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THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN

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The Christian Statesman is a monthly Magazine of thirty-two pages, designed to promote needed reforms in the action of the Government touching the Sabbath, the institution of the family, the religious element in education, the oath, and public morality as affected by the liquor traffic and other kindred evils; and to secure such an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as will declare the Nation's allegiance to Jesus Christ and its acceptance of the moral laws of the Christian religion, and to indicate that this is a Christian nation, and place all the Christian laws, institutions and usages of our government on an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of the land.

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The Outlook

The fifty-ninth Congress which adjourned sine die at noon on Monday, March 4, is receiving high praise for the

The Fifty-ninth Congress.

vast amount of useful legislation which it accomplished. The following acts are specially mentioned: Restriction

of immigration, the currency reform act, regulation of the hours of railway employes, service pensions, the rivers and harbors bill carrying an appropriation of \$83,000,000, the provision to inquire into the labor of women and children, together with the railroad and food supply legislation of last spring and summer.

There should be no attempt on the part of any class of citizens to underrate the value of such legislation. But the

The Senate and Reed Smoot.

useful things done should not blind us to the sins both of omission and commission of which Congress is guilty.

The vote to retain Reed Smoot as a member of the Senate was an act which the Christian people of the country will not readily condone. The Republican leaders who spoke and labored in behalf of Mr. Smoot should not soon be forgotten. They are Knox, Foraker, Hopkins, Beveridge, and Dolliver. With a great flourish of legal learning these men defended the right of Mr. Smoot to

the seat to which he had been elected by the Legislature of Utah, and denied the right to exclude him on religious grounds. They shut their eyes to the real nature of the protests against Mr. Smoot and the grounds on which those protests were based. In not a single instance was the Senate asked to unseat Mr. Smoot because of his religious convictions. On the contrary, it was constantly averred by the petitioners that this was not the ground on which his exclusion was sought. It was maintained that the Mormon hierarchy still holds to the doctrine of polygamy as set forth in the standards of that body; that it is still practiced by many of the highest officials of that organization; that this is in conflict with the laws of all our states and of the United States protecting the monogamous family; that the Mormon hierarchy, when Utah was admitted as a State, did not act in good faith in making pledges to discontinue polygamy and to safeguard this feature of our national life, and that Mr. Smoot is a high official in that organization. It has been intimated that the arguments against Mr. Smoot may not have been presented as clearly and as forcibly as they might have been. But learned Senators should have been able to understand these things from the testimony presented while the matter was under investigation. It has been charged, and we have seen no attempt to deny it, that Smoot was retained

that of the law itself, long since defined to be 'A rule of civil conduct, prescribed by the supreme power of a State; commanding what is right, and prohibiting what is wrong.'" While prize fighting is odious and degrading, its evil influences are insignificant when compared with the destructive results of the liquor traffic. The Supreme Court of the United States has held that "the saloon business is the greatest source of crime and misery that there is in any State—more than that, the greatest source in each State.

The position of this court then is this: The highest judicial authority of the State has declared a less injurious business inherently unlawful, and beyond the power of the State to delegate to it a legal existence, and this court is now asked, in the face of this declaration, to hold that the business, which has been declared by the highest judicial authority in the nation to be the most unlawful business in any State, can be given a legal existence by the State, for a fixed consideration. This court will not walk into this dilemma. The law should be harmonious.

In summing up the case and in rendering his opinion the Judge said:

In view of these holdings, based, as they certainly are, upon good reason and sound common sense, it must be held that the State can not under the guise of a license, delegate to the saloon business a legal existence, because to hold that it can is to hold that the State may sell and delegate the right to make widows and orphans, the right to break up homes, the right to create misery and crime,

the right to make murderers, the right to produce idiots and lunatics, the right to fill orphanages, poorhouses, insane asylums, jails and penitentiaries and the right to furnish subjects for the hangman's gallows.

