

The Christian Statesman

4460 East 23d St N
TOLMIEC REVIEW

Vol. XLI. No. 8.

AUGUST, 1907.

Whole No. 1491.

CONTENTS:

THE OUTLOOK

Our Times in the Light of the Prophecy of Joel.....	225
Is There a Decline in Faith?.....	228
The Allegheny County, Pa., Weekly Rest Movement.....	229
The Laymen's Missionary Movement.....	230
The Centenary Missionary Conference in China	231
The Temperance Conflict.....	232

EDITORIAL ARTICLES AND NOTES

The Day of Prayer for Our Public Schools.....	233
Moral and Religious Education Promoted by Bequests.....	234
Looking Forward to Our Fall Campaign.....	234
Present Duty in View of Dr. McAllister's Death.....	235
The Local Ministers' Union.....	236

CONTRIBUTED ARTICLES

Discipline of Israel in National Religion. By the Managing Editor	237
---	-----

OUR YOUNG PEOPLE

A Help Meet for Him.....	242
--------------------------	-----

THE NATIONAL REFORM MOVEMENT

The Institution of Civil Government. By Dr. R. C. Wylie.....	246
Fourth of July Celebration in New Castle.....	251
Endorsements of the "Plea for Religion," Etc.....	252

OTHER RELATED MOVEMENTS

Winona Bible Conference.....	255
The Texas School Case.....	252

CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP AT WINONA

Program of Institute and Conference.....	256
--	-----

PUBLISHED BY THE

NATIONAL REFORM ASSOCIATION

Room 603 Publication Bldg.,

209 Ninth St., Pittsburgh, Pa.

\$1.00 A YEAR.

10 CENTS A COPY

The Christian Statesman

Vol. XLI.

AUGUST, 1907.

No. 8

The Outlook.

If the three chapters of the book of Joel dealt only with the calamities present or prospective of his own people and his own times, it might

**Our Times in
the Light of
the Prophecy
of Joel.**

be to us only a bit of ancient literature, a fragment of history, not directly addressed to the men of the nations of

to-day. The great promise, however, of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit in the latter days, (Joel 2:28,) quoted in Acts 2:17 as fulfilled in part on the day of Pentecost, shows that New Testament times were also included in the field of the prophet's vision. It is to be accepted, therefore, as part of the Word of God which "liveth and abideth," and was "written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the ages are come."

It is evident that Joel ministered in a time of great calamities. A desolating plague of locusts had devoured the harvests, and a parching drought had dried up the springs and streams. The meal offering and the drink offering were cut off from the sanctuary and the herds of cattle were perplexed in the want both of pasturage and water. Under these visitations the prophet summons the people to repentance: "Sanctify a fast, call a solemn assembly, gather the old men and all the inhabitants of the land unto the house of Jehovah your God and cry unto Jehovah." (Joel 1:14.)

The present time is not marked except in a few widely separated instances, by great material calamities. On the contrary it is, with most nations, a time of great outward prosperity. But the evident withholding of the fulness of the Spirit from evangelistic and reform work, the consequent difficulty with which all Christian work is done, and the meagre results which are gathered, are a more serious visitation than any material drought. The ravages of profanity and Sabbath-desecration, of drunkenness and licentiousness, of violence and corruption, as they devour the sons and daughters who ought to be the land's most precious harvest, are more terrible than any invasion of locusts. And there are occasional visitations of God's judgments in fire and flood, in earthquakes here and there like that which destroyed San Francisco, and famines like that now felt in China, and social convulsions like that through which Russia is passing, which are severer calamities than those which Joel was sent to interpret to the Hebrew people. The prophet's call to repentance has therefore lost nothing of its force or pertinency through the lapse of time.

But Joel was sent also to foretell still sorer future calamities. In his second chapter, employing language and imagery borrowed from the plague of the locusts, he describes the invasion of Palestine by the successive heathen powers,

from John's side like a wreath of snow in the spring sunshine, and to her husband and children, and to the church of Christ, her death will be an irreparable loss.

Kitty is not the only woman whose precious life is being poured out like water upon the Home Mission fields of the Church, and in these days when the cause

of Christ needs every helper, is it right for us who stay at home to allow our sisters who are bearing the burden and the heat of the day, in the tremendous conflict which is now going on between the evil and the good, to make so costly and so needless a sacrifice?—*Woman's Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church.*

The National Reform Movement

STUDIES IN CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP

X.

The Institution of Civil Government.

BY R. C. WYLIE, D.D.

