

A MANUAL  
OF  
CHRISTIAN CIVIL GOVERNMENT



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THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS;  
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THE  
NATIONAL REFORM MOVEMENT

ITS HISTORY AND PRINCIPLES

A MANUAL OF

CHRISTIAN CIVIL GOVERNMENT

BY

DAVID McALLISTER, D.D., LL.D.

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*New and Enlarged Edition*

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1890

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## P R E F A C E .

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The first edition of this Handbook of American Christian Civil Government, under the title of *The National Reform Manual*, was intended specially for the use of the Secretaries and other active workers of the National Reform Association. It was welcomed, however, into a much wider circle, and was long ago exhausted. Frequent calls for the Manual led the Executive Committee of the National Reform Association to ask for the preparation of a new edition. In response to this request, this edition is now given to the public.

It has been thought best to cover the ground in this edition much more thoroughly than before, and yet keep the book within the limits of a Manual. The aim has been in this enlarged edition, as in the former one, to furnish such historical data, and such authorities on the main principles of political science, as will be helpful, in practical efforts, to the advocates of Christian civil government. All the citations are given with the utmost care from original sources. The quotations in the third and fourth chapters are selected from a work on which many years of labor have been bestowed, and which, it is hoped, will be ready for publication in another year or two at farthest, entitled *Christianity and Civil Government in the United States*. In this much larger work the whole subject is discussed with considerable fullness

of historical illustration and philosophic argument. The present edition of the Manual may prepare the way for the more exhaustive treatise.

This little book, like the Movement of which it briefly gives the history and principles, was born of intense love of country, and earnest desire to do something for her welfare. These days of peace do not call patriots to the battle-field. The God of nations is blessing us with rest from war. But the Christian patriot's ear catches stirring calls to more strenuous and momentous conflicts than any "battle of the warriors," with its "confused noise and garments rolled in blood." The enemies of our national Christianity are both powerful and active. They have begun their attack. Our Christian institutions of government are at stake. Friends are rallying for their defense. And the same love of country that would summon the patriot to the field of battle, summons him now to the field of moral conflict, where the friends and foes of our American national Christianity are deploying and skirmishing, and must soon come to the decisive engagement.

Under the standard, "Pro Christo et Patria," "For Christ and our country," this Manual is sent forth into the midst of this irrepressible moral struggle, in the hope and with the prayer that it may contribute something, however little, to the triumph of the right.

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# CONSTITUTION

OF THE

## National Reform Association.

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Believing that Almighty God is the source of all power and authority in civil government, that the Lord Jesus Christ is the Ruler of nations, and that the revealed will of God is of supreme authority in civil affairs ;

Remembering that this country was settled by Christian men, with Christian ends in view, and that they gave a distinctly Christian character to the institutions which they established ;

Perceiving the subtle and persevering attempts which are made to prohibit the reading of the Bible in our Public Schools, to overthrow our Sabbath laws, to corrupt the Family, to abolish the Oath, Prayer in our National and State Legislatures, Days of Fasting and Thanksgiving, and other Christian features of our institutions, and so to divorce the American Government from all connection with the Christian religion ;

Viewing with grave apprehension the corruption of our politics, the legal sanction of the Liquor Traffic, and the disregard of moral and religious character in those who are exalted to high places in the nation ;

Believing that a written Constitution ought to contain explicit evidence of the Christian character and purpose of the nation which frames it, and perceiving that the silence of the Constitution of the United States in this respect is used as an argument against all that is Christian in the usage and administration of our Government ;

We, citizens of the United States, do associate ourselves under the following ARTICLES, and pledge ourselves to God and to one another to labor, through wise and lawful means, for the ends herein set forth :

## ARTICLE I.

This Society shall be called the "NATIONAL REFORM ASSOCIATION."

## ARTICLE II.

The objects of this Society shall be to maintain existing Christian features in the American Government; 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 so indicate that this is a Christian nation, and place all the Christian laws, institutions, and usages of our government on an undeniably legal basis in the fundamental law of the land.

## ARTICLE III.

All persons approving these objects and contributing annually to its treasury, shall be members of this Society.

## ARTICLE IV.

The officers of this Association shall be the President, Vice-Presidents, General Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary, and Treasurer, and such District, Financial, and other Secretaries as may be appointed by the Executive Committee. The Secretaries and Treasurer, with twenty-one other members, shall be the Executive Committee of the Association.

## ARTICLE V.

Any Society adopting a Constitution in harmony with the aims of the National Reform Association, and contributing annually to its treasury, shall be recognized as an auxiliary, and all members thereof shall be members of the National Reform Association.

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A by-law of the Association provides that any one may become a life-member by the contribution of fifty dollars.

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The foregoing Constitution, with the necessary modifications, is recommended by the Executive Committee for adoption by auxiliary societies.

# FORMS OF PETITION

EMPLOYED BY THE

## National Reform Association.

---

### *For a Christian Amendment to the United States Constitution.*

The undersigned, citizens of the United States, petition your honorable bodies for such an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States as shall suitably express our national acknowledgment of Almighty God as the source of all authority in civil government; of the Lord Jesus Christ as the Ruler of nations and of his revealed will as the supreme standard to decide moral issues in national life, and thus indicate that this is a Christian nation, and place all the Christian laws, institutions, and usages of the government on an undeniably legal basis in the fundamental law of the land.

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### *For the Discontinuance of the National Mail Service on the Sabbath.*

We, the undersigned, citizens of \_\_\_\_\_, hereby respectfully petition your honorable bodies to pass a law instructing the Postmaster-General to make no further contracts which shall include the carriage of the mails on the Sabbath, and to provide that hereafter no mail matter shall be collected or distributed on that day.

---

### *For Christian Declarations in Political Platforms.*

The undersigned, who have sympathized and acted with the \_\_\_\_\_ party, desire that the future platforms of that party shall not fail to contain an acknowledgment of Almighty God as the source of authority and power in civil government, of Christ as the King of all nations, and of the supreme authority of his moral laws; together with declarations favoring the Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic, the defense of the Sabbath, the Christian features of our Public Education, and a national Marriage and Divorce law in harmony with the law of Christ.



*For a National Sabbath Rest Bill.*

We, the undersigned, citizens of \_\_\_\_\_, hereby petition your honorable bodies in favor of the passage of the bill now before Congress, known as the "Sunday Rest Bill," or such similar bill as will tend to secure to all our citizens the rest of the Lord's Day, by forbidding interstate commerce, the transportation and delivery of the mails, military drills, parades, or any other thing interfering with Sabbath rest, and coming under the jurisdiction of the general government.

*For the "School Amendment."*

We, the undersigned, citizens of \_\_\_\_\_, hereby petition your honorable bodies in favor of the passage of the joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution respecting "establishments of religion and free public schools." And we further pray, that such amendment do not fail to recognize and maintain the existing Christian features as well as the unsectarian character of our public education.

*For a Uniform Divorce Law.*

We, the undersigned, citizens of \_\_\_\_\_, hereby petition your honorable bodies for the passage of such measures as will secure to our nation a uniform divorce law, in accord with the moral laws of the Christian religion, and deliver us from the aggravated evils of our present loose and conflicting and unscriptural legislation on this subject.

*For Christian Acknowledgments in Thanksgiving Proclamations.*

We, the undersigned, citizens of the United States [if to the President, or, of the Commonwealth of \_\_\_\_\_, if to a State or Territorial Governor], hereby respectfully petition for the distinct acknowledgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Supreme Ruler of our nation, in the proclamation which calls us as a Christian people to the worship of him in whose presence we can find acceptance only through the mediation of the Saviour.

In all petitions to Congress, unless the petition be for a special bill before one of the two Houses, two copies of the petition should be signed by each citizen, one for the Senate and the other for the House of Representatives. Matters will be constantly coming up in our States and in the nation, in reference to which Christian citizens should make use of the right of petition.

