and the world are upon us, and we as the people of a great nation shall be eternally responsible for these damnable atrocities

unless we seek by every legitimate means to clear our skirts from the infamy of such abominations. Terrible crimes must, of course, be speedily and severely punished, but fiendish mobs, whose brutalities put even savagery to shame, must not be allowed to escape unpunished. The swift punishment of the mob is indeed just as essential to the administration of justice and the maintenance of law and order as is the punishment of the criminal. Too many exhibitions of lawless savagery have already disgraced our civilization, and in order to avert the future progress of disloyalty and the ultimate overthrow of civil authority it is high time to call an abrupt and decisive halt to the mania for mob violence everywhere.

The press, platform, and pulpit of the land must combine in a vigorous and unceasing campaign of education that will create, arouse, and maintain a healthy public sentiment that will condemn all savagery and establish loyalty to law and authority as a ruling principle among the people. The anti-lynching parties of the country must put forth every legitimate effort to labor harmoniously and effectively for the noble cause of law and order. The millions of Christian people in the Churches must be called to the work and brought to apply every Gospel agency at their command to counteract immorality, to diminish crime, and to establish the supremacy of law. Patri-

otic citizens must labor earnestly to counteract that moral apathy which tolerates crime without rebuke and seek to enforce the powers and penalties of the law. Our courts must abandon the delays which have done so much to encourage lynchings, and endeavor to be the impartial, diligent, and prompt dispensers of justice. Leaders of mobs, and in fact all participants of mob violence, should be unsparingly prosecuted; and State laws should be enacted in every commonwealth of the Union to hold the counties in which lynchings occur responsible under heavy penalties for such atrocities.

STRIKE DISORDERS

Organizations, as orderly bodies having commendable purposes in view and operating within the bounds of the law, are invested with certain self-evident and indisputable rights and privileges. Both capitalists and laborers may, if they choose, respectively associate themselves together into corporations for business purposes and agree to abide by certain established rules and to be governed by chosen officers as their representatives or leaders. So long as such voluntary and self-constituted organizations are impelled by worthy motives and by legitimate proceedings, follow the lines of mutual interest and dependence, they serve a laudable purpose, and neither their existence nor their aims and efforts can be gainsaid. But the

moment an organization of either capitalists or laborers steps beyond the bounds of its own fraternity and invades the rights of other corporations or individuals, thereby disturbing the peace and safety of society, they become offenders of the law and intruders upon the rights of others, and are, therefore, no longer entitled to the respect and support of the people.

Experience enlightened by our own industrial history proves, however, that the prestige of organization, though designed for mutual benefit, both in the fraternity of capital and labor, is, nevertheless, as a rule, involved with temptation in the abuse of power. Insincere labor agitators on the one hand, and non-scrupulous capitalists on the other, have marshaled and clashed their forces against each other in industrial warfare, disturbing the peaceful business interests of the country. Both classes of such leaders are public enemies. Neither has the happiness of their fellow-men or the welfare of their country at heart, but both are actuated by selfish motives and are liable to resort to unlawful expedients, or even violence, for dishonest gain.

Ordinarily, under healthy social conditions, there should be no occasion for strife between capital and labor or between employers and their workmen. Both are mutually dependent upon each other and are jointly interested in the benefits of peaceful and progressive industry. But the sin of Judas, which is the

curse of the ages, is liable to repeat itself not only in the avaricious disposition of dissatisfied workmen, but also in the revolutionary propensities of professional labor agitators, who are workmen in name only; and who get their living by their craft. Such men as leaders, enticed by the emoluments of gain and notoriety, are apt to seek provocations for grievances, and to venture the organizations which they represent into riotous strikes which make leaders conspicuous and equip them with official powers easily available for selfish purposes.

The same principle of selfishness is liable to assert itself in a different manner through the tyrannies of heartless and grasping capitalists, who, regardless of every principle of honor, combine in a damnable conspiracy, despotically to take advantage of common environments and necessities of the poor in order to press the lifeblood out of honest workmen at the least possible cost and with the largest possible gain to themselves. Capitalists of this type, posing as employers, are the enemies of peaceful industry and the progenitors of tyrannies that produce tyrannies. Thus the flagrant abuse of power on the part of either capitalists or workmen, or both combined, as the case may be, generates the anarchy and violence that so frequently disturb our industrial peace and disgrace our civilization.

The terror and danger of mob violence is clearly divulged in the history of strikes in America, and the imperial mob, which is the real despot of the country, stands self-condemned by its own record of ruinous tyranny. Mob violence in strikes has repeatedly stopped our great railway systems; has frequently closed our mines, our factories, and indeed all our leading industries; has often caused panics and hard times; has wantonly applied the torch to valuable properties; has paralyzed the various lines of trade; has endangered our public carriers with dynamite and other dangerous explosives; has thrown thousands of workmen out of employment; has brought starvation and want into the homes of the poor; has occasioned great loss of life, time, and wealth; has embarrassed our people with the outrageous and humiliating impositions of the boycott, besides engendering innumerable cruelties that are scarcely surpassed by the savagery of heathendom.