Why do men live together in civil societies? Why do we obey the laws of the State? Why do we pay taxes to support civil government? Is it because we must, or because we should? Whence comes the right of the "powers that be" to place legal restrictions upon human liberty? How does civil government come into being?

These are questions which all good citizens should be able to answer. Yet comparatively few ever give them serious thought. They have accepted civil government as a fact without considering its origin or its right to be. Few of those who are called to fill official positions ever consider the sacredness of their positions. Many writers on civil government either ignore these fundamental questions or give unscientific and unhistorical answers. By some the historic origin of civil governments past and present is confounded with the origin of that supreme authority with which governments are clothed. A clear distinction must be here made. The study of the first is little more than the study of a historical question. The study of the second requires an investigation of the most profound principles of political science. Doubtless the citizens of a country should know their country's history. They

should acquaint themselves with the rise and development of its civil and political institutions and the establishment of its government. But they should know likewise what kind of an institution civil government is and by what right men ordain and establish it.

In the study of the institution of civil government three problems must be considered:

THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED.	The fact of a social, political nature in men whereby they are drawn and held together in political society;
-------------------------------	---

The formation of separate sovereign political societies with fixed geographical boundaries; The constitution of a civil government by each of these civil societies. Important work has been done by recent writers on Sociology in defining that political nature which, working in harmony with external forces, leads to the development of states. (See *Principles of Sociology*, by Prof. F. H. Giddings, Chapter I.) But there is a tendency here as in other sciences where the evolution principle is applied to ignore both the divine origin of civil society and the divine superintendence of the development of nations and states. Even by some writers who do not deny such origin and superintendence it is not considered scientific to recognize the supernatural. But it is the common judgment of men that there is a direct relation between civil government and Almighty God, as is shown by the political history of all nations. Acknowledgments that God rules in national affairs, found in nearly all our State constitutions, together with frequent recognitions of the same truth in official

papers of the Presidents, bear witness to a profound belief in its political value.

It is doubtless a matter of importance to determine what it is in the constitution of men that draws them together into political societies.

THEORIES CONSIDERED.

Professor Giddings calls it "consciousness of kind." The question that here confronts us is, what is the origin of that political nature? How did man become a political being? Did the fall do this? If so redemption must do away with it. But the Scriptures teach that redemption is to elevate and purify national and political life instead of abolishing it. Did the work of redemption originate civil government? It originated the Church with its government, but civil government exists among men in their unregenerate state. Did God introduce civil government after the fall as a necessity created by the fall? There is no evidence that He did. Even among the unfallen angels government exists, and it is fair to infer that unfallen men would have needed it fully as much as the angels. Either God made men with political natures or their political natures have resulted from evolution. But evolution is not able to account for the beginning of things. It can do no more than trace their development after they have begun. Whatever truth there may be in theories about the evolution of society, and states and governments, there must have been a political nature in men to start with. Professor Burgess, of Columbia University, concedes this in the following quotation: "If the theologian means by his doctrine of the divine origin of the state simply that the Creator of man implanted the substance of the state in the nature of man, the historian will surely be under no necessity to contradict him." (Political Science and Constitutional Law, Vol. I., pp. 59, 60.) Professor Woodrow Wilson, of Princeton University, makes the same concession when he says of civil government that "in its origin it was spontaneous, natural, twin-born with man and the family." (The State, p. 14.)

The second problem requiring attention is the historical development of sovereign civil

DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL SOCIETY.

territory occupying territories with distinct boundaries. Here is a wide field for the legitimate application of the principle of evolution provided the superintending care of God is not

excluded. In the very nature of the case there is historic growth and development. By means of the family the human race is propagated and grows into clans, tribes and nations. Among the forces, physical, vital and spiritual, which produce the feeling of nationality and separate the human family into distinct civil societies, race, language, religion, history, civilization and commerce should be given special prominence. Of all these religion doubtless has ever had the largest influence in both creating and preserving social unity.

The Hebrew nation is a typical case. God's part in the development of that people is shown in His promise to make of Abraham a great nation and in His superintending care at every step of their development. He used the family as the means of numerical increase. The family soon became a clan, the clan became twelve tribes, and these tribes became a nation. Various forces were at work in this process, and the people themselves were responsible agents. The United States of America furnishes another instructive example. First a few colonies were planted. Under the controlling hand of God these increased in population and power and were united into a compact national body. The agency of men is seen at every step of the way toward national freedom, but those steps would not have been taken were it not for the guidance of God. Authority from God was necessary to justify those steps. He fixes national boundaries and gives sovereign rights (Acts 17:36).