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# The National Reform Movement.

## CHAPTER I.

### ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE MOVEMENT.

The National Reform Movement is organized opposition to the encroachments of the secular theory of civil government. This theory is summed up in the statement that civil government has nothing to do with religion but to let it alone. And by "religion" it means not only the church, with her doctrinal systems of theology, her sacraments and discipline, but every religious idea.

At its settlement, and for many years afterward, our country, like the great nation from which it had its birth, linked its government with the church. This American union of church and state was gradually severed. But the severance of this union was not intended to be, and was not in fact, the breaking up of all connection between our government and religion. We abandoned old world monarchism, and old world union of church and state; but the American people no more intended to swing over into the extreme of secular or non-religious civil government than into that of anarchy or no government at all. As Dr. Francis Lieber, for many years the honored Professor of Political Science in Columbia College, New York City, has well said: "The great mission which this country has to perform, with reference to Europe, requires the total divorce of state and church—not religion."\*

The National Reform Movement stands on this platform. It opposes both to secularism and to church

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\* *Civil Liberty and Self-Government*, p. 264.

and state, Christianity and the state. It seeks to organize all the friends of Christian civil government against the encroachments and revolutionary demands of secularism. For in this conflict the advocates of secularism are the assailants. Their watchwords are "discontinue," "repeal," "abrogate," "abolish." They find the Bible in our public schools, and demand its expulsion. They hear the voice of prayer in our halls of legislation, and demand that it be hushed. The oath, with its solemn appeal to God, is administered to witnesses and jurors in our courts, and to our officers of government, and the demand is made that it shall be abolished. In these and many other ways the government has been and is connected with Christianity, without any union of church and state; and this existing connection of state and religion, which secularism labors to destroy, the National Reform Association strives to defend and maintain.

In the conflict between two such opposing theories of government it could hardly fail that appeal would be made to the fundamental law of the nation—its written Constitution. The secular theory has always boasted of this instrument as its stronghold. And while other influences had an important share in preventing the Convention that framed the Constitution from giving to it a clear and distinctively Christian character, it must be admitted that the influence of political secularism was prominent in the matter. While on the one hand, then, the appeal is and has been made to the Constitution of the United States for the purpose of abolishing the Christian institutions of the government, it is not surprising, on the other hand, that many of the friends of Christian government should have long ago deplored the religious defect of the

Constitution, and sought to remedy it as a means of maintaining and promoting the Christian elements of our national life.

It is also clear, from the impressive array of testimony against the omission of all acknowledgment of God from the Constitution,\* that many of our best citizens saw in this omission great dishonor done to the Ruler of nations. The accumulated testimonies of these witnesses form a complete chain from the time of the framing and adopting of the Constitution to the organized movement for its amendment. A most noteworthy fact is that these testimonies increased in number and intensity when the nation was under severe chastisement. The war of 1812 brought distresses that led many to look to God. In that day of calamity not a few contrite voices confessed our national sin of forgetfulness of him who had given us our being and preserved us as a nation, and earnest calls were made for national reformation and the religious amendment of our Constitution. But with the removal of the trouble came forgetfulness of our Helper. Our sense of sin in failing to acknowledge him was "as a morning cloud and as the early dew." And for nearly fifty years, years of almost unexampled material advancement, while the Lord never left himself without witnesses, there were comparatively few voices heard, and these were almost altogether unheeded. But once more the Ruler of nations set his throne of judgment. The war of the rebellion burst upon our proud and wealthy nation. We were plunged into deep waters. The floods of divine wrath beat against us. The very foundations of the nation were

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\* See *Testimonies to the Religious Defect of the United States Constitution*, by the writer of this Manual. This paper was first published in the *Proceedings of the Pittsburgh Convention of 1874*, and since then in the *Centennial of the American Constitution*, a collection of papers on this topic, issued September, 1887.

threatened. And now again voices are raised throughout the land in trumpet-tones of warning. The rod of chastisement had once more brought us to our senses.

Is it any wonder that many began to think it was time to take some practical steps toward remedying the acknowledged defect? If we should defer this until another season of judgment, who could tell whether God's patience might not be exhausted? To confess sin in time of trial, and make no effort at amendment when the calamities were mercifully removed, could only farther provoke the divine displeasure. With such thoughts as these coming more or less clearly to the consciousness of many of our citizens, active measures were at length adopted with a view to national reformation and the corresponding religious amendment of the United States Constitution.

The birth of the movement for this purpose may be dated from the 4th day of February, 1863. A Convention for prayer and Christian conference, with special reference to the state of the country, had been called to meet in Xenia, Ohio, on February 3d, to continue in session three days. A programme had been published, setting forth the various subjects that were to engage the attention of the Convention. Among them was the subject of "Religion in the Nation." When the Convention assembled, it was found to include representatives from eleven different denominations of Christians, and from seven of the States of the Union. On the second day of the sessions of the Convention, when the subject of "Religion in the Nation" came up for consideration, John Alexander, Esq., then of Xenia, now of Philadelphia, presented a paper in which the sins of the nation were confessed, and the importance of repentance and reformation insisted

upon. After speaking of President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, then recently issued, and the hopeful prospect of an anti-slavery amendment to the Constitution, the paper proceeds as follows :

“ We regard the neglect of God and his law, by omitting all acknowledgment of them in our Constitution, as the crowning, original sin of the nation, and slavery as one of its natural outgrowths. Therefore the most important step remains yet to be taken—to amend the Constitution so as to acknowledge God and the authority of his law ; and the object of this paper is to suggest to this Convention the propriety of considering this subject and of preparing such an amendment to the Constitution as they may think proper to propose in accordance with its provisions.

“ In order to bring the subject more definitely before the Convention, we suggest the following as an outline of what seems to us to be needed in the preamble of that instrument, making it read as follows (proposed amendment in brackets) :

“ WE, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES [recognizing the being and attributes of Almighty God, the Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures, the law of God as the paramount rule, and Jesus, the Messiah, the Saviour and Lord of all], in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.”

This paper was referred to a committee who reported favorably upon it. This committee was composed of representatives of all the denominations gathered in the Con-

vention. After some discussion, their report, recommending the approval of the spirit and design of the paper, indorsing the action which it proposed, and ordering its publication, was adopted. It is but just to put on record here the effective service rendered in this discussion by the Rev. Dr. H. H. George, now President of Geneva College, Beaver Falls, Pa., and the Rev. Samuel Collins, D.D., now of Allegheny.

It is not a little remarkable that just about the same time, in a State farther west, another Convention, of a kindred character, took similar action. Without any knowledge whatever of the Xenia meeting, a Convention of Christians of various denominations met in Sparta, Illinois, on February 6, 1863, just two days after the adoption of the foregoing paper. At this gathering a series of resolutions was adopted, in which a pledge was given to "labor to bring the nation to repentance toward God, and to a faithful administration of the government according to the principles of the word of God." This Convention adjourned to meet on February 24, some two weeks later, to adopt a plan of operations. At this meeting an association was organized, one express object of which was to bring the nation to an acknowledgment of the authority of Christ and his law.

Later in the same year, a similar meeting was held in Pittsburgh; but it was not till the next year, 1864, that a permanent organization was effected. The Convention which met in Allegheny, January 27 of that year, accomplished this important work. Mr. John Alexander, with whose Christian and patriotic action the movement may be said to have originated, was appropriately chosen the first President of the National Association. Zadok Street, Esq., of Salem, Ohio, a member of the Society of



Friends, was elected Vice-President. Members of several other denominations were on the list of officers, giving to the Association at the very beginning that unsectarian character which it has always maintained. Special mention ought to be made here of the eminent service rendered in this first distinctively National Reform Convention by the eloquent J. H. M'Ilvaine, D.D., LL.D., at that time Professor of Political Science in Princeton College, whose voice has so often since been heard in these assemblies.