Disorders of this kind are the abettors of anarchy and must be abolished in the defense of life, liberty, and happiness. The suppression of such atrocities is, however, difficult, for the reason that the participants in these abominations are voters, and therefore politicians cowering before their voting power are frequently coerced into silence or laxity in the enforcement of the laws against such flagrant intrusions upon

civil authority. But our government would be a sad failure indeed if it could not protect its citizens, their fortunes, and their lives against the disgraceful tyrannies of mob violence.

There needs to be a realization of the fact that the solution of the question of mob violence in strikes is not a mere party issue, or a sectional or State affair, but that it is a national problem to be solved in defense of orderly society against anarchy in the United States.

Doubtless our statecraft sustained by the power of Christian sentiment and present tendencies toward industrial peace will be fully equal to the task in the solution of this momentous problem. The settlement of the great coal strike through the intervention of the President of the United States has scored a distinct triumph for the principles of arbitration and has strengthened the possibilities of industrial peace. Arbitration, however, to accomplish its mission in the pacification of our industrial future, must become compulsory. To this end labor unions, as well as business corporations, must become incorporated under State laws, so that they can be held responsible for the awards of the courts of arbitration. The announcement, therefore, that certain important labor organizations contemplate becoming incorporated is a step in the right direction toward establishing a per-

manent guaranty that henceforth agreements between employees and employers can be enforced upon both parties alike. As we advance in the arts of industrial peace, experience will teach the benefits of such incorporations, other labor unions will follow in the same line, and eventually the abominations of strike warfare will be abolished through the salutary mediations of compulsory arbitration.

POLYGAMY AND DIVORCE

Restrictive measures against polygamy and divorce have for years been intelligently and popularly regarded as moral necessities and public safeguards in defense of the purity and stability of the home life of the American people; and doubtless the irresistible force of growing public sentiment aroused, not only to the white heat of pure patriotic indignation, but impelled to radical and decisive action, will eventually command and enforce congressional legislative action against these twin gigantic evils.

Neither of the restrictions proposed is new. Both measures are living issues of long standing and have, indeed, already received much legislative consideration. Divorce laws are embodied in the statutes of every State in the Union, and laws against polygamy are not only included in all State laws which adhere to the principles of monogamy in holy matrimony,

but aside from all these considerations in State legislation, polygamy has been thrice rebuked, and in a measure restrained, by the passage of the Edmunds Law in 1882, by the exclusion of Brigham H. Roberts, the defiant polygamist representative from the fifty-sixth Congress, and by the vigorous protest against the seating of Senator Smoot, of Utah. Both the divorce laws of the various States and the anti-polygamy laws of the nation have accomplished effective and beneficial results, although it is now becoming more and more apparent that, on account of the conflicting differences in State divorce laws and the abused power of Statehood conferred upon Utah, further legislative action through Congress and by the way of a federal Constitutional Amendment is absolutely necessary for adequate restrictions against the demoralizing encroachments of polygamy and divorce in the United States.

The proposition of a Constitutional Amendment empowering Congress to make laws regulating marriages and divorces has been before former sessions of Congress, and though it has thus far failed to secure much favorable consideration, yet the recent enactment of a new divorce law, in and for the District of Columbia, has encouraged Congressman Taylor, of Ohio, to renewed energy in behalf of his bill providing for a constitutional amendment to this effect. The

new law in the District of Columbia provides that, although separation may be granted for other reasons, infidelity shall be the only reason for absolute divorce, and that in such cases only the innocent party may remarry. A national law of this kind, to be enacted and made effective in all the States of the Union, is now regarded with much favor by many of our best people and some of our leading statesmen.

At the same time the people over in Utah and her adjoining States in the Mormon territory of the West are beginning to realize that in spite of the enactment of the Edmunds Law and the rejection of Roberts, the question of polygamous Mormonism is still unsolved. They see from unmistakable evidence that the public disavowals of polygamy by the Mormon hierarchy a few years ago were insincere, and that many of the Latter-Day Saints, as well as some of the most prominent of their official leaders, are still, both in theory and in practice, the secret adherents to the doctrine of polygamy as originally instituted by Joseph Smith, the founder of Mormonism, and as still incorporated in the articles of the Mormon faith. Mormonism has grown from less than twenty thousand adherents in the days of Joseph Smith to three hundred thousand devotees of to-day, and with the political sagacity and adroitly applied influence of Mormon leaders, colonizing Utah's adjoining territory

for the purpose of controlling balances of power between political parties in other States—Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, Nevada, California, Arizona, Oregon, Washington, and Montana—are threatened to be made political allies of the Mormon kingdom. “That,” says Dr. T. C. Iliff, “would mean twenty United States senators and about as many representatives controlled by a trio of polygamists with headquarters on Brigham Street, Salt Lake City, and polygamists from Utah sitting in both ends of the national Capitol.”

