

"IF ANY MAN HEAR MY WORDS, AND BELIEVE NOT, I JUDGE HIM NOT: FOR I CAME NOT TO JUDGE THE WORLD, BUT TO SAVE THE WORLD."

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Of all the forms of government the stability of the republican form depends most upon the integrity of the individual.

Abraham Lincoln's definition of a republic is the best that can ever be given: "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

A republic is a government "of the people;" because the people only compose the government. The people then are governed "by the people;" that is, they are governed by themselves. The people are governed "by the people" "for the people;" that is, by themselves for themselves.

Such a government in the nature of things is only self-government. Each citizen governs himself. He does this by himself—by his own powers of self-restraint. And he does this for himself, that is, for his own good, for his own best interests: knowing at the same time that this is also for the good and for the best interests of his fellow-citizen.

Only in the proportion that this conception is fulfilled, is it possible for a republic to flourish. In the proportion that the people lose the power to govern themselves, in just that proportion the true idea of a republic must, and surely will, fail of realization. And in a republic, just as soon as a majority of the people have ceased to govern themselves by their own individual powers, the republic has in principle and in fact passed away.

And so surely as a republic passes away, a despotism takes its place. It may be an elective despotism, but it is none the less a despotism. It may, indeed, be a despotism of the many—of the majority; but it is none the less a despotism. In fact, in such cases, it always is at first a despotism of the many. Shortly after this it becomes a despotism of a few. And at last, ere long too, it becomes a despotism of one.

Any person, therefore, who allows himself to engage in anything that deprives him of the full and free government of himself,

thereby enters upon a course that is contrary to free government. Whatever weakens or absorbs the individuality of the citizen, undermines the republic. It matters not what it may be, what form it may take, or what pretensions may be made in its behalf, to whatever extent it weakens or swallows up the individuality of the individual man—just to that extent it undermines the republic.

Party organization may be perfectly proper, but when it become so "straight" that the citizen cannot act upon his own individual preferences or convictions, without being ostracised or "read out;" or when it is turned to "the machine;" however much certain men may gain by it, the people are only the losers and the republic is weakened.

Business partnerships and corporations may be perfectly proper; but when they are employed to crush out competition or to swallow up the individuality of owners, they violate the first principle of free government, and therefore are a menace to the republic.

Labor organizations may be beneficial; but when they are used to deprive the individual of the privilege of entering into any engagement that he may see fit to make; or so as to absorb the individuality of any member that he is not free to be employed under whatever circumstances that seem to him satisfactory, or that he is not free to come and go at his own pleasure without interference on the part of anybody; they invade the right of the individual to govern himself, and in so doing repudiate government of the people, by the people, and for the people, and are a menace to the republic.

Church organization is not only proper, it is divine; but when church organization is so managed and manipulated by men as to become in their hands a weapon to be held menacingly before politicians, business men and all others, by threats or whatever other means shall prove most effective, to deprive them of the freedom of individual action, according to their own individual conviction,—then such church organizations become only a menace to the republic itself. They cease to be divine and become earthly, sensual, devilish, and thus the greatest possible menace to the republic.

Hon. Henry Watterson, in an interview for the press of this city, only a few days ago, made the following statement:—

In 1800 we were a few millions of people and we loved liberty. In 1900 we are nearly a hundred millions of people and we love money. Moreover, individually and collectively, we have a great deal of money. Most of this money is invested in what are called corporations. From a handful of individuals we have become a nation of institutions. The individual counts for less and less, organizations for more and more.

In remarking upon this statement the *New York Journal*, of December 2, said:—

There is no disputing the truth of that. . . . What he feels as to the dangers of concentrating wealth, the diminution of the importance of the individual, and the dominance of the purse, an increasing minority of men of thought and masculine instincts feel.

Every organization, every influence, that diminishes the importance of the individual, is in antagonism to government of the people, and just so far as it does so, is inimical to the republic.

Yet no man can deny that all the forms of organization which we have referred to, are diligently working in all the ways pointed out, and in other ways besides, to diminish the importance of the individual. The practice of each one is therefore in direct antagonism to government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Any one of them, then, to be continued and to "grow by that it feeds on," could end in nothing else than the subversion of the republic: this to be followed by the inevitable despotism, first of the many, then of a few, and finally of one. And when such only can be the tendency and end of any one of these, how much more, and how much more swiftly, must this be the end, with all of them working at the same time and only to that end.

What, then, is the remedy? Cultivate the individual. Restore the integrity, the manliness, the manly independence, the individuality, of the individual. This is the only remedy. Nothing else can possibly avail.

Thus again is strongly illustrated the importance of that scripture that was written for this time: "The Lord spake thus unto me with a strong hand, and instructed me that I should not walk in the way of this people, saying, Say ye not, A confederacy, to all them to whom this people shall say, A confederacy; neither fear ye their fear nor be afraid. Sanctify the Lord of hosts himself; and let him be your fear, and let him be your dread."

THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

It has been said of the early Romans that "they possessed the faculty of self-government beyond any people of whom we have historical knowledge," with the sole exception of the Anglo-Saxons. By virtue of this faculty, in the very nature of things, they became the most powerful nation of all ancient times.

But their extensive conquests filled Rome with gold. "Money poured in upon them in rolling streams of gold." With wealth came luxury. "Wealth poured in more and more, and luxury grew more unbounded. Palaces sprang up in the city, castles in the country, villas at pleasant places by the sea, and parks, and fish-ponds, and game preserves, and gardens, and vast retinues of servants" everywhere.

To get money by any means lawful or unlawful, became the universal passion. "Money was the one thought from the highest senator to the poorest wretch who sold his vote in the Comitia. For money Judges gave unjust decrees, and juries gave corrupt verdicts." "The elections were managed by clubs and coteries; and, except on occasions of national danger or political excitement, those who spent most freely were most certain of success. Under these conditions the chief powers in the commonwealth necessarily centered in the rich. The door of promotion was open to all who had the golden key. The highest offices of State were open in theory to the meanest citizen; they were confined in fact to those who had the longest purses, or the most ready use of the tongue on popular platforms. Distinctions of birth had been exchanged for distinctions of wealth. The struggle between plebeians and patricians for equality of privilege was over, and a new division had been formed between the party of property and a party who desired a change in the structure of society."