From the first the work of the Association was both conservative and reformatory. It never failed to stand in the breach when any of the Christian institutions of our government, such as Sabbath laws, or the Bible and Unsectarian Religious Instruction in our Common Schools, were assailed and needed sturdy defense. At the same time it used its utmost efforts to reform every abuse and wrong in our public life, and to go to the root of the matter by such a radical reformation as would put the nation in avowed allegiance to Christ as King of kings, and practical obedience to his law.

The Christian institutions of the government of our States and nation involve three great fundamental principles. The oath, as an appeal to God; prayer in legislative assemblies; the services of Christian ministers in the army and navy, and in institutions such as those at West Point and Annapolis, as well as in asylums, prisons, and reformatories; days of fasting and thanksgiving; the Bible in the public schools; religious acknowledgments in our State constitutions;—all these rest upon political and moral, or politico-moral ideas. These are the clear and definite ideas that the nation exercises an authority which comes ultimately from God; that the

Bible gives law for national as well as for individual and ecclesiastical life ; and that Christ rules in the moral laws of his religion as Supreme Governor among the nations. These are not ecclesiastical or church principles, but principles of civil and national life. Resting as they do at the basis of distinctively civil, and not ecclesiastical institutions, they demand suitable national acknowledgment. Such acknowledgment the National Reform Association seeks to secure as an undeniable legal basis for the Christian institutions of civil government which are essential to our national welfare and perpetuity.

That this constitutional acknowledgment is sought as a means to the end of securing and maintaining practical national Christianity is manifest from the entire history of the Association. Practical as the aims of the Association were at first, they have become more and more practical. The earliest conventions took up the living questions of the day, such as Sabbath laws and the religious character of State education. But the lines of practical effort have multiplied, until, as will be seen by the list of special secretaries, there is hardly a single point of contact between Christianity and civil life where the National Reform Association fails to station its trained and efficient workers. What this Association labors for is, first of all, the actual operation of the central idea of Christian government—the settlement of all moral questions and the regulation of all moral affairs in the nation's life, by the appropriate principles of the moral laws of the Christian religion ; and in order to secure, defend, and develop such pure national Christianity, the movement also seeks a suitable expression and authentication of Christian nationality in our fundamental law.

It remains to be noted in this connection that the National Reform Movement is a movement of citizens, irrespective of denominational connection. It has never been a movement of churches, or of church members, as such, but of citizens who believe in the Christian principles of civil government. It is well known that a number of those who have rendered most earnest and effective service in this cause are members of the Universalist and Unitarian churches. Others are not professed church members at all. The great body of the members of the Association are members also of the different denominations of Christians. But the cordial co-operation of all these classes of citizens proves conclusively not only that the movement is unsectarian, but also that it is not in the interest of any ecclesiastical system of doctrine or government. It is the united effort of citizens who are convinced that the highest welfare of the nation is bound up in our distinctively Christian institutions, and who see these endangered by the assaults of secularism; of citizens who, while they believe that the cause of Christ in every way will be promoted by the triumph of the principles of Christian civil government, yet mainly for the sake of the nation, and from motives of the purest patriotism, seek to anchor our beloved country in her Constitution and laws and practice to the throne and government of Christ himself.

The lofty, patriotic aim of the movement, as well as its broad and unsectarian character, is shown by the succession of its Presidents, to say nothing of other officers or members. Following John Alexander, Esq., of the United Presbyterian Church, now over fourscore, but with zeal and generosity unabated, was Dr. Daniel C. Eddy, of the Baptist Church. Next was the Hon. Wm.

Strong, of the great Presbyterian Church, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Then followed the Hon. Felix R. Brunot, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, who still remains the honored head of the Association.

Under the presidency of these leaders the movement has gone forward, along such lines of work as will be noticed in the next chapter, until last year (A.D. 1889) it held its Quarter-Centennial National Convention, April 23 to 25, in the city of Pittsburgh.

“This Convention was in perfect consistency with the whole character of the National Reform Movement for the twenty-five years of its history. It was calm, earnest, intellectual, and devout. The character of the assembly and the character of the addresses were in harmony. No audience, probably, ever listened to more thorough or more eloquent discussions, and no audience ever appreciated or enjoyed addresses more thoroughly.

“The most matter-of-fact report of the proceedings must give the impression of a great meeting. It was great in numbers, though the vast hall in which it was held was at no single session completely filled; great in the character of the men and women who composed it; great in the impression which it made on all who came within reach of its influence.

“The loving zeal of a band of Christian women in Pittsburgh and Allegheny had decorated the hall in which the Convention sat most appropriately and beautifully. The front of the spacious platform was covered with palms and potted plants. Two easels on the platform bore portraits of Prof. Tayler Lewis, of Union College, and A. A. Hodge, D.D., of Princeton, New Jersey, while on the walls on either side were hung large

and excellent portraits of Bishop Kerfoot, of the Protestant Episcopal Church; Bishop Simpson, of the Methodist Episcopal Church; the Rev. J. R. W. Sloane, D.D., the Rev. A. M. Milligan, D.D., the Rev. James M. Willson, D.D., the Rev. John T. Pressly, D.D., the Rev. James Rodgers, D.D., the Rev. Joseph T. Cooper, D.D., Samuel A. Sterrett, M.D., and the Rev. E. E. Swift, D.D. Over the platform in letters of evergreen were the words :

### NATIONAL REFORM ASSOCIATION.

WELCOME TO QUARTER-CENTENNIAL.

1864.

1889.

And beneath, on a background of gold, appeared the words, 'Pro Christo et Patria.' To the right appeared the inscription: 'Christ, the King of Nations,' and to the left, 'Remember the Sabbath Day to Keep it Holy.' At the rear of the hall, across the front of the gallery, ran the sentence, 'A Scriptural Divorce Law for the Nation,' and underneath, the words, 'In God We Trust,' while on either side were displayed the mottoes, many of them charmingly wrought in colors, 'Righteousness Exalteth a Nation,' 'The Bible in the Public Schools,' 'The Blair School Amendment,' 'The National Sabbath Rest Bill,' 'For God and Home and Native Land,' 'For the Purity and Permanence of the Family.' To sit amid such surroundings, in fellowship with a great assembly of earnest Christian and patriotic citizens, listening to addresses which were all thoughtful, instructive, and inspiring, and many of which were surpassingly eloquent, was a rare privilege and a great blessing. The moral effect of this assembly on the people of the country must be deep and lasting.' '\*

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\**Christian Statesman*, May 2, 1889.

## CHAPTER II.

### METHODS OF WORK.

The origin of the National Reform Movement, and the nature of the work, as presented in the preceding chapter, prove that it is not a movement of churches or church members, but of citizens, as such, and for civil and patriotic purposes. A glance at the list of officers, who, it will be seen, are found in all the different churches, orthodox and liberal, and in the manifold departments of business and professional life, is sufficient to confirm this statement. A further proof, if any were needed, is presented in the history of the Association's work. This has been pursued for a full quarter of a century, not along ecclesiastical, but along civil lines; and political party lines have been as carefully avoided as ecclesiastical lines. It must suffice to give in this handbook a brief summary of the methods of work.

Pre-eminent in this land of public meetings and free speech might be expected to be found the holding of conventions. Itself originating in one of these mass conventions, the movement has made large use of this method of work. National conventions have been held in many of our largest cities, as New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Cincinnati. Other large conventions, though not national, have been gathered in such cities as Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, Cleveland, Columbus, and Leavenworth; while local conventions have been held in numerous smaller cities, towns, and villages. In all of

them the aim has been to compel public attention to the great problems of national life, and specially to the different aspects of the subject of religion and the state. The earlier conventions gave more particular attention to the religious defect of the United States Constitution, while at the same time many related subjects were carefully discussed by some of the ablest speakers in our country. Gradually the scope of these public gatherings was broadened, until the annual conferences on the principles of civil government held within recent years by the Association have covered all the great social problems of the day. The range of topics in smaller local conventions has similarly widened. At present nearly every phase of public morals and national religion has its place on a National Reform programme for either a greater or a lesser gathering of the friends of the cause.