The Supreme Court of Indiana, the Supreme Court of many other States and the Supreme Court of the United States have already so far passed the middle of the stream upon the question involved in this case that return would now be more difficult than to go over. "Go over" is merely to draw the natural, logical and inevitable conclusion from the declarations and judgments of the courts. To return would mean either to abandon the adjudication that the saloon business is unlawful at common law, or to hold that a business which has been adjudged, by the courts, to be unlawful, at common law, because it naturally and inherently endangers the health, comfort, safety, morals and welfare of the people, may be legalized for money. Some court may so hold in this case, but it will not be done by this court. If it is done by any court, it must be done by the court that has already held the business to be unlawful, because of its inherently destructive effects upon society.

With due appreciation of the responsibilities of the occasion, conscious of my obligations, under my oath to almighty God and to my fellow man, I can not, by a judgment of this court, authorize the granting of a saloon license, and the demurer to the amended remonstrance is, therefore, overruled, the amended remonstrance is sustained and the application is dismissed at the costs of the applicant.

The National Reform Movement.

STUDIES IN CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP

VI

The Moral Responsibility of Nations.

BY THE REV. SYLVESTER F. SCOVEL, D.D.

It would seem incredible that any devout reader of Holy Scripture could be either doubtful or regretful concerning the teaching of God's Word as to the accountability or responsibility of nations. It seems at once clear, and the only thing compatible with either the natural or moral attributes of God, that He

should govern among the nations. How could the all-wise and the all-merciful direct His comprehensive plan for the race and demit the control of the racial masses aggregating in national life?

Scripture history is explicit. There is a world-grasp in the truth of Genesis. Egypt

THE APPEAL TO
SCRIPTURE.

and Amalek were held responsible for their treatment of Israel. God's planting

and plucking up of nations is roundly asserted. Nebuchadnezzar learned—as did Belshazzar

in another way—who ruled among the nations. Ahaz became the ruin of all Israel by his dealings with another nation. At the restoration, as in the captivity, it became evident that the hearts of kings were in God's hands as well as that the "Syrian" was his "sword." The "burden" of many a nation is foreseen in prophetic vision, and the great national succession of the ages was revealed to Daniel. And when the time of reservation and conservation gave way to the era of diffusion (the ingoing spiral replaced by the outgoing spiral) there was plain declaration of this principle. There were mysterious hints in the Master's speech. The apostle Peter called Him "Lord of all," and Paul at Athens proclaimed the doctrine of Providence over the nations in its fullest and final form to be again repeated in the classic passage of Romans 13, and in the command to pray for "kings and all in authority," so that not only might we live "quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty," but so that "all men might come to the knowledge of the truth." And in the marvelous unfoldings of the closing book of the canon in which we have the earth's life revealed as conducted from heaven, the time of the judgment of the nations arrives and the kingdom of this world becomes the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ. The stone of the prophet's vision, "cut out of the mountain without hands," breaks in pieces the kingdoms of the earth, not to destroy them but to bring them under control. The laughter of the second Psalm is only the consciousness of power revealed in order to bring the rulers to be wise while the Son's wrath should tarry. The sword of the 45th Psalm is girded on that Messiah may ride prosperously for the meek of the earth. And the Precursor of the Millennial world-peace (in Isaiah 11) judges the nations with righteousness and equity. Masses of men, which seem so massive to their component atoms, are but the "small dust of the balance" before omnipotence. It is a singular perversion of reason, and a yet more singular ignoring of the divine word to conclude that the larger combinations of men can escape the notice and control of Him who fills immensity.