As the power which wealth gave was used only to increase the wealth of those who had it, or of their favorites, and increased wealth was used only to increase the power of those who had it, the sure result was the growth of envy on the part of the populace, and presently a demand which grew louder and still more urgent that there should be a more equable distribution of the plenty that was monopolized by the few. "All orders in a society may be wise and virtuous, but all cannot be rich. Wealth which is used only for idle luxury is always envied, and envy soon curdles into hate. It is easy to persuade the masses that the good things of this world are unjustly divided, especially when it happens to be the exact truth."

As these two classes were constantly growing farther apart—the rich growing richer and the poor poorer—there ceased to be any middle class to maintain order in government and society by holding the balance of power. There remained then only the two classes, the rich and the poor, and of these the rich despised the poor, and the poor envied the rich. And there were not wanting men to stir up the discontent of the masses, and present schemes for the reorganization of government and society.

Some of these were well-meaning men, men who really had in view the good of their fellowmen and the bettering of society and government; but the far greater number were mere demagogues—ambitious schemers who used the discontent of the populace only to lift themselves into positions of wealth and power which they envied others, and which, when they had secured, they employed as selfishly

and oppressively as had any of those against whom they clamored. But whether they were well-meaning men or only demagogues, in order to hold the populace against the persuasions and bribes of the wealthy, they were compelled to make promises and concessions, which were only in the nature of larger bribes, and which in the end were as destructive of free government and the republic as were the worst acts of the aristocracy of wealth itself.

After considerable see-sawing between the two parties for the possession of the governmental power, it was taken from both by the First Triumvirate—Pompey, Crassus and Cæsar. These three men covenanted together "that no proceedings should be allowed to take place in the commonwealth without the consent of each of the three contracting parties." In eleven years the sole power fell to Cæsar alone. In four years more, pretended patriots assassinated Cæsar "to save the republic" from what they supposed was threatened in him, and thereby made only the more certain the very thing that they professed to fear from him, and which in fact was realized shortly from those who were worse than he.

Affairs had reached the point in the republic where a Cæsar was inevitable, and though in the attempt to escape it they had killed the greatest Roman who ever lived, it was only hastened by the very means which they had employed to avoid it. This they themselves realized as soon as they awoke from the dream in which they had done the desperate deed. Cicero exactly defined the situation, and gave a perfect outline of the whole history of the times when he exclaimed, "We have killed the king; but the kingdom is with us still. We have taken away the tyrant: the tyranny survives." That tyranny survived in the breast of every man in Rome. And in just thirteen and a half years from that time, the State having gone again over precisely the same course, came again to the same point where the sole power was in the hands of a Cæsar where it remained until both the monarchy and the empire of Rome perished forever.

Thus in the Roman republic, by the inseparable train of wealth, luxury, and vice, self-restraint was broken down, the power of self-government was lost, and that republic failed. And so every other republic must fail when the faculty of self-government fails by virtue of which alone a republic is possible. The Romans ceased to govern themselves, and they had to be governed. They lost the faculty of self-government. With that vanished the republic, and its place was supplied by a one-man power, an imperial tyranny supported by a military despotism.

We have thus sketched the history of the Roman republic. To sketch the history of the first French republic would be but to repeat the story almost point by point. No man can fail to see that up to a certain point the parallel is complete between that and the republic of the United States of America to-day. Is it at all strange then, indeed is it not the most natural thing in the world, that disinterested thinkers should raise the query whether the United States, in one hundred and fifty years, is really going to pass "through all the stages to be found in the history of Rome"? And further ask, "Are the Americans in quest of a Napoleon? Are they moving in the direction of a dictatorship, the precursor of demagogic, or military despotism?"

We are not alarmists. We do not propose to be alarmists. We simply ask for sober thinking. It is our duty to present facts, and to call attention to the things which

those facts with unfailing certainty indicate. And there can be no possible room for question that from the facts which are patent to-day to every one who will look about, it is time for every person in the United States to engage in the sober thinking to which we simply invite him.

THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE.

A COMMON accusation made by Protestants against the Catholic Church, is that the latter adheres to the principle of the union of Church and State. It appears, however, that the Catholic position upon this point is, in this country at least, quite in harmony with that now maintained by the leading Protestant bodies. What the papal church would insist upon here is not a union of Church and State, but of religion and the State. This was authoritatively stated by the "Right Rev." Bishop Montgomery, of Los Angeles, Cal., in a recent lecture on the "Basis of American Citizenship," reported in the *Catholic News* (New York) of November 22.

"The trouble is," he said, "that people have come to believe that citizenship is wholly and altogether secular; particularly in these last few years the question has been put in the shape of the separation of Church and State. That hobby, ridden so faithfully and so earnestly by so many, has come to mean, in the minds of a great number, that the separation of Church and State means the separation of religion and State. And though in this country we are under such circumstances that there must ever be a separation of Church and State in the ordinary acceptance of the words, there is not and cannot be a separation of religion and State, if we remain the republic that our forefathers left us."

The Protestant churches do not favor a union of Church and State "in the ordinary acceptance of the words;" but they do advocate a union of religion with the State, and the papal church says that there must be no "separation of religion and State" if the republic is to be preserved. The papal church therefore takes fully as "enlightened" a stand in this important matter as do the Protestants. Her attitude to-day is no less "liberal" than is theirs.

But the truth is that the papal church never advocated anything more than a union of religion with the State; so that the position stated by the *Catholic News*, and endorsed by the leading Protestant bodies to-day, is the same that Rome has always held. For back in the days of papal supremacy, the clashing religious sects of the present day were not in existence, and "religion" meant, to the State, only the religion held by the papacy. United with that religion, the State was in the truest sense united with the papacy. Bearing in mind now that the papal religion is the only religion recognized by the papal church as being the true religion—Christianity—the identity of her present position with that held by her in former times is perfectly plain. Rome advocates a union of religion with the State, but *her religion*, she says, *is the only true religion*. Of course no false religion ought to be united with the State; hence a union of religion with the State, from the papal standpoint, means nothing more nor less than a union of the civil power with the papacy.