To avert such an ascendancy, not of Mormonism as a religious creed, but of polygamy, which is only another name for adultery and prostitution, our federal Constitution should, as speedily as possible, be so amended as forever to prohibit polygamus practices throughout the land, and also to deprive polygamists of the right of franchise and of the power of holding office in either our civil or military service. In this measure lies our only hope of effective warfare against the disgraceful and demoralizing abomination of polygamy.

But as a detaining impediment, the question arises: “Which is the greater evil of the two—fornication by divorce or fornication by polygamy?” Let us not argue the question. In God’s eyes the one sin is doubtless as damnable as the other; and in order

to be consistent, to save time, to shorten the work, and to combine the advocates of both reforms in one strong, united force, why not make the proposed federal restriction against both polygamy and divorce twin measures to be provided for in one Constitutional Amendment?

The urgent and immediate necessity of such restrictions is not by any means in doubt. Both the growing mania for divorce, disclosed by the increasing thousands of divorces granted annually by the courts in all the States of the Union, and the rapid increase of polygamous practices, divulged by actual authenticated facts in Mormon history and present-day life, are the appalling and alarming evils threatening us with national dangers that should arouse the eternal vigilance and the combined Christian forces of the whole country. There can be no reasonable apology for disharmony or indifference regarding these measures. The restrictions here proposed in defense of the home life of the nation would not be an infringement upon State rights nor would it be an intrusion upon religious liberty. Only federal legislation can accomplish a conformity of divorce laws throughout the Republic, and only national laws can ever hope to abolish polygamy in Utah, since she has been endowed with the powers of Statehood. Mormon opposition to

any further restrictions against polygamy is unimpeachable evidence of the importance of the proposed amendment.

Now is the day of opportunity for successful action to accomplish the desired restrictions against both polygamy and divorce. Perhaps never before in all our history were the great majority of our people, throughout the land, more desirous of safeguarding the home life of the nation by the federal law than now. Not only our citizenship in general but even Mormonism among the more enlightened class of Latter-Day Saints is beginning to realize as perhaps never before that polygamy is a demoralizing and a disgraceful evil that must be abolished in defense of purity in the home and stability of government in the nation.

Though the Anti-Polygamy Amendment Bill was smothered in the House Committee of the fifty-seventh Congress, yet the supporters of this bill, as also the friends of the Anti-Divorce measure, should not and will not be discouraged, but continue their energetic labors with the hope of success in the next Congress or in coming time.

Besides resorting to prohibitory legislation, however, it must be remembered that the solution of our Mormon problem requires not only the prohibitory powers of the law, but also the salutary powers of

the Gospel, and that the crusade against polygamy is largely a work of Christian missions in the yet unevangelized Mormon territory of the great West.

In this great home missionary field the Utah Gospel Mission, an undenominational organization incorporated in Cleveland, O., has begun a noble work of evangelism which should receive the support and cooperation of all Evangelical Churches, and, in fact, of all patriotic citizens who are interested in the proper solution of the Mormon problem.

LEGAL REFORM

The question of legal reform is a perpetual living issue in our civilization. Continuous changes in our judicial needs and in our social environments necessitate corresponding changes in law. Hence, the need of the perennial changes in our statutory laws, which, indeed, are so frequently revised that our common people, as a rule, are scarcely able to keep themselves posted on our legal code.

American aggressiveness in lawmaking has developed codes of laws and systems of court machinery unsurpassed by the combined legislative and judicial skill of the civilized world. Theoretically, our legal reforms have usually met the real needs of the people, and to-day our laws are doubtless, in a literal sense, about all that is desirable or necessary, for the

present, in a legal code for the administration of justice.

Our efficiency in the dispensation of justice, however, is not, by far, equal to our efficiency in law-making, and the result is that in spite of all our legal machinery, both State and national, our courts are failing to meet the actual needs and the just expectations of the people. "The letter killeth, but the spirit maketh alive." Much law and little justice in our courts make legal proceedings a farce and generates loss of confidence in our legal tribunals as effective agencies in the redress of either private or public wrongs. "Blessed are those who do not expect anything in law, for they shall not be disappointed." If this proverbial beatitude is applicable to civil law, it certainly is applicable to criminal law. Indeed, the number of convictions in criminal cases is so scandalously out of proportion to the number of crimes committed that our administration of criminal law has fallen so low in disrepute that people are despairingly saying our laws are made to defeat prosecution and to facilitate the escape of criminals, who appear under such conditions to be the privileged classes of the country.

All concede that such a state of affairs should not be. The American people, with a republican form of government under a federal Constitution which

prohibits the granting of patents of nobility to citizens, do not believe in privileged classes of any kind and *most emphatically* never had the remotest intention of making contemptible thieves and murderers the privileged classes of the land by shielding them against the deserved penalties of the law, even at the high price of sacrificed public honor and safety. As a rule our people abhor crime and desire law and order. Our public sentiment demands that the criminal, though he is to be accorded every iota of justice due him, shall not in any sense be so shielded against the penalties of the law as to arouse or maintain the suspicion that he is the favored character in our criminal courts. The common idea is that the evil-doer should have a fair and impartial and a speedy trial, but nothing more that would either directly or indirectly defeat an honest vindication of the law.