One of the most important of all political questions arises in this connection. And

THE SOURCE OF POLITICAL AUTHORITY.

yet it is one that is either answered incorrectly or not answered at all by many students of political science. They give much thought to the question as to the location of political authority or sovereignty, but comparatively little to the question of the ultimate source of that authority. As to that ultimate source only two general views are possible. It must be either human or divine. Various theories are held as to the method whereby authority has been bestowed or has come into being, but no writer has undertaken to show that there can be any other ultimate source from which it can possibly spring. The position here maintained is that Almighty God is the ultimate source of all authority and

power in civil affairs. It may be said that God is the source of all the power possessed by any creature good or bad; that the physical force of wicked men, that even the power of the devil himself, was given originally by God. It is not in any such general sense that the statement is here made with respect to civil government. A distinction must be made between authority and power. The latter is often used without the former. It is one thing to use power which came originally from God; it is another thing to use it as God authorizes. As Supreme Ruler God has bestowed upon men the prerogative of rulership in a subordinate sense, and that prerogative is rightly exercised through civil government. The authority of civil government must come from God if it exists at all, as is clear from a view of its vastness.

VASTNESS OF THIS AUTHORITY. There are various forms of voluntary associations among men which have great power. Railroad companies and business associations sometimes sway legislatures by means of financial or other influence. Sometimes they set at naught the authority of the State and undertake to be a law to themselves. But not one of them has been so bold as to usurp the penal functions of civil government. None but anarchists will deny that such functions exist. "It punishes by the infliction of pain to any amount it may deem necessary. It banishes, it imprisons, it puts to death." Of all the associations known among men civil government is the only one recognized as rightfully using such vast power. If the right to use it exists it must come from a source high enough to bestow it. An examination of the various theories that trace it to a human source only will reveal their utter inadequacy. What is known as the Social Contract theory has long

SOCIAL CONTRACT THEORY. been popular. According to this theory there was a time when there was no civil government. Men existed in a so-called state of nature with the right to get and to hold whatever they were able. This state of nature was a state of continual strife. Growing weary of it, men formed a covenant with one another to surrender part of their natural rights on condition that the rights not surrendered should be protected. The surrendered rights were bestowed upon some one man or a body of men, and that man or body

of men became sovereign ruler.

It has often been shown that no such state of nature ever existed, and history makes no record of the formation of any such covenant. Yet even Blackstone, who has been followed by many other writers, resorts to this fiction to illustrate the origin of civil authority and the obligation to render obedience to law. (Vol. I., Book 1, 124.) But it is clear that individuals cannot surrender what they do not possess. It cannot be shown that men in a state of nature or any other state possess the right to take their own lives. To surrender this right to civil government is not therefore possible. Yet the right seems to be vested there with respect to some classes of criminals. The only source of that investiture is the Divine Author of life.

The same conclusion is reached when we consider the geographical boundaries of civil authority. There is a necessary connection between civil government and the land occupied by the people under its authority. Nations will resist unto blood the effort to divide their territory. The greatest war of modern times was waged to prevent the division of the United States into two nations. On the theory of contract that war was unjustifiable. Men may dissolve any covenant which they have formed. This theory encourages rebellion and leads to the dissolution of the civil authority which it aims to create.

This theory fails also to explain the authority of civil government over individuals who never assented to the contract. Contracts are made voluntarily. The theory requires that each one for himself make a surrender of certain rights. No one can make the surrender for another. One generation cannot make it for succeeding generations. Criminals refuse assent to the contract. On what ground are they punished? Why are we compelled to pay taxes even though we should take the ground that we never assented to the contract establishing civil government, do not need it and do not wish to help bear its burdens? Evidently the theory of contract is a theory of anarchy instead of a theory of civil government. Either civil authority is from God or it is not rightful authority at all.

The historical theory of the origin of the state now so popular teaches that political authority resides, not in individuals, but in the body of the people, and that it has been evolved or developed with the development of the state. Some advocates of this theory admit that the substance of the state was implanted in man by the Creator, but others take no account of such creative act and seek to explain everything political on the evolution theory. According to this view force is the foundation of civil government and its acts are devoid of moral quality. Even those advocates of it who recognize the hand of the Creator in making man a political being sometimes overlook His superintending care in the development of nations and find no place in their systems for His delegation of authority and power.

THE HISTORIC THEORY.