And from the standpoint of any Protestant church which maintains this same principle, the conclusion reached must be similar. For though the various Protestant sects count

each other as branches of the great Christian Church, and even recognize the papacy as such a branch, each one believes that she holds more Christian truth than any of the others, and hence that she is, in a fuller sense, Christian, than are the others. Therefore, of course, she is better entitled than the others to a union with the State; since the State ought not to be joined with religious error. So, from the Protestant standpoint no less than from the Catholic, a union of religion with the State means, in its last analysis, a union of Church and State, in the fullest sense. And this meaning will take on a very practical and tangible character when the principle upon which it stands is sought to be carried into effect. The movement to unite religion with the State, once started, will speedily develop into a controversy over a union of Church and State, even "in the ordinary acceptance of the words." It cannot possibly lead to anything else.

Then if we would avoid a union of Church and State, it is absolutely necessary that the State should be kept separate from religion,—not separate from justice, from honesty, from integrity—but separate from religion, as the Christian men who established it ordained that it should be. There can be nothing more essential than this to our country's welfare.

THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

NOTHING can so effectually hinder the advancement of God's kingdom among men to-day as wrong conceptions as to what the kingdom is. In the Epistle to the Romans Paul wrote, "The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost." . . . The kingdom of God consists of something infinitely higher and more important than laws and regulations as to what we shall eat and drink, or what we shall wear. The kingdom of God is a very different thing from what many conceive it to be and from what many are representing it to be.

In our Saviour's day the Jewish people had their conceptions of the kingdom of God, which were very far from what the kingdom really is, and were material and gross compared with the true conception. They, indeed, made the kingdom of God very much a matter of meat and drink. Their poets and prophets, under divine inspiration, had, it is true, prophesied and sung of a kingdom which would outshine, in its splendor, anything the world had ever known before. But, misunderstanding the prophets, the people looked for a kingdom whose greatness and glory would be more material and earthly than spiritual and heavenly. Overflowing wealth, plenty of corn and wine, and every earthly pleasure and comfort, entered largely into their conceptions of the kingdom. There would be no want, no sickness, no oppression from any quarter, no pain or trouble or distress of any kind anywhere. It was to be "a triumphal millenium of earthly blessedness." This ideal good time did not, however, include the dominance of righteousness and purity, except as they supposed men would live better lives when they had all their material needs and wishes supplied.

The Kingdom Many Look For.

Akin to this conception of the kingdom is the conception which is attracting many in our own day. Many are looking, desiring and working for a kingdom that will affect men's eating and drinking, and which will

have to do chiefly with their material comfort. There is a hope that when the material environments of men are improved they will live better lives, society will be purer, political life will be lifted to a higher level, and righteousness and justice will everywhere abound. . . . Men propose to establish a sort of heaven upon earth by bettering the condition of the poor, and by adjusting all the differences between labor and capital. Humanitarianism is made to take the place of Christianity, and the reformation of society is made to take the place of the regeneration of the individual. The spiritual is made subordinate to the material, instead of the material to the spiritual. The kingdom of God is made meat and drink rather than righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.

All this is contrary to the teaching of Christ. He said, "My kingdom is not of this world." He said, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." He said, "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth." Neither plenty of gold nor plenty of silver will make men happy and upright. They very often make them just the reverse. Righteousness of life is not fostered by the wealth of Fifth Avenue any more than it is by the poverty of Rivington Street. There are as many godly people among the poor as there are among the rich. Blessedness lies not in what men have, but in what they are. The kingdom of God has to do with a man's inner life rather than with his outer environment.

The kingdom of God, at the present stage of it, is established among men by godlikeness of character, and godlikeness of character comes not by any natural development, nor by any growth which will result from improved material environments. It comes by a new birth, by men becoming partakers of the divine nature. "Except a man be born from above he cannot see the kingdom of God." "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven." "Ye must be born again."

What the Kingdom Is.

In this kingdom sin is no longer the dominating force. To those in whom the kingdom of God has been set up it is said, "Sin shall not have dominion over you." Sin may be in the man, and indeed will be, but it will be there as a broken power, not ruling and controlling and enslaving the man, but being ruled, controlled and subdued by Him who triumphed over death, and led captivity captive. The kingdom, in our highest experience of it, is having the King of kings reign within us. This is what men need everywhere, the whole inner realm of the soul, and the whole outer life brought under the divine government. Wherever there is that, there is the kingdom of God.

The kingdom of God is righteousness, a being right with God, and a being right with men. When men are right with God they will be right with men. Then they will be honest, and true, and kind, and unselfish, and brotherly. When employer and employé are right with God they will be right with each other. And so of every other relation in which men may stand to each other. Nor will men be made right with each other until they are made righteous—that is, right with God. All the schemes of socialists and labor conventions and such like must fail except as they are worked on this basis.

The kingdom of God is peace—fullest peace

—peace with God—reconciliation—the peace of God—soul rest—"the infinite calm of God's eternal heart." Wherever God's kingdom is there is peace.

The kingdom is joy. Joy in the Holy Ghost—holy joy—abiding joy—joy like a fountain, ever bubbling up from the secret depths of God's infinite and everlasting love. Righteousness! peace! joy! Men want to reverse the order, and have joy and peace and the blessedness of the kingdom before they are made right with God. But the divine order of the kingdom is unchangeable. We must be right before we can be at rest.

Getting into the kingdom is simply getting the kingdom into us. The Holy Spirit brings the kingdom in, and when he is allowed to have his own way in the heart and in the life he fully and blessedly establishes the kingdom. It is our boast in this country that every citizen is a sovereign. But no man is truly a sovereign until he becomes part of the kingdom of God, until he has learned through the powers of the kingdom of God within him how to be a sovereign over self and sin and Satan. The kingdom of God is a kingdom of kings. The Christ who loved us and washed us from our sins in his own blood, hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father. To him be glory and dominion, forever and ever!—*Rev. Charles A. Cook, in The Examiner (Baptist), Nov. 12, 1896.*

NOTES OF THE ST. LOUIS W. C. T. U. CONVENTION.

BY W. A. HENNIG.

THE convention was well represented from all parts of the United States, and also from the Old World. Miss Agnes Slack, from England, World's Secretary of the W. C. T. U., seemed to be the leading spirit from abroad. She spoke in highest praise of Miss Willard. She believed that Miss Willard had done more to unite "the two great nations than any statesman."