And Scriptural doctrine only becomes clearer when history is interrogated. As there

is no escaping the divine control there is no losing the divine care. The true

"reason for being" of any nation is its mis-

sion for the "welfare" of those within its pale, and of all nations and tribes under heaven—with all of which it must be (and now more than ever) connected either directly or indirectly. The care of the nation, within or without, is the need of the nation. In a strictly natural way the nations which forget God must ultimately fall into the Sheol of corruption, consequent decay and oblivion. The records of the past are writ large in this sense, and those of the present are adding to the demonstration. The true grandeur of nations, on the other hand, lies in the direction of the moral attributes of Jehovah. The moral accountability of nations is not a thing to be denied or bemoaned or resisted, but a thing to be cherished until its conservative and preservative influence tells upon every individual of the mass and shapes all national institutions and tingles in the whole national life. "The Lord reigneth; let the nations rejoice."

And then we may note the agreement of this accountability with the moral nature of man.

AGREES WITH MAN'S	as all current phi-
MORAL NATURE.	losophy (not utterly
	materialistic) teaches.

Buckle's contention for the intellectual as the dynamic (and almost the only) element in human progress is now discredited. The moral in man makes the moral in history and that makes human history something more than natural history—i. e., of trees and insects. Now what is there in the national aggregation that sinks or even slurs that feature of man's nature? There could not anything else be true but this, viz.: that moral responsibility must increase for the nation as compared with its function for the individual.

The reasons are too obvious for statement. This makes the greatest possible national trust to be just this moral element in man. To know this, to appreciate it, to guard, guide and develop it, is, after all, the highest mission of the state. It is the "public welfare" in its loftiest manifestation and in its most practical as well, because the moral conditions the material always and everywhere.

The organization of a nation shows moral responsibility very plainly. Organization is	that which makes so-
	ciety as against mere
THE NATION'S	aggregation—the con-
AIMS ARE MORAL.	dition of the <i>grex</i> .

The ends and aims of organization are mainly

moral, and the logic of the process demands the supremacy of the moral. The only contestant is the economical, and despite all that some say, from Marx down, concerning the economic responsibility of governments, we must remain assured that it is not the primary interest of organized society. There can, indeed, be no permanent success in the effort to obtain economic ends through national organization if the moral aims are ignored. National character determines the ultimate effects of economic legislation as certainly as the natural grain of a wood determines the polish it can take.

And here emerges the value of national accountability to God, for this secures as its logical result the supremacy of the moral in the aims of government.

If we turn now to the theories of the State we see from a slightly different angle the place of our theme. Aristotle's idea has met

THE TRUE THEORY OF THE STATE.

worldwide acceptance that the object of the nation is not "being" but "well being." From beginning to end this simple and noble conception distinguishes and dignifies his imperishable work.

This conception of the State is the just and lofty one as compared with all the lower views. From such a point of view government can never be considered a "necessary evil," nor a good (by courtesy) because it replaces a greater evil, nor as satisfied with keeping your neighbor's hand off your throat and out of your pocket, nor as merely a method for creating and controlling (?) corporations endowed with everything but sovereignty. This broad and true object and aim is now most widely taught (especially by the continental school) and needs to be carefully defined as well as firmly held. National responsibility for national well-being without any moral tone to it would be salt without savour. It is plain that our interest in the moral responsibility of nations will vary with our conception of the State. If we take the lowest view (Spencer's—which was so thoroughly riddled by Huxley in "Administrative Nihilism") we care little for the moral nature or the moral activity of the State. Indeed we exclude them by definition, or allow a minimum somewhat disguised.

If we go to the opposite extreme and reach socialistic collectivism we are apt to make the economic function of the State usurp the place

of all other interests—and again to deny or neglect most of its moral functions. We are in danger of making the extreme assertion that if only *justice* is secured in the distribution of material assets, that in all else society can be safely left to itself—against which history and experience are stubborn witnesses. But in the median view, with the individual's immortality realized (which makes him the end and the State the means) and with the certainty that the God whose image the individual bears has made the State, there will be necessarily a high regard to the State's moral nature and responsibility.