Going back of all political contracts made by men in ordaining constitutions of government; following the stream of political history to its fountain head, we find a divine source for all rightful civil authority. We are to be in subjection to the powers that be for this reason. "Let every soul be in subjection to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God; and the powers that be are ordained of God. Therefore he that resisteth the power withstandeth the ordinance of God; and they that withstand shall receive to themselves judgment. For rulers are not a terror to good work, but to the evil. And wouldst thou have no fear of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same; for He is a minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for He beareth not the sword in vain; for He is a minister of God, an avenger for wrath to him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be in subjection not only because of the wrath, but also for conscience sake. For this cause ye pay tribute also; for they are ministers of God's service, attending continually upon this very thing" (Rom. 13:1-6).

It now becomes necessary to show how the authority of civil society has been bestowed. Certain theories which maintain its divine origin are wholly at fault in their explanation of the manner in which it has been del-

egated. Robert Filmer, in his work entitled "Patriarcha," argues in favor of the divine right of monarchy on the basis of the original grant of authority to Adam. He contends that "not only Adam, but the succeeding patriarchs, had, by right of fatherhood, royal authority over their children," that "this lordship, which Adam by command had over the whole world, and by right descended from him, the patriarchs did enjoy, was as large and ample as the absolute dominion of any monarch hath been since the creation," that it "included dominion of life and death, making war and concluding peace," that "kings, in the right of parents, succeed to the exercise of supreme jurisdiction." When the theory is maintained in this form it is made to teach the divine right of kings and to uphold all kinds of tyranny. Students of American history will remember that many of the American colonists were reluctant to join in the rebellion against the British government because of their acceptance of that form of the theory.

Thomas Aquinas held that "the State, through which earthly aims are attained, must be subordinate to the Church. Church and State are as of two swords which God has given to Christendom for its protection; both of them, however, are given by Him to the Pope and the temporal sword by him handed to the rulers of the State. Thus the Pope alone received his power directly from the Almighty, the Emperor his authority indirectly through the Pope's hands." One would need to travel far, at least in this country, to find an advocate of either of these forms of the divine theory. Instead of a divine right vested in either kings or popes, there is a divine right vested in the people which they in turn delegate to the government.

Our last topic is the actual constitution of civil government by the sovereign people.

Nowhere in a nation's history is the free agency of men more manifest. Nowhere is there greater necessity

for recognizing the agency and authority of God. Governments should be constituted with a consciousness not only of power but also of right. Men are workers together with God. Civil government is God's ordinance because He makes nations and delegates to the people their political authority (Rom. 13:1-7). It is

an ordinance of man because men are free agents in its actual formation (1 Peter 2:13).

While power or might is essential to the establishment of civil government it must not be confounded with right.

MIGHT WITH AND WITHOUT RIGHT. The unauthorized use of it is brutal tyranny. To justify such use men

sometimes adopt the dangerous political heresy that might makes right. On the other hand, authority without power to maintain it, in the present state of the world, would be a valueless possession, for law cannot in many cases be enforced without it. At the beginning God announced His grant of authority to men (see Genesis 1:28). But it seems that both the power and the authority of each nation come with its historical growth and development, and both are from God. The location of sovereignty can now be easily determined. It is evident that it is not located in any race of kings nor in the line of popes, but in the people. But this doctrine gives no warrant for the common expression that every citizen is a sovereign. At best this can be nothing more than a figure of speech. Of what is each citizen a sovereign? Not of the whole country nor of any section of it. Each citizen is a political being, but his political nature is social and requires combination with other political beings who are his equals. In every nation there are many who can take no part in political affairs because of youth, old age, or other infirmity. There are some also who by reason of crime have forfeited their right to be reckoned with the sovereign people. But that social, political body known as the People, or the Nation, or the State, is the political sovereign, and there is room for only one sovereign in each nation.

While men act voluntarily and freely in the formation of civil government there are limitations to this freedom.

LIMITATIONS OF HUMAN FREEDOM. They are not free either to have or not to have civil government. Refusal to have it would do violence to the political nature. Men show their freedom by acting not in conflict, but in harmony with their natures. Neither are they free to establish government without due regard for the true ends for which God ordained it or without due recognition of God as the source of authority. They may be free to choose a

form of government and to determine a multitude of minor points as to its establishment and administration. But political freedom is bounded by the fact of man's political nature given by the Creator, by the supreme rulership of God, by God's delegation to man of political authority, and by the revealed will of God for nations.