The growing importance of this method of work will appear from a comparison of the two programmes following: The first of these is that of the Cincinnati Convention in 1872. This comprised, in addition to a general address by the presiding officer, Judge M. B. Hagan, the following topics: "The Aims and Methods of the Movement," "The Relation of Education to Religion," "The Moral Character and Accountability of the Nation," "Neutrality of the State in Morals and Religion a Thing Impossible," "The Relation of the Written Constitution to the True Character and Welfare of the Nation," "The Proposed Amendment no Step toward Uniting Church and State, nor any Infringement of Rights of Conscience," "The Practical Value and Effect of the Proposed Amendment." The second of these programmes is that of the Quarter-Centennial Convention in Pittsburgh in 1889. In this, besides an

address on the birth of the movement and a memorial paper on the twenty-five years of its history, were the following topics: "The Purity and Stability of the Government in Relation to the Progress of Christianity," "Popular Objections to National Reform," "The Nation's Responsibility for the Immigrant Population," "The State and the Family," "The Labor Problem from a Christian Point of View," "The Oath and Its Abuses," "Peace and Arbitration," "Christian Governments and Foreign Missions," "The Roman Catholic Assault on Our Public Schools," "Liberty and the Sabbath," "The Limits of Civil Liberty," "The Indian Question," "The Chinese Question," "The Secular Theory of Education," "The Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic." Quite as broad as the foregoing has been the range of topics for recent local conventions, such as those held in Zanesville, Mansfield, and Cincinnati, Ohio, during the winter of 1889-90.

Wide as has been the hearing secured for the distinguished speakers who have addressed these conventions, their audiences have been vastly increased by the publication of their discussions. The daily newspapers have given extensive reports—in some instances publishing every paper in full. Reports in pamphlet form of a number of the principal national conventions have been widely circulated. Particular discussions at these conventions have been issued as tracts and scattered broadcast over the country. Summary reports of the proceedings and resolutions adopted have been sent, in some of the most important instances, to all the newspapers of the land.

- In this connection may be mentioned the publication of other documents, such as the bi-monthly series,



including *The Centennial of the American Constitution*. Larger and smaller tracts, and a number of the most important papers and addresses, bound together in volumes have added largely to the amount and value of the growing literature of the movement.

The employment of public laborers to take the field in the interests of the movement has been essential to the success of the conventions held. For a number of years there was but a single secretary, on whom devolved the burden of arranging for these national and smaller assemblies. With the growth of the work the number of secretaries has been increased to the present list of seven district secretaries given in this volume. Nor is their work to be measured simply by the public meetings which they hold. They contribute hundreds of articles yearly to the press; and on the Sabbath they find a welcome to the pulpits of the various denominations, for the presentation of some Scriptural aspect of the subject. Not the least among the manifold and effective labors of the secretaries, are their conversations with eminent citizens—ministers, professors in colleges and theological seminaries, lawyers and judges, legislators and State governors, on whom they are sure to call whenever they may have the opportunity. This face to face conference has corrected many a misunderstanding, and won intelligent and steadfast friends.

While public meetings and the reports of them have been specially calculated to reach the masses of the people, it has always been felt to be a matter of the utmost moment to influence the educators of the country. Colleges and seminaries have therefore been visited, and a large proportion of presidents and professors of such institutions have always been prominent among the

officers and in the work of the Association ; at the same time constant efforts have been made to reach the students in our higher educational institutions. Single lectures have been given by our secretaries in scores of colleges, and in many cases courses of lectures, covering the chief points of a system of political science, on National Reform groundwork and with National Reform superstructure, have been delivered to the students of these institutions. Secretaries Coleman, Wylie, and Foster have all given particular attention to this department of work.

Somewhat akin to this method of work in colleges has been the effort in connection with Summer Assemblies. At Ocean Grove, Key East, Saratoga, Lake Bluff, Chautauqua, and especially at Lakeside, opportunities have been secured, season after season, for the presentation of the National Reform cause. At these assemblies, as at large conventions, the different aspects of the comprehensive question have been discussed by competent speakers. The work done at Lakeside, under the management of Secretary Mills, covering a week or ten days of the season, has been exceptionally full and comprehensive.

Another method of work has been correspondence and co-operation with kindred societies, such as the American Sabbath Union, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Divorce Reform League, the National Christian Association Opposed to Secret Societies, the King's Daughters, and the Young People's Societies of Christian Endeavor. Joint conventions have been held with the two former of these Associations, and the Lakeside Reform Assembly has made their harmonious co-operation one of its principal attractions and a chief element of its strength. What more ringing National

Reform sentences were ever uttered than those of the President of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, in her annual address at the National Convention, held at Nashville, Tennessee? Miss Willard affirms in this address that the association over which she presides has "one vital, organic thought, one absorbing purpose, one undying enthusiasm. It is that **CHRIST SHALL BE THIS WORLD'S KING**—King of its courts, its camps, its commerce; King of its colleges and cloisters; King of its customs and constitutions; . . . Christ and his law, the true basis of government and the supreme authority in national as in individual life."

Before leaving this special line of work mention should be made of the adoption by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of Pennsylvania, of National Reform as one of its departments of work. Mrs. Dr. Samuel Collins, of Allegheny, was appointed Superintendent of this department, and her first document, an admirable presentation in leaflet form of the relation of the family to the well-being of the nation, has been given to the public. The Allegheny County Union was first among the County Unions to adopt this department of work, and Miss Sarah E. Gemmill, who was appointed Superintendent, has already published some special literature and done other effective work. Let passing mention also be made of the King's Daughters' National Reform Circles, under charge of Miss E. J. Crothers, of New York City. This indefatigable worker has made her department, by pointed and timely documents, and by extensive personal visits, and the enkindling enthusiasm of her presence, a recognized power among our youth.

The right of petition is one of which repeated and extensive use has been made. The forms of petition

given in this volume, in connection with the Constitution of the Association, illustrate this method of work. To appreciate the value of this kind of effort it should be remembered that it serves to interest a large number in the movement by giving them something to do for it in circulating petitions and obtaining names. Again, it affords occasion to explain and enforce the great principles that underlie the movement. Besides, it calls the attention of Congress and of the country at large to the nation's obligations to God and his law. Here again this Association co-operates with kindred societies in circulating special petitions like that for the Sabbath Rest Bill, or for the discontinuance of the United States Mail Service on the Lord's Day.

A large volume would be required to record the various practical efforts put forth by the National Reform Association, during the past twenty-five years of its history, in connection with living issues of the most momentous character, up for settlement before the American people. It must serve the present purpose simply to indicate a number of these labors. When the opponents of Christian education by the State have been striving to expel the Bible and religion from the school, or have succeeded in doing so, National Reform workers have been sent by the Executive Committee to co-operate with Christian citizens in the town or city in question. In one instance, that of New Haven, Conn., the efforts of citizens thus roused and quickened, restored the expelled Scriptures to their rightful place in the public schools.

Again, when Mr. Blaine introduced his School Amendment to the Constitution into the House of Representatives, grave fears were entertained lest this, if passed

as introduced, would be construed against the reading of the Bible in our common schools. The National Reform Association promptly sent a committee to Washington to secure the insertion of a clause in the proposed amendment to the effect that it should not be construed to prohibit the reading of the Bible in any of the common schools of the country. This very clause was introduced into the amendment when it reached the Senate, but the measure failed to carry in that body by two or three votes short of the required two-thirds majority.

After the same manner the agents of the Association have made their influence felt in other measures before Congress, such as the "Blair Sunday Rest Bill," and the "Blair School Amendment."