Therefore, in recognition of the will of the people, as well as in compliance with the just intentions of the law, criminal tactics to defeat justice in our courts should be rebuked and forbidden. Perjurers upon the witness stand or in the jury box should be unsparingly prosecuted. Criminal lawyers should be honest expounders of law and sincere defenders of justice, and the disreputable attorneys who would knowingly and willfully seek by foul means to clear

red-handed criminals, and thus bring disrepute upon criminal courts, should be abhorred and condemned by public sentiment and promptly discharged from the practice of law in our courts.

That a certain degree of charity for criminals, even after conviction for crime, is justifiable and commendable, is universally conceded. Vengeance should not be a factor in punishment. Justice tempered by Christian charity, seeking not only to punish, but also, if possible, to reform the criminal and to reclaim him from vice and crime should be the motto of prison administration. Accordingly, it is gratifying to see that such plausible measures as the probation of criminals, indeterminate sentences, reparation for injury, prison dietaries, civil service in prison administration, etc., are being thoroughly discussed and favorably considered.

But the vital question in legal reform is, How can the malpractices of criminal courts be abolished and the supremacy of law be obtained? Let some of our leading jurists speak and answer the question. President J. J. McCarthy, of the Iowa Bar Association, regards the prevalence of perjury and bribery in American courts of justice as our greatest evil. "Where," says he, "is there a lawyer who has not seen the guilty criminal pass out of the court room acquitted and set free because of perjured testimony?"

What one of us but has seen the rights of persons and property sacrificed and trampled under foot; presumably under due form of law, but really and truly by the use of corrupt and false and sometimes purchased testimony? These are things that beget distrust and disrespect for the courts and for verdicts and for our boasted form of law. These are the things that produce anarchy, lynching, and invite just contempt as well as lack of confidence in those tribunals called courts of justice. One judge of long experience upon the bench writes me that, in his opinion, about one half of all the evidence received on behalf of the defense in criminal cases is false. Another judge of equally high repute writes that he believes seventy-five per cent of the evidence offered in divorce cases approaches deliberate perjury. Another writes that perjury is committed in a majority of important lawsuits, and that the crime is rapidly increasing. In short, with reference to the prevalence of perjury, the time has come when, in the words of another, justice must wear a veil, not that she may be impartial, but that she may hide her face for shame." Mr. McCarthy proposes remedies. He says oaths are too common. He favors the abolition of all official oaths and the emphatic administration of the judicial oath. He believes that the judge himself should administer all oaths; that it should

be done with gravity and solemnity, and that witnesses should be told that extreme punishment would be meted out to perjurers. Then he holds that the law should be enforced, that perjury should be swiftly and severely punished, and if so punished a strong public sentiment would rapidly grow up against it, and men would hesitate before committing this most heinous, wicked, and cruel crime.

Judge I. C. Parker, of the United States District Court for the Western District of Arkansas, who has presided over more than one hundred murder trials, proposes as a remedy in legal reform the establishment of appellate criminal courts. He says: "To destroy the greatest of all promoters of crime I would remodel the appellant court system. I would organize in the States and in the nation courts of criminal appeals, made up of judges learned in the criminal law, and governed by a desire for its speedy and vigorous enforcement. I would have sent to these courts a full record of the trial, and they should be compelled to pass upon the case as soon as possible according to its merits, and ascertain the guilt or innocence of the accused from the truth and the law of the case manifest on record. I would brush aside all technicalities that did not affect the guilt or innocence of the accused. I would not permit them to act on a partial record, or on any technical pleas

concocted by cunning minds. I would provide by law against the reversal of cases unless upon their merits innocence was manifested. The guilt or innocence of the party should be the only guide. I would require prompt action upon the part of the court. By the establishment of courts of this kind public confidence, in a great measure lost at the present time, would be restored, and the people would again be taught to depend upon legal protection against crime, and in this way a vigorous support to the courts and juries would be given by the masses of the people looking toward the law's vindication."

Justice Brewer, of the United States Supreme Court, deplors the law's delays and the failure of the courts to meet the public necessities. The legal profession, he says, is becoming crowded with unfit men, who are debasing it into the meanest of vocations, and it would be a blessing to all true lawyers, as well as to the people, if some Noachian deluge would engulf half of those who have a license to practice. The remedy for the prevailing evils and abuses in the administration of justice he indicates as follows: "Shorten the time of process. Curtail the right of continuances. When once a case has been commenced deny to every other court the right to interfere or take jurisdiction of any matter that can be

brought by either party into the pending litigation. Limit the right of reviews. Terminate all review in one appellate court, and instead of assuming that injury was done if error is shown, require the party complaining of a judgment or decree to show affirmatively not merely that some error was committed in the trial, but also that if that error had not been committed the result must necessarily have been different. In criminal cases there should be no appeal. I say it with reluctance, but the truth is that you can trust a jury to do justice to the accused with more safety than you can an appellate court to secure protection to the public by the speedy punishment of a criminal. To guard against any possible wrong to an accused a board of review and pardons might be created with power to set aside a conviction or reduce the punishment if on the full record it appears, not that a technical error has been committed, but that the defendant is not guilty or has been excessively punished."