Three objections will be considered in concluding this study. The first is that the divine theory favors the union of Church and State. In reply the following facts may be noted. This is the theory on which the

Hebrew civil government was founded. The best Biblical scholarship of the present day holds that there was no union of Church and State in that government. Hon. Oscar S. Straus, LL.D., a Hebrew and a member of President Roosevelt's cabinet, has recently written a book entitled, "Origin of Republican Form of Government," in which he maintains that no such union existed in Israel. (Chapter VI., pp. 101-117.) The proper exposition of the divine theory recognizes the Church as a wholly independent organization occupying an entirely different sphere from that occupied by civil government. It is the only theory that guarantees to the Church untrammelled liberty in the enjoyment of her rights and in the fulfilling of her mission. It likewise guards the State from unwarranted ecclesiastical interference.

A second objection finds fault with the theory because it brings certain religious principles into the political sphere. It is said that in this sphere no religious principles should find a place, since the state is a wholly secular institution. It is freely admitted that this theory maintains that certain religious principles have a place in the political sphere. It is contended, however, that these principles are not ecclesiastical but political, that they rightly belong in the civil sphere, and that violence is done both to these principles and to the state by the attempt to thrust them out. Since God is the source of all authority and power in civil affairs, and since He is the author of national life, advocates of the divine theory are not thrusting religion into politics but are contending for the

recognition of principles which properly belong there.

A third objection is that even if true this theory has no practical value. This objection

may be stated in the words of Professor Willoughby, of Johns Hopkins University. He says, "Grant all that the

vine theory necessarily maintains, . . . all that necessarily follows is that political rule of some sort or other is divinely justified. No test, or suggestion of a test, is thereby afforded for determining whether any empiric manifestation of such order is exercised according to the divine purpose, or by the hands divinely appointed; unless, indeed, we say that the mere fact that the given State does exist and that its government is in the hands that it is, such a condition must therefore be according to the will of Him who is omnipotent and directs all human things. But of course this is nothing more than saying that 'whatever is, is right' which is also the motto of the Force Theory. Thus, instead of affording a basis for true political authority, it logically justifies every conceivable act, whether such act tends to uphold or subvert the existing state of rule." (The Nature of the State, p. 52.)

It might be said in reply that even if this theory should be so construed as to justify whatever is, it is difficult to see in what respect it would be worse than the theory of Professor Willoughby, who denies that the state needs any moral sanctions for what it does, governs merely by force, and appeals only to fear of physical evil. (Nature of the State, pp. 52, 53, 127.) He makes a very important admission, however, when he says that from this theory it follows that political rule of some sort is divinely justified. This is essential and is more than follows from any other theory. But the theory does more than this. It furnishes a criterion for determining whether and how far existing civil governments are constituted on a sound political basis; it furnishes a test for deciding whether or not men who bear rule possess proper moral qualifications; it furnishes a standard for righteous judgment concerning all the acts of the state. The learned professor has failed to grasp the full and proper significance of the divine theory as advocated by its best exponents.

This theory should be accepted by all citizens and made a controlling factor in their political conduct. It should be incorporated in the framework of the government. It is the theory taught in the sacred Scriptures; it is advocated by the best authors on political science; it is illustrated in the political history of the world; it embodies all that is true in all other theories; it plants civil government on a solid basis; it furnishes a high standard of citizenship; it makes for national righteousness.

Mrs. McAllister has donated all the books in Dr. McAllister's library which treat of political science to the National Reform Association. The whole collection numbers nearly five hundred volumes. This includes nearly fifty volumes which Dr. McAllister had specially bound as a gift to the Association not long before his death. The whole will form the nucleus of a valuable library which we hope may bear the name, "The McAllister Memorial Library."

The congregation of which Dr. McAllister had been pastor for almost twenty years held a memorial service on Sabbath, the 7th of July. The sermon was preached by the Rev. J. S. Martin, of New Castle.

FOURTH OF JULY CELEBRATION.—An old-time patriotic celebration of the Fourth of July was held in New Castle, Pa., this year under the auspices of the Lawrence County Auxiliary Society of the National Reform Association. Patriotic addresses were made by Mr. Thompson, a prominent attorney of Pittsburgh, Pa., and by Prof. Campbell, of Westminster College, New Wilmington, Pa. National airs were played by an orchestra of sixteen pieces. "America" was sung by the Loyal Temperance Legion of the county. The meeting was presided over by the County Judge, W. E. Porter. Many of the ministry of the county as well as attorneys and other prominent citizens occupied seats on the platform. Over a thousand persons were in attendance. Field sports were engaged in after the speaking.

This is the second year that such a celebration has been held in New Castle. Last year it was an experiment. The attendance and interest this year were as great, if not greater than last, and it seems probable that it will