Whenever State conventions have assembled for the enacting or amending of State constitutions, the National Reform Association has been on the alert to secure, if possible, suitable Christian acknowledgments. In most instances representatives have been sent to the conventions, and when, as in a few instances, this has not been practicable, documents have been supplied to the members. Although in no case has such a result been secured as the Association desired, namely, a clear and explicit acknowledgment of the authority of Christ and his law, nevertheless their labors have not been without fruit. No State constitution has been revised, nor has any new one been framed, since the organization of the National Reform Association, without some acknowledgment of God in the preamble of the instrument, excepting the constitutions of Louisiana and Tennessee, revised respectively in 1868 and 1870. In the latter case the old provision that "no person who denies the being of God, or a future state of rewards and punishments, shall hold any

office in the civil department of the State," was still retained.\*

The form of petition given on a preceding page for Christian declarations in political platforms points out the method of work pursued in this matter by the Association. In connection with this petition an agent of the National Reform cause has appeared in many instances before these party conventions, county, State, and national, and has urged upon these bodies the duty of declaring in their platforms on what moral basis they proposed to administer the vast governmental powers which they asked the people to entrust to them.

Another class of assemblies before which the agents of the Association have been widely heard consists of church conferences, presbyteries, synods, and assemblies of sundry names. While this movement, as has been shown, has not been one of churches, nor along lines of ecclesiastical operation, it has yet acted on the belief that church courts are bound to take cognizance of all moral questions in political life. Avoiding itself all mingling of its own affairs with partisan politics, it has been far from seeking to enlist any church court in any partisan measure. But believing that the Church of Christ is God's remedial agency in this world to bring living truth to bear upon nations as well as upon individuals, in their own appropriate spheres, this Association has eagerly sought and improved every opportunity to press the claims of national Christianity upon both the superior and inferior courts of the various denominations of the Church of Christ.

Every autumn a fresh opportunity for an interesting

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\* Constitution of Tennessee, Article IX., Section 2.—See Hough's *American Constitutions*.

practical line of work presents itself in connection with our Thanksgiving Day. One part of this work is the endeavor to have some suitable Christian acknowledgment in the proclamations by the State and territorial governors and by the President. Not only are petitions signed and presented for this purpose, but personal letters are written to the officers named. Evidence is not wanting of the deep impressions made in this way, although the power of precedent and of surrounding circumstances yet prevails to exclude from the great majority of proclamations due mention of him by whom alone the worshipper can come with acceptance into the presence of the Father.

A second part of this work in reference to our annual Thanksgiving is the furnishing of suitable material to ministers for their Thanksgiving discourses. The former edition of this Manual has furnished data for many a Thanksgiving sermon. Perhaps in no single instance is so extensive use made of National Reform literature generally as in the preparation of these discourses, which now form a leading feature of our great autumnal feast. Thanksgiving sermons alone would demonstrate the growth of this patriotic Christian movement.

No more satisfactory service has been rendered in these practical efforts of the Association than that connected with the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. The weight of influence brought to bear upon the management by the forces of secularism and the hosts eager for material gain, to throw open the doors of the Exposition on the Sabbath, was enough to make all friends of the Lord's Day tremble for the result. Some local opposition there was to the opening; but not a single organization, national in its character, and voicing the sentiments of citizens east, west, north, and south, on this momentous

question, except the National Reform Association, stood in the breach on that day of trial. It was a hotly contested battle, with the issue doubtful until near the very date of the opening ; but by the Lord's blessing a noble victory was won for his Holy Day. The friends of the Sabbath who fought that battle will never forget the services rendered by Mr. Corliss, the manufacturer of the massive engine of the Exposition. He declared that not a blow had been struck on the Sabbath in making the engine, and that so long as he controlled its movements, it should not turn a wheel on the Lord's Day.

This summary of the methods of work of the Association for many years of its existence, incomplete as it is, will explain the recent appointment by the Executive Committee of Special Secretaries, each of whom becomes responsible for the direction of his own particular line of effort. The development of the work along so many lines, and the corresponding multiplication of opportunities, required this step in advance. How much these special departments include will be seen by examining the roll of Secretaries in the list of officers of the Association. It is highly gratifying to know, although most of these appointments date back only about one year, that already much has been accomplished by correspondence, the creation and dissemination of literature, and the holding of public meetings, in a number of departments of special work.

While none of the officers of the Association, except the District Secretaries in the field, receive any compensation for their work, it will yet be evident that so extensive a field of labor cannot be even partially cultivated without heavy expenditures. To meet the financial necessities of the movement, the following methods have been adopted :

1. Congregations of the different denominations of



Christians are requested to take up an annual collection for the cause, as for any other benevolent or patriotic work.

2. Every friend of Christian government is asked to enroll himself as a member by the payment of an annual contribution. Our youth are urged to add their contributions, however small, and thus deepen their interest in a cause so important to their country's welfare.

3. All who can possibly afford it are asked to become life-members of the Association, by the payment of fifty dollars. A beautiful certificate, suitable for framing, has been prepared for life-members.

4. From such as have the ability as well as the inclination, large contributions are requested. Examples of these are the gifts of one thousand dollars by John Alexander, Esq., of Philadelphia, as a thank-offering to the Lord; of another thousand dollars from Mr. Thomas E. Greacen and family, of New York; and a gift of like amount from Mrs. Dr. S. A. Sterrett, of Pittsburgh, as a memorial of her deceased husband, to be used as the nucleus of a literature fund, in loving perpetuation of his devoted and generous support of the cause.

5. The National Reform Association is duly incorporated, and thus legally qualified to receive bequests. Warm friends, in departing, have remembered its claims. There could be no better legacy by a dying Christian patriot for his country's good through generations yet to come.

Another generous and far-sighted method of helping this cause demands mention. This is the contribution of \$5,000 each by Messrs. John Hunter, of Sterling, N. Y., and John A. McKee and Dr. S. A. Sterrett, both of Pittsburgh, for the special purpose of securing the training of students in the principles of Christian political science in

Geneva College, at Beaver Falls, Pa. Since the death of Dr. Sterrett, his widow, in the same spirit that prompted her liberal gift already referred to, has added \$10,000 to the \$5,000 given by her husband for the endowment of the "Sterrett Chair of Political Philosophy" in the above-named institution.

It is hoped that this passing record of these noble gifts will suggest to other Christian patriots to whom the Lord has entrusted large resources, the consecration of part of their wealth to the same worthy cause of defending and maintaining the institutions of Christian civil society. As the Rev. J. C. McPheeters has so beautifully said: "All the gold given to this cause goes into the diadem of King Jesus. We shall find it there when we behold his glory."

This summary of methods of work would be unjust as well as incomplete if it did not mention what has been all along the right arm of the National Reform Movement. A number of papers that might be named have been earnest advocates and vigorous defenders of the good cause. But for nearly a quarter of a century the *Christian Statesman* has stood forth the acknowledged organ and champion of the movement. It has faithfully chronicled every step of progress. It has made itself a thesaurus of argument and illustration on every aspect of the question. The best productions of the best writers on religion and the State have crowded its columns for almost an entire generation. It has thrown the light of Christian truth on every question of public morals that has come before the American people. Its unwavering integrity, its rare fairness, and its Christian courtesy have won for it a truly enviable place among the best newspapers of the nation. The writer of this Manual, having been more or less

closely connected with its editorial conduct during all its history, can speak, with full knowledge of the truth, and with none the less freedom, of the editor-in-chief, the Rev. Dr. T. P. Stevenson, to whom this strong right arm of National Reform has been mainly indebted for its rare combination of gentleness and power. And no more fitting place than this offers itself for a tribute to the chief editor of the *Statesman*, who is also the Corresponding Secretary of the National Reform Association, such as the Executive Committee, at its meeting in the autumn of 1889, charged the writer to prepare and publish.