Let the opinions of such experienced jurists as these be heard and proclaimed throughout the land and practically applied in the accomplishment of a radical and healthy law reform that shall meet the actual needs of the people and restore public confidence to our legal tribunals.

CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP

NATIONAL HYMN

My country! 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing:
Land where my fathers died!
Land of the pilgrims' pride!
From every mountain side
Let freedom ring!

My native country, thee,
Land of the noble, free,
Thy name I love;
I love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills:
My heart with rapture thrills
Like that above.

Let music swell the breeze,
And ring from all the trees
Sweet freedom's song:
Let mortal tongues awake;
Let all that breathe partake;
Let rocks their silence break,
The sound prolong.

Our fathers' God! to thee,
Author of liberty,
To thee we sing:
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light;
Protect us by thy might,
Great God, our King!

—*Rev. S. F. Smith.*

XII

CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP

“Fellow citizens with the saints.”—Eph. 2. 19.

UNITED STATES citizens sojourning in other lands do not, on account of their foreign residence, lose their American citizenship; and if they be ambassadors or public servants of the government, or if they be missionaries going forth to other lands to proclaim the Gospel of Christ, their children, though born in other lands, lose none of the rights and privileges which pertain to persons born within the territory of our own national domain. Such children, though having had their birth and their residence in other lands, are citizens of their parents' country.

In like manner Christian citizens, as children of the heavenly King, born from the Spirit above, sojourning as pilgrims on earth and having no continuing city or abiding residence in this transitory world below, have a noble birthright in the heavenly land; and with that noble heritage in view the followers of King Jesus in every State and Territory of our Republic will do well in pursuance of the teachings of the divine Word to recognize the true rela-

tionship of citizenship to saintship and reverently to subordinate the faithful discharge of civil duties to the supremacy of the great and glorious fact of their eternal citizenship in heaven from whence they look for the reappearance of their coming Lord.

“Children of the heavenly King,
As ye journey sweetly sing;
Sing your Saviour’s worthy praise,
Glorious in his works and ways.”

The poet’s suggestion of joy and song is certainly in harmony with the spirit and purpose of true Christian citizenship, which, aside from its happy mission of useful service and noble victory here below, enjoys also the promise of saintly citizenship in the heavenly kingdom.

The close alliance of Christianity and citizenship is indeed a significant and a happy sign of our times. Once it was supposed that the Master’s saying, “My kingdom is not of this world,” implied a divorcement of all religion from citizenship and that, in consequence of that, true Christians could not afford to take much interest in politics without falling from grace and becoming disloyal to their Lord. But the time has come when a better exegesis of that Gospel saying reveals the fact that what our Lord meant and said indicates that the authority in virtue of

which he reigns was not derived from this world, but from the Father above, who by the sovereignty of his Son ruleth in the kingdom of men. No, Christ's kingdom is not *of* this world, but *for* this world and the world to come, and, therefore, not only the salvation of the individual, but also the salvation of society, of the State, of the nation, and of the world lies within the purpose and providence of his saving grace. The State or nation is as truly divine as is the Church of which it is in reality the divinely designed outcome as a social organization invested with the authority and power of sovereignty. The Christian citizen may, therefore, be as much a servant of his Lord in the politics of his country as in the sacred duties of his home or his Church; and it is, therefore, his duty and privilege to labor and pray not only for the salvation of individual souls and the success of the Church, but also to seek by reformatory endeavor to make the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of Christ.

Christian citizenship, therefore, stands for certain definite national reforms on Gospel principles. The ideal citizen-politician in our Christian Republic is the man to whom the great importance of applied Christianity in public affairs is ever present, who accepts the Bible as his statesman's manual, and whose political endeavor or statesmanship is but a

subordinate element of vitalized Christianity. The Gospel virtues should, therefore, be vitalized in the personality of a pure and intelligent American manhood, characterized by the noble attributes of Christian citizenship and imbued with a deep sense of the fact that every individual contributes a quota to the life of the nation, and is, therefore, responsible to his country and his God for the potency and tendency of his influence.

Realizing our dependence upon divine aid in all things we shall do well in our endeavor of personifying ideal Christian citizenship in our individual lives to remember the divine injunction: "*Have faith in God.*" Christian *faith*, which has been such a powerful factor in our national history and political destiny, is still and must continue to be an essential attribute of aggressive and truly American citizenship in our national future. Deistical sociology, which adheres to the false doctrine of purely secular or man-made government and looks upon God as wholly external to the machinery of sovereignty—as a Creator who, in Carlyle's phrase, "having wound up the universe, contents himself with sitting on the outside of it and seeing it go"—is both un-Christian and un-American, and is, therefore, unworthy and unbecoming as an attribute in our citizenship. True it is, and it must be regretfully conceded that there is, even to-day,

a great deal of practical atheism among our people, as manifested in the flagrant abuse of the elective franchise, in the disrespect for civil law, in the violence and recklessness of political partisanism, and in the tendency toward setting aside the basic principles of republicanism by permitting the strong to oppress the weak; but the fact remains, and nothing is plainer in our past history and in our present day political life than that God is a sovereign power in our government and that Christian faith, which has characterized typical American citizenship from Washington to our best statesmen of the present day, is still and must, for the life and future prosperity of our Republic, continue to be a vital and an essential quality in the individual disposition of our people.