From the beginning to the close of the convention it was plainly stated many times that their success in reforms was by the ballot. The Rev. Anna Shaw stated that the women were through weeping and would now demand.

"Christian Citizenship" seemed to be the theme that most animated them. The husband of the Indiana W. C. T. U. president, in his speech, referred to the Episcopal letter sent to all the Methodist ministers by bishops of that denomination, instructing the ministry that "the State is as divine an institution as the church;" and that "a minister is as much in place in politics as he is in the church."

Anna F. Beller, National Superintendent of the "Christian Citizenship" department of the W. C. T. U., made many sweeping statements concerning this line of work. "Christian Citizenship" is what we want. It means individual purity, righteousness, supreme loyalty to Christ, carried into public life. It means Christ in each citizen, in the primary or in the convention, at the polls and in all offices, legislative, executive, and judicial."

Some of the principles at the foundation of this movement were stated to be (1) "That Jesus Christ is the Saviour and Lord of the State as well as of the individual. . . (2) That the principles of His divine government must be incorporated in the State and made effective in public affairs. 'It is the duty of

the government to make it easy to do right and hard to do wrong." (3) "That the followers of Christ must unite to secure these high ideals."

She urged that each State, county and local organization create a "Christian Citizenship" department, or coöperate with such leagues and organizations and push the work until the forces that make for righteousness shall be *more* than those that make for evil.

This department is to be brought to "bear upon the great evils of the day such as restricted or lax suffrage, the unfair or corrupt caucus, the *nomination of unchristian candidates*, the failure to execute laws, the violation of the Sabbath [Sunday] as a public rest day, and the various social laws that may exist around us." "The spirit of this department stands unflinchingly for political as well as individual righteousness."

Miss Willard said that "St. Louis is the city in which the W. C. T. U. demanded, for the first time, 'gospel politics.'" "The meeting was in 1884, in the United Presbyterian church, which was opened to the W. C. T. U. when most other churches did not open." Again she said, "I claim that this great movement of 'Christian Citizenship' had its birth in the little Presbyterian church in St. Louis in 1884."

Some features of the convention were good; but in the main the effort was toward securing religion by law.

"LOOK UP YOUR LAWS."

So speaks the *Christian Endeavorer* to its readers in its issue for the present month. "We suggest to Christian Citizenship committees," it says, "that they look up the laws of the several States and make a list of the laws on the books that are continuously broken. For example, most of the States of the Union have laws against swearing on the streets. In Chicago there are a few arrests every year under this law, but it is not generally known that there is such a law. There is also a law making it a special offense to deface buildings used for public worship. The penalty is stronger than the ordinary penalty for defacing property. There is a fundamental law in every State in the Union against disturbing public worship. In some States this law embraces whispering, shuffling of feet and any loud noise during services. This law can be used to prevent playing of music as processions pass churches, etc."

This suggestion omits mention of the "sabbath laws" which are upon the statute books of nearly all the States; but there is no danger that they will be overlooked in the search for unenforced laws. They stand out too prominently for that. Then there are some other unenforced "laws" that might be mentioned, as for instance that among the statutes of the District of Columbia, enacted in 1723, which provides that any person who should "wittingly, maliciously, and advisedly, by writing or speaking," "deny our Saviour Jesus Christ to be the Son of God," or "deny the Holy Trinity," "or the Godhead of any of the three persons, or the unity of the Godhead," "and shall be thereof convicted by verdict, or confession, shall for the first offense be bored through the tongue and fined twenty pounds sterling;" and for the second offense "shall be stigmatized by burning in the forehead with the letter B, and fined forty pounds sterling;" and for the third offense, "suffer death without the benefit of the

clergy." There are still others that might be mentioned, but it can safely be left to the vigilance of the Christian Citizenship committees to rescue them from their oblivion and see that they are duly enforced.

Yes; hunt up all the obsolete laws on the statute books of all the States and have them enforced. That will be truly "Christian" work! The very fact that they have lapsed into "innocuous desuetude" is evidence of their prime importance! Doubtless a little patient research in this line will be rewarded by rich discoveries.

NOT GOD'S GOVERNMENT.

[*Minneapolis Times*, Nov. 5, 1896.]

SOME time ago when the *Times* asserted, in response to a correspondent's inquiry, that this is not a Christian government, it expected that the assertion would be accepted as a statement of unquestionable fact. Much to its surprise, there was considerable resentment expressed by several persons who can write very good English, at what they conceived to be a slur both on the government and on the Christian religion. Of course, it is not necessary to say that nothing of the kind was intended.

But if this was God's government, as some who are trying to be religious seem to think, who would be His authorized mouthpiece with authority to declare his infallible will? That is always the question when any element in the community declares that the rest must be governed by the will of God. And it will be generally found that every theocrat regards himself as in some way specially commissioned to speak for the Almighty, and so have his own way with those who have not been favored as he thinks he has been.

The question of who is to be the special representative of the Divinity in the control of the sword and shackles of the State is as old as the desire to oppress. It has existed since the beginning of history, and has caused more bloodshed than all other questions combined.

In this country the attempt was made to give the same answer to it that the Christian religion gives. In the spirit of the Christian religion the American people, at the start, assumed full responsibility for all blunders and crimes of government committed or to be committed during its existence. They denied God's responsibility for the ignorance and viciousness that prevent government from being the safeguard of complete liberty. They denied that any man or any number of men could, of right, proclaim the law of God to bind the rest. They denied that any king or oligarchy, or any majority, exercised a divine right to govern any person, or to bring about the subjection of any person. They laid the foundations of this Government in the spirit of the German hymn of freedom, which declares that:—

"The God who made earth's iron hoard
Scorned to create a slave!"

The maxim that "the voice of the people is the voice of God," did not obtain with the people who made the constitutions of the States and the United States. They vested limited power in a majority, not because they believed, or even hoped, that it would be right in everything, or in most things, but because they believed in the least oppressive method of government—the least evil where the choice was among evils.

In the Declaration of Rights on which all American constitutions are based, it is care-

fully set forth that the powers of the government are derived from the people—not from God, as was held by the Puritans of New England and as still held by the Mormons. Not until this declaration was made a matter of lasting record was the way cleared for progress; for under the theory of government by divine right the worst abuses were most apt to be specially defended as the ordinances of divine infallibility.