The National Reform Movement has bound together with bands of love of country and love of truth and love of Christ, stronger than bands of steel, as devoted a company of Christian workers as this continent has ever known. Where are names of brighter lustre among the sainted dead of America than those of Bishops McIlvaine, Eastburn, and Kerfoot, of the Protestant Episcopal Church ; Bishops Gilbert Haven and Simpson, of the Methodist Episcopal Church ; the Hodges, father and son, of the Presbyterian Church ; Drs. Pressly, Rodgers, Kerr, and Cooper, of the United Presbyterian Church ; Professors J. M. Willson and Sloane, and Dr. A. M. Milligan, of the old Covenanter Church ; and pre-eminent among them all, the venerable Prof. Tayler Lewis, of the Reformed Church ? But space will not permit the simple calling of the roll of the cloud of witnesses, living and dead—men who, like the worthies of the eleventh chapter of Hebrews, were heroes of faith, never asking what is popular, but what is true ; never what is for personal influence and advantage, but what is for Christ's honor and the country's highest good. With this company in full view, it is still nothing but a just testimony to worth as

modest as it is rare, to state that the same brain that, with its inexhaustible fertility and tireless energy, wrought the columns of the *Christian Statesman* into their strength and beauty as an imperishable monument for national Christianity, did more than any other human instrumentality to compact the army of workers into an organic unit, and to devise and put into efficient operation the manifold methods of work of which this chapter gives so inadequate a conception, and which shall yet under God place this nation, redeemed from all political atheism and irreligion, as a glorious jewel in the diadem of the King of kings.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE HISTORICAL AND DOCUMENTARY BASIS OF THE MOVEMENT.

The National Reform Movement, as set forth in the preceding chapters, is no new thing in American history. The politico-moral principles which it seeks to embody in our fundamental law, and the practical measures which it aims to defend and strengthen on the basis of these principles, find abundant illustration in the official documents of our government from the earliest times to the present. While it is important to give colonial and early national documents, which are comparatively little known, and inaccessible to many, as fully as possible, the citations in this Manual must manifestly be kept within narrow limits. All that are here given may be regarded simply as examples of the almost innumerable Christian documents of our political history. In these citations we have to do only with official documents and acts of the government. Let us follow, as far as practicable, the chronological order.

#### *Colonial Charters.*

First in this order will come the Colonial Charters granted by kings of England, from James I. to George II. Two of the earliest Colonies, New Plymouth and New Haven, were absorbed into their neighboring settlements. Large portions of territory, included in the Charters of a number of the Colonies, as those of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts Bay, in time were sepa-

rated and erected into independent Colonies. The Charters of Virginia, Massachusetts Bay, Maryland, Connecticut, Carolina, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Georgia, together with the Great Patent of New England, covering the entire territory of the thirteen original States of the Union, including the great territory of the northwest, out of which so many States were afterwards formed, and laying down authoritatively the principles in accordance with which the colonial governments were to be administered, connected these governments, one and all, with the Christian religion.

The first of these Charters was that granted by James I., April 10, 1606, for the settlement and possession of Virginia. This Charter speaks of the colonists who first erected governmental institutions in America, as having "desires for the furtherance of so noble a work which may, by the providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the glory of his divine Majesty, in propagating of the Christian religion to such people as yet live in ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may in time bring the infidels and savages, living in those parts, to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government."\*

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\* For Colonial Charters, see Hazard's *State Papers*, and Almon's *Collection of Charters*. See also for the above, Hening's *Statutes at Large*, vol. i., p. 58. This missionary purpose of the American colonists finds expression not only in the British Charters, as detailed in this chapter, but in numerous other instruments. For example, the Charter of the Swedish West India Company, given by Gustavus Adolphus, and dated Stockholm, June 14, 1626, sets before the Swedish colonists who effected their settlements on the Delaware River, the same end. It states that the Company was erected for "the spread of the Holy Gospel," and that the settlements under it were "in hope of bringing heathen and wild men to a better civil state, and to the truth of the Christian religion." (Hazard's *Annals of Pennsylvania*, p. 16; Bancroft's *History of U. S.*, vol. ii., p. 285.) For further illustration of the missionary purpose of our fathers, and their actual efforts among the Indians, the reader is referred to Hazard's *State Papers*, vol. i., pp. 256, 257; Stith's *History of Virginia*, book iv., pp. 194, 195; *American Quarterly Register*, vol. iii., p. 269; vol. iv., pp. 123, 199-204.

The second Charter for the government of Virginia bears date May 23, 1609, and declares that it shall be necessary for all who shall "inhabit within the said precincts of Virginia, aforesaid, to determine to live together in the fear and true worship of Almighty God, Christian peace, and civil quietness." Again, in its closing section, it thus reads: "And, lastly, because the principal effect which we can desire or expect of this action, is the conversion and reduction of the people in those parts unto the true worship of God and the Christian religion, in which respect we should be loath that any person should be permitted to pass that we suspected to effect the superstitions of the Church of Rome, we do hereby declare that it is our will and pleasure that none be permitted to pass in any voyage from time to time to be made into said country, but such as first shall have taken the oath of supremacy."\*

The Great Patent of New England, called also the Charter of the Plymouth Council, granted by James I., bears date November 3, 1620. This document, lying side by side with the Mayflower Compact at the foundation of American civilization, connects the earliest governmental matters in New England most closely with Christianity. It speaks of the proposed settlement as being undertaken, "in hope thereby to advance the enlargement of the Christian religion, to the glory of God Almighty." After the expression of a desire to follow God's sacred will, and rendering of "renewed thanks to his divine Majesty," it speaks of prosecuting, to his glory, "so hopeful a work, which tendeth to the reducing and conversion of such savages as remain wandering in desolation and distress,

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\* Hening's *Statutes at Large*, vol. i., pp. 95, 98; Almon's *Charters*, pp. 76, 77, 91-93.

to civil society and the Christian religion." \* Then follow, farther on, the same sentences precisely as those already quoted from the second Virginia Charter.

The Charter of Maryland granted by Charles I. to Cæcilius Calvert, baron of Baltimore, June 20, 1632, written originally in Latin, declares that this enlightened Roman Catholic was "animated with a laudable and pious zeal for extending the Christian religion." So far from following the teachings and practice of Romanism, the early settlers of Maryland surpassed all the colonists in their regard for freedom of conscience. As a safeguard, however, against any possible administration of the colonial government to the detriment of Protestant Christianity, the Maryland Charter closed with the proviso that no interpretation of its contents should be allowed whereby God's holy and true Christian religion might in any wise suffer. †

March 4, 1643, or rather—as the year was then reckoned as ending in March instead of December—

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\* *Plymouth Colony Laws*, by Wm. Brigham, pp. 1-17.

† Maxcy's *Laws of Maryland*, vol. i., pp. 1, 10; Almon's *Charters*, p. 115. Roman Catholicism has claimed great credit to itself from the records of the Colony of Maryland. The credit is due to the first Lord Baltimore, Sir George Calvert, and to his worthy son, Cecil Calvert. And all the more credit is due to these noblemen because their whole course of policy was in direct antagonism to the principles of Romanism. The birth and education of the father, to whom the credit of the tolerant provisions of the Charter is in large measure due, was under Protestant influences. He was born in Yorkshire, one of the most thoroughly Protestant portions of England, of Protestant parents, and was educated at the Protestant University of Oxford. The reason of his separation from the Church of his fathers was his dislike to the divisions and controversies by which the Protestant Churches were in that day so deeply agitated. Going into the Roman Catholic Church to avoid these conflicts, he did not conform his conduct, as his principles and disposition never had been conformed, to the history and dogmas of Romanism. On this important point the reader may be referred to the Preface to Mr. Gladstone's *Collection of Papers on Vaticanism*, etc., and to an article by Rev. G. H. Humphrey, in the *Presbyterian Quarterly* for April, 1874, p. 299. See also, *Maryland Not a Roman Catholic Colony*, by E. D. N., Minneapolis, 1875.