Moreover, true faith in God implies faith in humanity, a disposition which is also essential in good citizenship. While there is much depravity in human nature, yet all is not vile in man; and the fact of redemption and saving grace through Christ should inspire faith in redeemed humanity. But infidelity against God also generates infidelity against humanity, and, as a rule, both kinds of infidelity thrive best where depravity is greatest. The two men in ancient history, Nero and Heliogabalus, of whom it is recorded that they firmly believed that no human

being was pure, were undoubtedly the meanest and most contemptible men ever produced by a corrupt and decaying civilization. Alas that the dark and forlorn misconception of these debased tyrants did not die with them in those ancient days, but has survived them and has also manifested its blighting influence in degenerated characters of mediæval and modern times. We read of Diogenes searching in daylight with a lantern to find a man in the streets of Athens, of Phocion inquiring if he had said anything wrong to have occasioned a given demonstration of applause in his speech before the people, of Pyrrho describing men as a herd of swine rioting on board a rudderless vessel in a stormy sea, of La Rochefoucauld discarding even human virtues as only so many vices in disguise, of Voltaire describing humanity as a compound of bears and monkeys, and of Schopenhauer declaring the world and humanity hopelessly bad and growing worse. We see this same spirit of pessimistic infidelity manifested in the revolutionary fatalism which can see nothing but evil in the public officials of Church and State or in the civil and religious institutions of our day and age. Men of this type may, to some extent, be the objects of some pity, as well as blame, because a diseased liver, a phlegmatic temperament, evil environment, disappointment in business or politics, betrayal of friends, imposition

by scoundrels, and a thousand other causes beyond their control, may have operated to generate such unfortunate and forlorn state of mind and heart. However, such infidelity toward God or humanity disqualifies good citizenship and ought to be discouraged. The man who has no faith in human nature and who habitually fosters a feeling of displeasure and bitter distrust and condemnation for others shows unmistakable signs of depravity in his own evil disposition and deserves to be regarded as an unreliable character capable of strategy and treachery.

Pure and wise disposition in citizenship will discountenance infidelity toward God or humanity and heed the good advice of Dr. F. W. Farrar when he says: "Look at man in his eternal aspect. Look not at the feet of clay, but at the golden head crowned with spiritual stars, and you will learn to say, as even the pagan moralist said: 'Man should be a sacred thing to man,' and with the Christian apostle: 'Honor all men.'"

Next to faith in God and in humanity stands *patriotism* as an attribute of Christian citizenship. Those who decry patriotism as the quintessence of selfishness and, under the plea of a higher and more fraternal civilization, propose to substitute for our love of country a kind of "milk and water cosmo-

politanism" may mean well, but they certainly do not display that degree of intelligence, fidelity, and courage characteristic of good citizenship. Love for one's country is perfectly in harmony with our Lord's Golden Rule of love and good will toward our fellow-men. Just as a man keeping that rule may have particular friends or naturally and dutifully loves his wife and children more than he does those of his neighbor, and could not, in fact, keep that rule unless he did entertain such a sacred preference, so a man can and should love his own country more than he does any other nation.

Love of country is a God-given and a common virtue of mankind. Among all people and in all nations that emotion of the soul which fosters undying affection for the land of man's nativity is enthroned as a national safeguard in human hearts. America is not an exception to the rule, and our patriotism is not inferior to that of other nations. Indeed, some of the noblest examples of patriotism ever produced in the annals of nations stand recorded in American history. Quite naturally and spontaneously the sons and daughters of the great American Republic glory in their national heritage, and patriotism seems to be such a universal sentiment among our people that no political party, no religious creed, and no section of country appears

to have a monopoly of this noble attribute of citizenship.

If there has ever been a dearth of patriotism in this country then it is all the more pleasing and gratifying to observe in recent years what President Harrison in his day termed "a *renaissance* of patriotism," beginning with the great centennial celebration of 1876 and maintained since then by the various patriotic societies, such as the Sons of the American Revolution, the Colonial Dames of America, the United States Daughters, the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, and other bodies that have been organized for the purpose of stimulating and cultivating a spirit of patriotism throughout the nation.

The culture and propaganda of patriotic sentiment is far more important in a Republic than it is in an autocratic government, and our national safety demands the inculcation of patriotic principles in the hearts of our people and a continuous strengthening of our popular faith in American institutions. The kind of patriotism we need is not the bombastic and hysterical kind, so common in Fourth of July oratory, nor of that kind which depreciates the dignity of other nations, or glories in the heroism of bloody conquest, but a truly Christian patriotism consistent with the highest type of Gospel liberty and a morally progressive civilization.