The connection of the doctrine we advocate with the particulars of public and private

mortality—the essential things in the nation's life—should

now be outlined. The catalogue, with no attempt at logical order, may run about as follows:

1. Family life. Marriage with limitations of age, consanguinity, character, full civil rights, and perhaps of visible means of support, health and race. Marriage monogamous must mean no polygamy either coincident or consecutive and hence no divorce without a reason consistent with the sacredness of the relation. This implies all that legislation can do (carefully made and thoroughly enforced) to sustain social purity and eliminate social vice—allowing nothing that is reprehensible (whether by segregation or other plan—and no "regulation" which is now plainly proven at its very point of origin and longest prevalence to be but a covert inducement to vicious indulgence.

2. Truthfulness. The great laws regulating and securing contracts, with which the vast majority of cases in our courts are concerned, are at base first moral and then economic. They are made for righteousness' sake. All know that if the moral impulse and sense of obligation should fall out of them, men would be faithful to contracts only so far as they were conscious of being watched and unable to deceive. Confidence is the basis of society. There can be no confidence where there is no character. What arrant nonsense to admit such propositions and then add—nevertheless the State has no relation to morality in its legislation.

3. If we take the rights of property, we shall find that these, too, are fundamentally

moral. Men in their collective capacity must find, admit, profess and enforce the real right in them and live thereby. Out of communistic holding the world has passed beyond recall. The communist is a fossil.

4. The same principle should rule even in that which is confessedly common as an aim of national authority on any theory of the State, viz., security of person. Crimes of violence need to be countermined in their deepest causes and these are predominantly moral.

5. Take that large sentiment of service as the soul of the true patriotism. There is no comfortable life for the nation without it and yet we feel no lack more keenly than the failure here which leaves our "public-office-a-public-trust" notion to be so often turned out of house and home.

6. In the same way we should look upon the observance of the Sabbath as the law of rest for all conditioning the rest of any.

7. And then would arise the problem of moral education—an interest most thoroughly alive for all the civilized world to-day and sure to be yet more so. The felt necessity for it will make a method in its time.

8. Then the question of temptation to drink.

9. Then the housing of the poor—not for sanitary reasons only but for moral ones, controllingly.

10. Then the whole circle of the philanthropies and especially the care of defective and morally endangered children. For all these things the Nation—according to its constitutional distribution of authority, local and central, legislative, executive and judicial—is most thoroughly responsible and must most sedulously and patiently and generously care. And it is idle to say that a non-moral nation can so care. It is degrading to endeavor to put the decision of such questions on the low ground of self-interest.

We continue the contention, that national moral responsibility necessarily extends to a just, equable and feasible supervision of public and private morals. National acts and legislation as to morals, will tell most decidedly in established tendencies. It was so in England, after the Stuart restoration and in France, under the old regime. What the State does or does not do and say, has much to do with the common ideas and practices of the people. An immoral nation will propogate im-

morality, a non-moral nation will allow its unimpeded development. A lax nation helps to make immorality secure.

All economists unite in making immorality an element in the efficiency of labor and efficiency is the *crux* of national prosperity. Our present practice is inconsistent with any other theory than that of collective responsibility for individual morality.

Our principle is exemplified in the limitation of liberty at morals. We cannot encourage vice but we cannot banish it, say some. But the world's practice emphatically disposes of that objection. Moreover we judge social progress, instinctively, by an ethical standard. "That the moral law is the unchanging law of progress in human society, is the lesson which appears to be written over all things." (Kidd.)

The nation is responsible for the moral condition of its strongest elements, since through them the lofty ideas of progress can be made effective. But it is also responsible for its weakest elements—the young, the defectives, the subjects of hereditary inclination, those whose environment is unfavorable, the criminally disposed, the very poor, the suspected immigrant and the despised negro. It would be fatal to acknowledge such responsibility and deprive the State of the right to appropriate action.

That social security depends on the moral character of the masses goes without saying. We need no less civic consciousness, but much more civic conscience. Sustained crusades for moral betterment in our cities are fewer than exhibitions of concern about corruption in matters of money, yet moral degradation is the thing most to be feared and it is that for which we are most clearly responsible.