March 4, 1644, Charles I. granted a Charter for the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, which affirmed that by the "free profession," or the voluntarily declared purpose of the colonists themselves, as well as by the "royal intention," the principal end of the plantation was the winning and inviting of the natives of the country, by the good life and orderly conversation of the colonists, "to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God, and the Saviour of mankind, and the Christian faith."\*

Passing by the renewed Charter granted October 17, 1691, by William and Mary, to Massachusetts, and those granted by Charles II., April 23, 1662, to Connecticut, and May 24, 1663, to Carolina, we come to that granted by the last-named monarch to William Penn, dated March 4, 1681. In terms beautifully in keeping with the mild character of Penn, it tells us that his desire in transplanting an ample Colony across the ocean, was "to reduce the savage natives, by just and gentle manners, to the love of civil society and the Christian religion."†

The Rhode Island Colony Charter is left to the last in these citations from Colonial Charters; a little out of its chronological order, because of its importance. It was obtained from Charles II., in 1663. This instrument was so completely satisfactory to the colonists, and afterwards to their descendants during the Revolution and subsequently, that it remained at the basis of the government for one hundred and eighty years. Not until the year 1842 was a written constitution, similar to those of the other States, framed for Rhode Island, to take the place of this Charter.

Two prominent features of this admirable instrument

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\* Almon's *Charters*, p. 63.

† Hazard's *Annals of Pennsylvania*, p. 483; Almon's *Charters*, p. 104.

should be noted. The first of these is its guaranty for religious freedom. Having stated that it was "much on the hearts" of the colonists "to hold forth a lively experiment that a most flourishing civil state may stand, and best be maintained, . . . with a full liberty in religious concernments," it declares "that no person within the said colony at any time hereafter, shall be any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences in opinion in matters of religion, who do not actually disturb the civil peace of our said colony; but that all and every person and persons may, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, freely and fully have and enjoy his and their own judgments and consciences in matters of religious concernments." This guaranty for liberty of conscience was not to be perverted into a license for disturbing the civil peace of the colony. It was designed to secure liberty *in* religion, not *against* religion.

The second prominent feature of the Rhode Island Charter makes this clear. This consists in the requirement that the colonists are to behave themselves peaceably and quietly, not using their "liberty to licentiousness and profaneness." Again, the Charter with its immunities and privileges was designed for the people that they might "be in the better capacity to defend themselves in their just rights and liberties against all the enemies of the Christian faith." Once more. The Charter states that it was "much on their hearts, to hold forth a lively experiment that true piety, rightly grounded on Gospel principles, will give the best and greatest security to sovereignty, and will lay in the hearts of men the strongest obligation to true loyalty;" and then declares its design "to preserve unto them that liberty in the true Christian

faith and worship of God, which they have sought with so much travail."

The promotion of the religious well-being of the Indians, as well as of themselves, was the purpose of the Rhode Island colonists, no less than of the people of the other Colonies. This intimate connection between their colonial government and Christianity also appears in their Charter, which affirms that they not only transported themselves from England to America with the above-mentioned purpose, but also from their first "desirable stations and habitations" "into the midst of the Indian natives," "pursuing with peace and loyal minds their sober, serious, and religious intentions, of godly edifying themselves and one another in the holy Christian faith and worship as they were persuaded, together with the gaining over and the conversion of the poor, ignorant Indian natives in those parts of America, to the sincere profession and obedience of the same faith and worship."\*

This truly Christian balancing of liberty and authority by Rhode Island, instead of proving that that Colony failed to connect its government with Christianity, as some writers have unwarrantedly affirmed, proves rather that it was among the earliest and brightest examples of a truly free and Christian Commonwealth. It set a Christian example of religious liberty, not to be used to licentiousness and profaneness, and at the same time acknowledged its obligations to God and Christianity; "whereby," to use the language of the Charter, "as is hoped—and the hope has not been, and in the end will not be, disappointed,—there may, in time, by the bless-

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\* *American State Papers*, compiled by the Rev. William Jackson. London, 1783. Pages 101-103.

ing of God upon their endeavors, be laid a sure foundation of happiness to all America."

*Colonial Compacts.*

Of quite as much, or even greater importance than the Charters in furnishing an historical basis for our national Christianity, are the Compacts of government into which the colonists entered on coming to this country. The earliest of these is the ever-memorable compact entered into by the Pilgrim Fathers, November 11, 1620, in the cabin of the "Mayflower," before they landed on Plymouth Rock. The opening words of this political covenant reveal the spirit in which our fathers began to build the civil institutions of New England: "In the name of God, Amen." And thus they covenanted: "We, whose names are underwritten, . . . having undertaken, for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith, and the honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid."\*

The Rhode Island Compacts, even more fully than the Charter of that Colony, were based on Christian principles. The religious spirit of Roger Williams and his followers finds expression in the name given to their first settlement. Expelled from Massachusetts, Williams descended the Pawtucket, and bought a piece of land from the Indians. Here he effected a settlement, having,

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\*Brigham's *Compact, Charter, and Laws of the Colony of New Plymouth*, p. 19; Hazard's *State Papers*, vol. i., p. 119.

as he devoutly says, "in a sense of God's merciful providence to me in my distress, called the place Providence."\* This was in 1634.

Two or three years later the Colony of Massachusetts was disturbed by the Antinomian controversy, and Mrs. Hutchinson, Mr. Coddington, and others were banished. In March, 1638, these persons, assisted by Roger Williams, purchased the island now called Rhode Island, and settled both there and at Portsmouth. These two bands of settlers were for some sixteen years distinct communities with separate governments. Driven from Massachusetts on account of their diversity of religious opinions from those of the Colony, these apostles of liberty of conscience, like Roger Williams and his followers, never dreamed of a civil community denuded of all religious character. The settlers at Rhode Island, immediately after fixing upon their abode, subscribed the following Compact of government: "We, whose names are underwritten, do hereby solemnly, in the presence of Jehovah, incorporate ourselves into a body politic; and as he shall help, will submit our persons, lives, and estates unto our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of kings and the Lord of lords, and to all those perfect and absolute laws of his, given us in his holy Word of truth, to be judged and guided thereby."†

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\* *Rhode Island Colony Records*, vol. i., p. 22. "By the good providence of God (from whom the plantations have taken their name) upon their labor and industry, they have not only been preserved to admiration, but have increased and prospered." Charter of Rhode Island, Jackson's *State Papers*, p. 102.

† *Rhode Island Colony Records*, vol. i., p. 52; Pitkin's *History of the United States*, vol. i., p. 47. Lossing, in his *School History of the United States*, affirms that a similar compact was entered into by the settlers at Providence, but gives no evidence in support of his assertion. The year of the settlement of Roger Williams and his companions at Providence, was 1634; the precise time of the year cannot be determined. August 20, 1636, the following Compact was subscribed, evidently, from its contents as well as the date, not the original Compact: "We, whose names are hereunder, desirous to inhabit in the town of

A more thoroughly Christian instrument of government than this cannot be found in the records of the Colonies or of the world. It is an admirable summary of the three fundamental principles lying at the basis of all Christian government—an acknowledgment of the Sovereign Jehovah, the political Messiahship of Christ, and the supreme authority of the Word of God.