This is not God's government, but a government of the people. The people, and not God, are responsible for every wrong that is done by law; for every abuse that is perpetuated by precedent; for every crime that is permitted by power against weakness. God does none of these things as they are done by human governments, and it is sacrilegious to charge him with them.

THE CRUSADES—OLD AND NEW.

FOR more than a year the professed Protestantism of England and America, in their cry for the blotting out of the Turkish power, have repeatedly cited the Crusaders of the Middle Ages as an example worthy of imitation by the "Christian" powers of the world. Some have even called for the stirring up of a crusade to day as those of the Middle Ages were stirred up. And now the Catholic press is using all this in her own favor, as "the strongest vindication of the Crusades of the Middle Ages." A writer in the *Forum*, for November, wants to see a new crusade raised from among the people as were the former ones; and he wants the Knights Templars and other such orders to be to day the champions of the movement as they were of old.

Upon all this the *Catholic Standard* remarks that "whether or not the suggestion be put into practice, the very conception of it as a remedy for the American troubles, is the best answer to the modern vilifiers of the Crusades, and shows that those wonderful uprisings of the Christian masses in the Middle Ages were not the wild visionary and fanatical movements which the nineteenth century materialist would persuade us they were; but that they had their rise in solid reason and intense humanity as well as in lofty chivalry and deep religious fervor."

If such a thing as this proposed new crusade should occur, it would simply show that people to-day are as wild, visionary, and fanatical as those of the Middle Ages undoubtedly were; instead of showing that the Crusaders of the Middle Ages were the contrary. It could be no proof that the Crusaders of the Middle Ages were sober and sensible, to see a lot of people to-day acting as wildly and foolishly, and murderously, as did they.

As for the Crusades of old time having their rise in solid reason and intense humanity, the truth is that they had no connection whatever with any sort of solid reason; and it would be difficult to find in all history a more inhuman horde gathered from any people making any pretensions to being but few degrees removed from sheer savagery. It is not necessary here to cite instances: the reader can review his history for these. But it is only the truth to say that in the whole contest distinguished by the Crusades of the Middle Ages the advantage in both humanity and chivalry undoubtedly lay with the Saracens and the Turks.

If this new crusade should start for the East and by any possibility should reach there, we should expect some of them at least

to be attacked by the Syrian fever. And if perchance it were the chief in command, who should be found consuming in his tent with that dreadful disease, we should expect to hear that the Sultan had sent into the camp of the Crusaders, camels laden with snow to cool the parched lips and quench the burning fever of their stricken commander, as did Sultan Saladin to Richard the Lion-hearted in the Crusades of old. And if the expedition should really come to a war, we might expect to hear at last that on the eve of battle, in the presence of both armies, and over the broken truce of the "Christians" the Turkish commander had openly appealed to Jesus Christ for the justice of his cause, and then had wiped them off the earth, as was done, all of it, by the Turks once before.

DOES A NATIONAL RELIGION PROMOTE NATIONAL GROWTH.

BY M. E. KELLOGG.

A NATIONAL REFORMER, writing Sunday-school notes for the *Christian Statesman*, lays down this proposition:—

Whenever altars and temples and religions multiply in a nation, national unity ceases, and national disintegration and decay set in. Civil governments are to preserve national unity not by compelling uniformity of faith, but by national recognition of one supreme God, of one divine ruler.

Should we admit that the first of the above statements is true, what follows? As surely as national disintegration and decay is a condition that every nation should dread, and prevent if possible, so surely must Spain, Russia, and other States having one faith very generally believed in and obeyed, be justified in doing all they can to prevent the entrance into their realms of other faiths than the one already established there. For what nation desires disintegration and decay? Upon that ground, even Turkey would be justified in refusing her consent that missionaries of other faiths than Islam shall enter the country.

The second statement contradicts itself. Civil government should not compel uniformity of faith, but should compel the recognition of one divine ruler! This may not be compelling uniformity of faith in a very narrow, sectarian sense; but in a broad sense it is. To compel the recognition of God is as surely compelling men as it is to compel a specified form of baptism.

Human beings have a very constant habit of thinking that nothing is arbitrary and unnecessary compulsion, unless it trenches upon their particular habit or doctrines. To make others believe, or at least nominally accept, what *they* believe, is perfectly proper, but for others to do the same by them is quite another thing.

But we have not yet fully considered the principle laid down in the first statement that while religions multiply, "national unity ceases, and national disintegration and decay set in." The United States of America is a living, national witness that the statement is incorrect. Here is a nation, one of whose fundamental principles of government is that religion shall be free, that all faiths might here multiply. And to prevent all friction and consequent disintegration as the result of religious friction, which surely has ruined many nations, the Church and the State, religion and the civil government, were separated, so that whether a man professes any religion or no religion at all, that would not prevent his cordial support and mainte-

nance of the government. It was also the intention of the founders of this nation that it should forever so remain. "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," was the first amendment to the United States Constitution. This provision was intended to cut off all hopes of establishing a national religion here even in the broadest sense. The Jew, Christian, Catholic, Protestant, infidel, agnostic, and Mohammedan—all are equal, and all can subscribe to the Constitution; and the addition of anything to the national law which they cannot subscribe to, would be dangerous to the country.

This system of government has been in operation one hundred and twenty-one years, and no one questions the fact that a very large share of our national prosperity is the result of it. This nation has stood forth as a marvel of progress, a miracle of national growth. Its power and influence have been felt across the sea, in the lands where persecution once held sway; and the degree of liberty now enjoyed by the people of those nations is but the reflection of our own superior freedom. Does any one dare to assert that, if this nation had adopted a narrower system of government, had established a national religion even of the broadest kind, the nation would have grown as it has, or that its influence over other nations would have been so marked and beneficent? For our part, we do not hesitate to state that it would not.

Christianity is the last religion which should plead for national recognition. Before it received such recognition it was beautiful in holiness and magnificent in power. When it became the recognized religion of Rome its beauty was tarnished, its power gone, and itself but a name for an engine of tyranny. When the adherents of any religion plead for a national recognition of their religion by law, they show that their hope is in an arm of flesh. A yielding to such demands by this nation, to the degree that this has already been done, is in itself a signal of disintegration and decay. If our nation is to be preserved, it can be done only by scrupulously maintaining the religious freedom guaranteed in the Constitution, as its framers originally intended.