Kindred to true love of country is the disposition of *self-sacrifice* in Christian citizenship. Under God our Republic owes its origin to the self-sacrifice of our forefathers, who gave their prayers and their struggles, their tears and their lives as the price of our blood-bought liberty. Our nation's founders and her noblest heroes to the present day were American patriots not only in noble sentiment expressed in poetry or in song, in things written, or in things spoken, but in self-denying service expressed in deeds of valor in their country's behalf. Thus the principle of self-sacrifice has been and always will be an important factor in our best citizenship.

Isolated selfishness, which knows no other motive than self-interest, which indulges no other passion but grasping greed, and which seeks no other endeavor but self-aggrandizement, is absolutely unworthy of any true American and should not disgrace or characterize our citizenship. Selfishness in our citizenship bodes ruin to the individual and the nation. "For," saith the Lord, "whosoever will save his life shall lose it; but whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it." Innumerable historic evidences indicating that selfishness is a debasing curse and that self-sacrifice is an exalting virtue, both individually and socially, demonstrate and verify the eternal truth of this Gospel declaration. As

the true ideal of Christian citizenship grows and becomes predominant among our people, public sentiment will condemn and repudiate selfish principles and practices both in public men and in political parties, and will stamp the national life with the gifts and graces of Christian charity.

Self-sacrifice must be supplemented, however, by the heroic virtue of *moral courage* in our citizenship. Heroic courage has always been an important and laudable factor in civilization. In the annals of war in our own and other countries we read of men's deeds of daring and emulate their bravery. Though we do not glory in the exploits of mortal combat, yet we cannot help admiring the heroism and the courage of a Leonidas at Thermopylæ, of an Arnold von Winkelried at Sempach, or of a Washington or a Jackson in our own history. Even such physical courage is the pride of heroic manhood and stands monumental in noble victories won as recorded in the history of nations.

But higher still than physical courage, that will defy danger and even death in the clash of arms, is moral courage, that will endure the derision and contempt of the world for daring to do what is right in order to counteract the powers of wickedness and to promote the cause of truth and righteousness among men. Such examples of moral heroism are

historically demonstrated in the courage of Christ before Pilate, of Paul on the Areopagus, of Athanasius against the world, of John Huss at Constance, of Martin Luther at Worms, and of Wesley facing the mobs of England.

Reviewing the records of the great moral reforms in America, we can say without boasting that noble examples of moral courage have added luster to our national history. Aside from scores of names that might be quoted from our earlier history the more familiar names of James Russell Lowell and George William Curtis may here be mentioned as modern examples of moral courage applied to American social life. Both were men of splendid gifts and commanding influence, besides being actuated by strong righteous impulses that led them to devote the latter part of their useful lives to the earnest advocacy of reforms that were unpopular in their day and that could be accomplished only by courageously rebuking wrong and faithfully witnessing to the truth which applied in actual life makes men free indeed.

Such moral courage will doubtless be as much in demand in our future as it has been in our past history. There is still much work ahead for statesmen and reformers. Great moral problems are pending for solution, and never in the history of our

country was there a more inviting field for competent leadership in momentous reformatory measures than has opened to our view in the beginning years of the century. Evidently we are on the eve of great social and industrial changes. Christian citizens must take their stand on the right side of great issues and do their part in the conflict for victory. What side to choose and what course ought to be pursued is usually not very difficult to determine. But frequently men are deficient in moral courage to show color and to do their duty as they see it before God. Many will halt between policy and principle, and in the hour of decision will only be too easily inclined to come out on the wrong side of pending issues. Heroic moral courage, expressed in a faithful adherence to principle and in prompt and faithful discharge of duty in accordance with intelligent and positive convictions, is the only proper and becoming disposition of Christian citizenship on great living issues.

Where moral courage predominates *nonpartisan-ship* will also prevail in the administration of Christian citizenship. The man of principle may belong to a political party, but he will not be driven by the party lash to do homage to political bosses or to become the slave to partisanship.

Of course, in a popular government political

parties are public necessities as agencies of voluntary organization for the promotion of principles upon which men agree and for the decisions of questions of policy, law, and government. But while political parties have a useful mission and are therefore not to be regarded as necessarily of evil, yet the bitterness of the party spirit, as often asserted during the violent upheavals of political campaigns, is never, by any means, excusable or defensible, much less commendable.

Notwithstanding all allowances that are to be made for the heat of passion and the exaggeration of language which controversy over great issues is apt to engender there can, from a Christian standpoint, be no apology for what there is of wrath, of clamor, of evil-speaking, of reputation smirching, and of partisan vilification so common during our political campaigns. Libelous and slanderous vituperations through our political press and platform have a very sinister influence both at home and abroad. Foreigners judging our political status from such campaign oratory and literature must conclude that our popular government is a miserable failure and that our public men are criminals of the worst type. Public confidence at home is demoralized by such indiscriminate detractions. Good men, who cannot afford to sacrifice the honors of a good reputation by expo-

sure to unprincipled political slander, are deterred from politics and bad men, who have little honor to lose, but who have much to gain from political success, are naturally drawn into the public service, and the result is seen in the official maladministrations that so frequently disgrace our public service.