There is favorable indication in our ever deepening national consciousness. This does not consist in vain boasting, but carries with it a sense of national responsibility for our own internal life. We welcome federal supervision to secure national righteousness. Local spheres and State lines are becoming invisible under the stress of necessity to make effective great reforms. Appeals to right and wrong are constantly made by conflicting interests, and as these interests become more massive they demand a positive morality.

Our national right to assert our moral constitution and our moral standards is the best, perhaps, of any nation in the world. Our origin was at once Christian and free, church

and state connection was eliminated while religion and the State were kept in close relationship. It was long ago perceived, that being a democratic nation, we had the greatest need of being theocratic. We can preserve our democracy only on a moral basis, because it is the result of an ethical development in which character has been profoundly influenced by conceptions of equality and mutual responsibility.

The principle for which we contend can alone defend us against the dangers of a double standard as to moral purity, as to aristocracy and the common people, as to business and to private life and as to national and individual conscience. Facts at hand, but necessarily omitted, prove that England is as danger. The right standard will help us keenly concerned as America concerning this against the corrupt use of money and in creating the right ideas concerning public office, in keeping the popular heart true to this ideal and inciting it to rebel against unworthy holding of a public trust.

Without a national moral standard, competition will be always dragging the community down to the lower planes. Nine good cotton manufacturers dislike child-labor but the tenth, who is bad, forces it upon them, and this applies to the restrictions on the sale of liquor, to the Sabbath law of rest for all and even to the Bible in the public schools, since the complaint of one man is sometimes suffered to exclude it.

The nation literally cares for itself, in caring for morals, as our latest census bulletin plainly shows. Immorality and race-suicide cannot be divorced. Lecky, Galton and others prove this assertion as true of the Grecian and Roman civilizations. A bald utilitarianism errs in considering the sanction of self-interest as adequate to secure the collective interests of society. "Every flourishing nation lays its prosperity, first, to its religion and then to its moral code. The chief moral trait of a winning race is stability of character." (Ross. *Foundations of Sociology*, p. 376.)

Assertions of this responsibility from many sources are at hand but must be here omitted,

DECISIONS OF
HIGHER COURTS.

save a word concern-
in two decisions of
our higher courts.

Judge Baldwin, in 1861, and Judge Fields, in 1868, explicitly asserted the power and duty of the Legislature

to provide for the welfare of the public—"both moral and physical."

The same principle extends clearly to International morality. It opens the way for a

INTERNATIONAL
MORALITY.

broad, humane and
humanitarian cosmo-
politanism. It encour-
ages the honest, direct

and simple diplomacy of John Hay. It banishes annexation by violence and all imposition upon weaker nations even on the plea of the insertion of a higher civilization. It contemplates arbitration, international courts and congresses and destroys the dualism which provides a different code within nations and between nations. Toward this wide outlook, only this hint can be given.

Incentives to National Reform Work.

In the December number of the *Christian Statesman*, under the general thought of incentives to the work of National Reform, we presented the consideration that such work is closely related to the honor of the Lord Jesus Christ.

A second incentive, which we desire to present at this present time, is that world conditions emphasize the need of such reform, and urgently call for the application of its principles. There is much in this fact to appeal to young people in their work for the kingdom.

What an age is this in which we live! Think of our great cities, our great railroads, our great bridges, our great tunnels, and great steamship lines! Think of recent inventions and discoveries. Think of machinery from the mighty engines of the water-works to the sewing machine. Recall the books, and libraries, and schools, and universities, and lecture courses, and great newspapers. Strike the bell of commerce, of government, of education, and the tone is heard around the world. These things mean much in connection with Christ's claims upon the nations when we reflect that this is a day when good can the most quickly reach the greatest number. It is also a day when evil can spread most widely and speedily. It is a day for ideas to reach the farthest rim of humanity. Then how important this reform, that evil be removed, that good be promoted!

The growth of free government also emphasizes the significance of national reformation. If people are to govern themselves, how