IN the *Union Signal*, of Nov. 19, 1896, the Reform Bureau, of Washington, D. C., says that "at the Washington Endeavor convention, of 1896, which met at a time when the sabbath was more attacked and less defended than ever before," it was suggested by this bureau, "that all young people's societies should this year make the defense of the Lord's day a specialty, each society appointing a permanent Lord's day committee, as a part of its organization, which committees should endeavor, (1) to close post-offices by local option petitions to the postmaster-general, and on a larger scale by petitions to Congress; (2) to circulate pledges against Sunday cycling for pleasure; (3) to urge the patronage of daily papers having no Sunday editions, etc. This plan was officially approved, so far as Endeavorers are concerned, by the *Golden Rule*. The postmaster-general, after conference and correspondence with the Reform Bureau, had previously closed the local post-office in Mount Vernon, N. Y., a city of seventeen thousand inhabitants, on petition of a majority of the adult receivers of mail—a petition originated by the Endeavorers but supported by all the other young people's societies—by this act giving the public to understand that he would do so in other

like cases, restoring the local option plan originated by Mr. Wanamaker.

"Subsequent to the convention the movement was taken up by the young people's societies of all kinds in all parts of the land, not in small towns only, but also in large cities, especially for suburban offices.

"The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, which was earlier in the crusade against Sunday mails, will welcome this reinforcement of young people and give it the benefit of its maturer thought and its staying qualities; and preachers' meetings will, of course, see that it has no lack of wise and brave leadership."

Has the Scripture said in vain, "The leaders of this people cause them to err, and they that are led of them are destroyed"?

NO PART IN POLITICS?

How the church of Rome "never takes part in politics" is illustrated by an editorial in *The Sun*, of Nov. 17, 1896, on "The Expulsion of the Jesuits from Ecuador." It says that "President Alfaro has issued a decree for the expulsion of the Jesuits from the republic of Ecuador, which is one of the most Catholic countries of South America. Last year, when Alfaro took command of the revolution which he brought to success, he met with the determined opposition of the church. Not a few of the ecclesiastics took up arms against him, and a member of the hierarchy, Bishop Schumacher, held command of a military division which fought for his overthrow. Alfaro also made the charge that millions of dollars belonging to the funds of the religious orders were used against him. 'My campaign,' he said in a manifesto, 'is a most difficult one, because of the enemy's hypocritical pretense that they are fighting for religion.'

"As soon as the revolutionary leader gained success in the war which opened last year and ended in the early part of this year, he began to enforce measures of revenge. His threats were so alarming that a large number of priests fled from Ecuador and took refuge in Peru and Colombia, and they were followed by the inmates of several convents, some of whom came to this country. He also began to confiscate the lands and other property of the church, which, as he said, had been dishonorably employed against the revolution.

"All this time he exercised power merely as a revolutionary chief, and without any authority derived from the constitution or from popular suffrage. Last month, when a convention to frame a new constitution was held at Guayaquil, Alfaro, now in office as chief executive, at once manifested his antagonism to the church party. He induced the convention to adopt provisions for limiting the power of the church, for diverting portions of the church income, and for putting restraints upon the church's control of its property. He also secured the adoption of constitutional provisions concerning the religious orders that were regarded as inimical by the church. It is doubtless under the authority thus conferred upon him that he has issued the decree to expel the Jesuits from Ecuador.

"We presume that he has been stimulated to go to this extremity by the still existing hostility of the church to the successful revolution. Bands of his enemies who fled to Peru and Colombia have recently made their appearance on the frontier of Ecuador and have attempted to stir up the people to renew

the war against him. 'Hereafter,' said Alfaro a short time ago when assured that the church would still defy the revolution, 'I shall be as severe as formerly I was magnanimous toward the people at enmity with my government.' Soon after the opening of the war he charged the Jesuits with engaging in intrigues against him; he has many times repeated the charge. He parodied the cry of Gambetta when he said: 'Jesuitism is the enemy.'

"The hostility between Alfaro and the church, so long as it lasts, will surely constitute a menace to his government. As we have already said, Ecuador is one of the most Catholic countries among all the Catholic countries of South America. Under the constitution which has just been reformed, that religion has prevailed there to the exclusion of every other, and the income of the Roman Catholic Church was derived from the government.

"It will be unsafe for General Alfaro to persist in his opposition to the power of the church for the sake of the revolution. He cannot disregard the danger of a counter-revolution."

And this is the way that that church "never takes part in politics."

NEWS AND NOTES.

TURKEY for the Turks, seems to have been the watchword of the Turkish government in the terrible scenes lately enacted on Turkish soil; and this watchword is certainly as justifiable as that of "Russia for the Russians." It is true that Turkey differs in her methods from her great "Christian" neighbor on the North, but it may be a question whether simple butchery at home is not preferable to a lingering death from the hardships of Siberian exile.

THE *Christian Statesman*, of November 21, publishes a "call for a convention, in the interest of national righteousness and Christian Endeavor," to be held in Chicago, December 16, 17. The convention will be purely a "National Reform" affair, yet the organ of the "National Reform" party advertises it as being "in the interest of . . . Christian Endeavor." This is a public announcement of what was already visible to observing eyes,—namely, that National Reformers and Christian Endeavorers stand on the same platform.

THE official organ of the party whose aim is to force the United States Government to profess religion, has discovered a logical connection between the President's National-Reform Thanksgiving proclamation and the settlement of the Venezuelan difficulty. The proclamation was issued November 4, and the agreement between England and the United States touching the Venezuelan question was concluded only eight days later. "Was there ever," says that journal, "a more complete or fuller illustration of that golden promise of God's word: 'Them that honor me I will honor'?"

To be sure, this controversy might have been settled long ago if these two "Christian" powers had not been so jealous for their national "honor"; and, moreover, the English government, which has acquired no particular "honor" in the Venezuelan settlement, has long maintained a State church, which is certainly a more direct national espousal of "Christianity" than is contained in the Pres-

ident's proclamation; but, for "National Reform" purposes, any objection which these facts might present to the view that in the Venezuelan agreement God honored the present administration for the character of its Thanksgiving proclamation, is outweighed by the evidence contained in the mere proximity of the one event to the other.