The dangers of blind partisanship which sees its own party all white and other parties all black, which keeps self-seekers and scoundrels in office, which obstructs important legislation and enables party bosses to fatten on the boodle of political spoils, should be vigilantly guarded and counteracted by the supremacy of a pure and unbiased patriotism prevailing over prejudiced motives and corrupt practices in our political life. With the common sense and moral sentiment of thousands of patriotic citizens throughout the land, and with the host of independent voters, who prize political purity and good government higher than the vain glory of mere party triumph, there is at least a reasonable hope for the future prevalence of patriotism over partisanship in America.

But to insure this desirable result the fundamental virtue of *integrity* must not be wanting in our citizenship. Though American integrity doubtless compares favorably with the political honesty of other nations, yet it cannot be denied that in our country,

as well as in others, dishonesty, effectively applied in fraudulent political methods, always has been, and is to-day, a dangerous and a corrupting partisan power in the hands of unprincipled politicians. When we see the evidences of fraud in election returns, the power of money in legislation, and the merchandise of the sacred franchise by men who will unblushingly sell their votes for all sorts of bribes, from pledges of public patronage and sums of money down to cigars and drinks of beer or whiskey, we have reason to fear that even in our day there may be the same or similar conditions of dishonor in our politics that induced Sir Robert Walpole, of England, in his time to declare with reference to the political conditions of his country that "every man has his price."

There is some consolation in the thought that it was Patrick Henry who did honor to the integrity of American patriotism when he supplemented Walpole's reflection with the significant declaration, "But my price is the kingdom." Millions of patriotic and bribeless sons and daughters of American liberty would, doubtless, say as much to-day; and it is a hopeful sign of our times that in recent years so much attention is paid to the personal character of political aspirants, and especially with reference to their integrity and reliability in places of public

trust, and that dishonest office seekers have less and less opportunity of political success. Experience has taught our people that "vigilance is the price of liberty," and patriotic precaution against corruption is manifesting a growing intolerance for political rascality and is establishing the laudable precedent that only men of stainless honesty and unimpeachable character are desirable and available in our official service.

But all the aforementioned characteristics of faith, patriotism, self-sacrifice, moral courage, non-partisanship, and integrity must, in true adherence to the Christian ideal of citizenship, be supplemented and sustained by the crowning disposition of *loyalty*. Without loyalty all our boast of liberty and ideal citizenship would be a contemptible sham. In a despotism of illegally assumed authority ruling in a manner contrary to every principle of liberty and justice there might, of course, be some apology for contempt of law, but in a Republic like ours there is neither provocation *for* nor dignity *in* a refusal to recognize legal obligations on partisan or other grounds. Public officers though elected by party votes are not the officers of any particular party or faction, but the officers of all the people, and laws though enacted by party power in authority are not the laws of a part but of the whole body politic.

The world's greatest men in the history of nations have always condemned disloyalty as contemptible and mean, and have, as a rule, been law-abiding citizens, who entertained a self-respecting pride in their nationality and who, by a loyal recognition of duly constituted authority, deported themselves worthy of the personal benefits of Christian civilization. As our ideal of citizenship arises and advances on Christian principles men will perceive above a human contrivance a divine ordinance in civil government and concede that obedience is required of all who would keep in harmony with the obligations and dignities of true Christian citizenship.

Though in our country, in which every man is born a citizen-king, the disposition to rule is innate, yet the capacity or fitness to rule can only be acquired by first learning obedience. Of George Washington, the hero of the American Revolution and the father of his country, it is said that he learned to command by first learning to obey. This is doubtless true in every instance of efficient rulership, whether it be in the home, the school, the municipality, the commonwealth, or the nation. Only by an intelligent study of our political life and sociological conditions, by patient and prudent training for patriotic usefulness, and by learning under wise and helpful counsels, the lesson of loyal

subjection to superior authority, can those indispensable qualifications of citizenship be best developed in a man, so that, when the voice of the people calls him from the common labors of his ordinary vocation to the important duties of official life, he may be able to respond manfully to the call by an honorable and a successful administration of the responsibilities and powers of authority intrusted to his supervision and care. Thus, it is apparent that the typical American and the ideal citizen ought to be—indeed, must be—in the highest and broadest sense of the term, a Christian gentleman.

Now, in the conclusion of this volume the writer is well aware that much diversity of thought prevails relative to the various topics treated in the preceding chapters, but he has not aspired to meet the approval of all prevailing opinions, but has sought, in the fear of God, to express the truth as he sees it from a nonpartisan and a nonsectarian and yet a strictly Christian standpoint. May the truths herein expressed and already entertained by millions of our best citizens become more and more vitalized in the sentiment of our beloved people, and may God reign in our Republic and in all the world now and forever. Amen!

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