The "National Reform" organ finds a reason for this religious action by the President and Secretary of State, in "the Christian Endeavor convention held in the Capital of the nation last July, with its three great tents pitched on the government's property at the very door of the White House," and in this it probably comes much nearer the truth.

THE Roman Catholic doctrine that the public schools ought to be a medium for the inculcation of religion, is based by Catholics upon the ground that without this the schools are "Christless." "Everywhere," says the *Catholic Review*, of November 28, "the Catholic Church opposes the exile of Christ from public schools." But would Christ be exiled from the public schools by excluding from them the teaching of the Roman Catholic religion? What Protestant will maintain that He would? And yet this Roman Catholic claim rests upon exactly the same "logic" as that which underlies the idea that the national Constitution is a "Godless" document because it does not recognize any national deity.

A WRITER in the *Western Watchman* (Catholic), of November 19, states that the pope has sent the papal delegate at Constantinople, Mgr. Bonetti, to the Sultan, "bearing an autograph letter from the pontiff of the Christians to the head of the followers of the Crescent," in which Leo "besought the Sultan in the name of God to put an end to the Armenian atrocities." He hopes that the result will be such as will add new glory "to the halo which for ages has sat upon the radiant brow of that immortal guardian of right—the papacy." It is well to remember, in connection with such statements, that upon a former memorable occasion the "pontiff of the Christians" sent forth with his blessing a great "Christian" expedition to slaughter the Turks in and around Jerusalem and recover possession of the "holy sepulcher." "Peter the Hermit" first proposed the idea, and when he had made it popular, the pope took the movement under his auspices that the "glory" of it might accrue to the papacy. What the pontiff has in mind to-day is not so much the cessation of slaughter as the brightening of the papal "halo." If the former were his object, he might send an autograph letter to General Weyler.

THE *Catholic Review*, of December 5, concludes some mournful reflections upon the warlike conditions which prevail to-day throughout Europe, with this statement: "There can be no peace, no disarmament, without mutual confidence, and this can never be hoped for until the natural union has been affected of the European States under the presidency of that potentate in whom alone all would have perfect trust and by whom none of them would be betrayed—the pope."

It was under the presidency of the pope that the nations of Europe experienced the "peace" of the Middle Ages, during which such military figures as Charlemagne and Charles V. rose to prominence. The "Chris-

tian" nations of the world were then happily united in one "faith," which they firmly maintained while their armies clashed on the field of battle! Besides this, no little exercise of arms was required in the extermination of the millions of "heretics" with which Europe was filled. Truly it was great "peace" that the civilized world enjoyed under the "presidency" of the pope! We do not sigh for a return of that *régime*.

THE *Ram's Horn*, a prominent religious journal, says in its issue of November 5: "This nation is to be Christian or pagan. There is no middle ground. Which shall it be?" This is true enough if the nation is to profess a religion, for paganism embraces the whole field of religion outside of Christianity. And it is further true that if we are to have a governmental religion, that religion will most certainly be pagan, since Christianity does not operate by the force of civil governments, but by faith and love. There have been many instances of the profession of Christianity by a civil government; but in every case the religion manifested was pagan; in every case it led the government to persecute true Christians. Every student of history knows this. How then will it be with the profession of Christianity by our own government?

A CORRESPONDENT of the *N. Y. Sun*, of Nov. 17, 1896, in the following pertinent paragraph, calls attention to a condition of things that must certainly arrest the serious consideration of all thoughtful persons:—

"In the face of the facts that Bibles by the million almost may be had for the asking, that is, the Word of God is easily obtained without money and without price, and that editions of the New Testament have long been published for a penny a copy in England, and nearly as cheap in this country, and immense sums of money are gathered by Bible societies, to be expended in disseminating the Scriptures printed in the English language and in almost every existing tongue, the language of the Bible is, apparently, more and more ignored by the people at large. While ministers of the gospel profess to preach Christ and him crucified, it is a fact too well known that utterances from the pulpits of the nation savor more of the things of this life than of the life that is to come. True, a text and a portion of Scripture are read and followed by long prayers and artistic singing, but one listens in vain for the glorious and comforting language found in the 'Sermon on the Mount,' preached by the man Jesus, who had not where to lay his head. Is it not a fact that the growing neglect and ignorance of the Bible among the people is an outgrowth of secular preaching that has taken the place of gospel preaching in the pulpits of all denominations of Christians?"

INTERESTING FACTS.

AT this time when so much is being said concerning the nations of Europe, we believe it will be interesting to everybody to see the picture of some of the people who stand at the head of the various governments. The above heading is the name of a little book, which contains besides 74 pages of very interesting facts brought out in various ways, an album of 21 fine half-tone cuts direct from the photographs of European royalty, and includes Victoria, Queen of England; Christian IX., King of Denmark, and his Queen; Frederick, Crown Prince of Denmark; Oscar, King of Sweden; Sophia, Queen of Sweden; the King and Queen of Greece; Alex-

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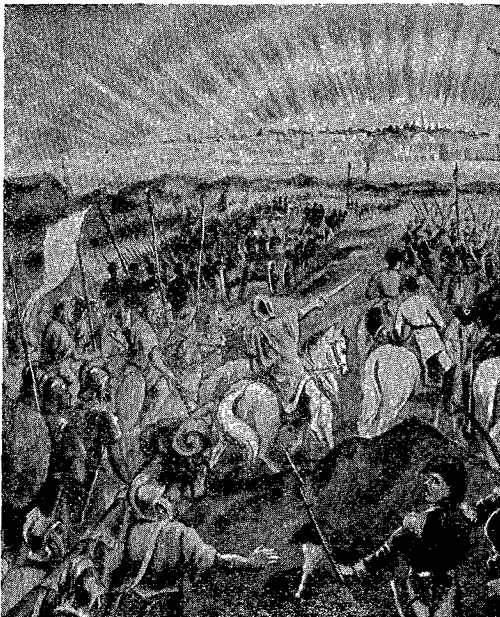
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"WE OUGHT TO OBEY GOD RATHER THAN MEN."

"WHEN they went from nation to nation, and from one kingdom to another people; he suffered no man to do them wrong: . . . saying, Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm."

If God had intended that his children should submit to governments in matters of conscience, he would not have protected Daniel in the lions' den, the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace, nor have delivered Peter and John, Paul and Silas; from their prison cells, where they were placed for disobeying human enactments.

GOD AND THE POWERS THAT BE.

"RENDER therefore unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's."

God has ordained that governments should exist among men. To these governments he has commanded his people to render tribute, honor, and respect. He has commanded them to be obedient to every ordinance of man, not for fear of punishment, but for the Lord's sake. So long as a government enforces ordinances of men, — such laws only as are necessary for the protection of men in the enjoyment of their equal, natural rights, — they will not come in conflict with the Christian.

Jer. 10: 10. Acts 5: 29. 1 Chron. 16: 20-22. Matt. 22: 21

Wilt thou rally thy legions to battle, And march on the City of Light, Whence angels excelling in power Were hurled to the regions of night?

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THE daily *Journal*, of this city, very properly remarks that "if the preachers come to be politicians, they ought to give up the immunities which churchly place confers, and accept the responsibilities of politics."

THE police board of Denver, Col., decided recently, says a "National Reform" journal, that a certain play given in that city was "too immoral to be played on sabbath evening." We had always supposed that an immoral play was too immoral to be proper on any day. Are we mistaken?

ONE noteworthy result of the recent election in New York State, is the elimination of the Prohibition Party, their ticket having failed to poll the number of votes (10,000) requisite to entitle it to a place on the official ballot, under the laws of the State. The *New York Sun* points out that the Prohibition ticket will not be entitled to a place in the State campaign again until after 1898.

JUDGE ABBOTT, of Denver, Colo., has decided that the Sunday law of that State is constitutional. In remarking upon the conflicting decisions extant upon the subject, he said that "the decisions against the constitutionality of sabbath laws seem more logical," yet in spite of logic he decided this law to be constitutional! We have not learned whether an appeal will be taken to a higher court; but upon such a decision as that we should think that it surely would.

A MEETING of the "New England Sabbath Protective League" was held in Grace Church, Providence, R. I., November 23. Martin D. Kneeland, secretary of the league, was present and addressed the meeting, and considerable time was also occupied by several local preachers. The meeting gave its attention principally to a consideration of Sunday desecration in Rhode Island, and especially in the city of Providence.

The Rev. Floyd Tomkins, Jr., who is president of the Rhode Island branch of the league, spoke especially of the methods to be employed in putting a stop to Sunday desecration in Providence. His speech showed that he had caught the true spirit of "National Reform" work. "Get hold of our aldermen," he said, "and plague the lives out of them until we get what we want. . . . Go to the Commissioner of Public Works and

worry him incessantly until the work of repairing the streets is stopped on the sabbath day." "Get hold of the Park Commissioners and labor with them until they are ready to lie down and die, and we may yet accomplish something with them." It is only a slight variation of the usual "hold-up" demand—"Your money or your life." The "Sabbath Protective" leaguers mean that legislators shall either yield or "lie down and die."

FOR illustrations of the familiar phrase, "a distinction without a difference," Christian Endeavor literature treating on the attitude of that religious body toward politics, offers a fruitful field for search. Here is an illustration from the *Christian Endeavorer*, for December, 1896:—

It [Christian Citizenship] does not mean that the society or church as such is "going into politics," but it does distinctly mean that every Christian shall demand with all his righteous might that Christ shall rule the caucus and the common council as he does the Church.

How much more than this could the Endeavor society or the Church, as such, effect by "going into politics"? Or in what other way would they seek to manipulate politics to gain their ends?

THE Woman's Christian Temperance Union have united with the California State "Sabbath Association" in presenting to the State legislature the following petition:—

We, the undersigned, residents of California, respectfully ask your honorable body to enact a sabbath law that will prohibit all amusements inconsistent with the proper observance of the day, and that at the same time will secure the necessary weekly rest to all classes of weary toilers.

Notice that no attempt is made to disguise the character of what is asked in this petition. It is a "sabbath law." The petition is to be circulated for signatures in all parts of the State.

THE Roman Catholic Church in Canada is not satisfied with the terms of the settlement of the Manitoba School controversy, notwithstanding it allows Roman Catholic teaching in the public schools after a certain hour each day wherever there may be twenty-five Catholic children in attendance. Archbishop Langevin is quoted by a Catholic journal as saying, "The settlement is a farce; the fight has only begun." Having obtained one concession in the line of what she seeks, the church will of course fight all the harder for more.

THE Sunday-law forces in California have of late been laying siege to the Oakland City Council, with what results we have not yet learned. They asked the council to pass an ordinance suppressing "Sunday sports, such as shooting matches, bicycle races, Sunday concerts, picnics, dances, races, ball games, and all such carnal amusements as lead to dissipation and disturbance of the peace." And

they asked this, says their official organ, the *Christian Statesman*, "as a police arrangement and sanitary measure, and that a weekly rest may be secured to laborers and employes." The public will probably be puzzled to understand why the civil power should prohibit amusements on the ground that they are "carnal;" for it is obvious that this word expresses the objection to them in the minds of those demanding this Sunday legislation. All is "carnal" that is not "spiritual." The distinction which the term expresses is religious entirely. And the use of this religious term shows plainly enough that it is a religious observance of Sunday which the Oakland City Council is asked to enforce.

THERE has been laid upon our table a copy of Green's Greek-English Lexicon to the New Testament, revised and enlarged, published by H. L. Hastings, 47 Cornhill, Boston, 1896. It is a neat little book of 216 pages, 3½x6½ inches in size and ¾ of an inch thick, containing every word in the Greek New Testament, with reasonably full definitions, and with references to passages where the words are used. The preface says: "There are contained in the Greek New Testament about 5,594 words; but in the whole Greek literature the words are a great multitude, which perhaps no man has ever numbered. The student of the Scriptures is not anxious to master or explore this vast wealth of Greek literature; but his ambition is to know something of those 5,594 New Testament words in which the message of God's mercy is conveyed to fallen man. Hence he must pass by the bulk of Greek literature, and confine his investigations to those few Greek words which are used in the New Testament to convey to man the treasures of divine truth.

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