The mutual engagement solemnly ratified between the electors and their chosen ruler, William Coddington, at Portsmouth, appeals to their acknowledged standard in the phrases, "according unto God," and "according to the laws of God:" "We that are freemen incorporate of this body politic, do elect and constitute William Coddington, Esq., a judge amongst us, and so covenant to yield all due honor unto him according to the laws of God, and so far as in us lies to maintain the honor and privileges of his place, which shall hereafter be ratified according unto God, the Lord helping us so to do." The judge elected correspondingly covenanted "to do justice and judgment impartially according to the laws of God, and to maintain the fundamental rights and privileges of this body politic which shall hereafter be ratified according unto God, the Lord helping me so to do."\*

Another example of a religious governmental compact or written constitution is found in the instrument

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Providence, do promise to subject ourselves in active and passive obedience to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for public good of the body, in an orderly way, by the major assent of the present inhabitants, masters of families, incorporated together into a town fellowship, and such others whom they shall admit unto them, only in civil things." (*Rhode Island Colony Records*, vol. i., p. 14; *Rhode Island Historical Collections*, vol. v., p. 39.) Pitkin, in his *History* (vol. i., pp. 46, 47), and Wm. G. Goddard, Esq., in an address published at Newport, 1843, and quoted by Kent in his *Commentaries* (vol. i., pp. 634, 635), have mistaken this for the original Compact of 1634.

\* *Rhode Island Colony Records*, vol. i., pp. 52, 53.

adopted by the Colony of Connecticut, January 14, 1639. The preamble to this constitution of government is as follows: "For as much as it has pleased the Almighty God by the wise disposition of his divine providence so to order and dispose of things that we, the inhabitants of Windsor, Hartford, and Weathersfield, now cohabiting and dwelling in and upon the river of Connecticut and the lands thereunto adjoining, and well knowing when a people gathered together, the Word of God requires that to maintain the peace and union of such a people there should be an orderly and decent government established according to God, to order and dispose of the affairs of the people at all seasons as occasion shall require; do therefore associate and conjoin ourselves to be as one public estate or commonwealth, and do for ourselves and successors and such as shall be adjoining to us at any time hereafter, enter into combination and confederation together to maintain and preserve the liberty and purity of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, which we now profess; as also the discipline of the church of Christ, according to the truth of said Gospel as now preached amongst us, as also in civil affairs to be guided and governed according to such laws, rules, orders, and decrees as shall be made, ordered, and decreed."\*

In the first article of this Compact it is provided that the Governor, "being chosen and sworn according to an oath recorded for that purpose, shall have power to administer justice according to the rule then established, and for want thereof, according to the rule of the Word of God."

The oath referred to in the preceding extract is in marked contrast, in its solemn and Christian character,

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\* *Hinman's Antiquities*, p. 20.

with what passes in our day under the name of an oath :  
“I, A. B., being now chosen to be Governor within this jurisdiction, for the year ensuing and until a new be chosen, do swear by the great and dreadful name of the ever-living God, to promote the public good and peace of the same according to the best of my skill, and also will maintain all lawful privileges of this Commonwealth, as also that all wholesome laws that are or shall be made by lawful authority here established be duly executed, and will further the execution of justice according to the rule of God’s Word. So help me God, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.”\*

This is the form of the oath sworn by John Haynes, elected Governor of Connecticut on the second Thursday of April, 1639. For other officers chosen at the same time, the oath of office bore the same solemn, reverential, and distinctively Christian character.

No more striking illustration can be given of the deeply religious character of these early Compacts than the “Combination for Government” at Exeter, New Hampshire, dated the 4th day of the 8th month, 1639. This agreement reads as follows: “We, . . . brethren of the church in Exeter, . . . with other inhabitants there, considering with ourselves the holy will of God and our own necessity, that we should not live without wholesome laws and civil government among us, of which we are altogether destitute, do, in the name of Christ and in the sight of God, combine ourselves together to erect and set up among us such government as shall be, to our best discerning, agreeable to the will of God, . . . and binding of ourselves solemnly by the grace and help of Christ, and in his name and fear, to submit ourselves to such

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\* Hinman's *Antiquities*, pp. 26, 27.



godly and Christian laws as are established in the realm of England, to our best knowledge, and to all other such laws which shall upon good grounds be made and enacted among us according to God, that we may live quietly and peaceably together in all godliness and honesty.”\*

The oath administered to the rulers under this Compact of government was the following : “ You shall swear by the great and dreadful name of the high God, Maker and Governor of heaven and earth, and by the Lord Jesus Christ, the Prince of the kings and rulers of the earth, that in his name and fear you will rule and govern his people according to the righteous will of God, ministering justice and judgment on the workers of iniquity, and ministering due encouragement and countenance to well-doers, protecting of the people, so far as in you lieth, by the help of God, from foreign annoyance and inward disturbance, that they may live a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. So God be helpful and gracious to you and yours in Christ Jesus.”

The people, as a party to this Compact of government, swore the following oath : “ We do here swear by the great and dreadful name of the high God, Maker and Governor of heaven and earth, and by the Lord Jesus Christ, the King and Saviour of his people, that in his name and fear we will submit ourselves to be ruled and governed according to the will and Word of God, and such wholesome laws and ordinances as shall be derived therefrom by our honored rulers and the lawful assistants, with the consent of the people, and that we will be ready to assist them, by the help of God, in the administration of justice and preservation of the peace, with our bodies

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\* Belknap's *History of New Hampshire*, p. 432; Hazard's *State Papers*, vol. i., p. 463.

and goods and best endeavors according to God. So God protect and save us and ours in Jesus Christ.”\*

Not only did the individual Colonies, as such, base their governmental economy on Christianity, but in their first endeavors to realize a kind of federal unity—intimations of the general government which was afterwards developed—they founded their association on the same religious basis. “The United Colonies of New England” were the foreshadowing of the “United States of America.” The Articles of Confederation of the former bore to these the same relation, in large measure, which the Constitution of the United States bears to the present States. The Articles of Confederation between the Colonies of Massachusetts, New Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, subscribed May 19, 1643, begin with the following words: “Whereas we all came into these parts of America with one and the same end and aim, namely, to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the Gospel in purity and peace,” etc. The second article of this bond of union is as follows: “The said United Colonies, for themselves and their posterities, do jointly and severally hereby enter into a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity for offense and defense, mutual advice and succor, upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the Gospel, and for their own mutual safety and welfare.”†

Other articles, signed September 5, 1672, by commissioners of the Colonies of Massachusetts, New Plymouth, and Connecticut, with the last of which the

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\* Belknap's *New Hampshire*, pp. 432, 433.

† *Compact, Charter, and Laws of Plymouth Colony*, pp. 308, 309.

Colony of New Haven was then incorporated, contain the same religious acknowledgments.\*

*Colonial Laws.*

The earliest legislation in our country for the observance of the Christian Sabbath was the act of the Colony of Virginia in the year 1623. This enactment, renewed in 1629, required civil magistrates "to see that the Sabbath day was not profaned by working or any employments, or journeying from place to place." In 1642 the power of the law was directed against profanity and blasphemy, as well as against Sabbath-breaking. It was enacted that church wardens should be "bound by oath to make a true presentment of all such as profane God's name and his holy Sabbath, and abuse his Word and Commandments." Similar enactments were passed at a later day by the Grand Assembly held at James City, March 13, 1657. The preamble to the enactments of this Assembly declares that that body, in revising the laws, took the same into their serious consideration, and did their work "according to the duty they owed to God, and the trust reposed in them by the country." The third of the acts of this Assembly required "that the Lord's Day be kept holy, and that no journeys be made except in case of emergent necessity on that day; that no goods be laden in boats, or shooting in guns, or the like, tending to the profanation of that day; which

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\* *Compact, Charter, and Laws of Plymouth Colony*, pp. 314, 315. It is an interesting fact that Rhode Island was not included in these Confederations. Application was made by this Colony for admission into the union, but the request was not granted. The ground of refusal was that Rhode Island was within the jurisdiction of Plymouth Colony by the terms of the New Plymouth Patent. Hazard's *State Papers*, vol. ii., pp. 99, 100.

duty is to be taken care of by the ministers and officers of the several churches, and by the commissioners in their places; and the party delinquent to pay one hundred pounds of tobacco, or be laid in the stocks; and to take care that servants and others do repair to their several churches every Lord's Day."\*

Two general enactments under the Portsmouth Compact, in the Colony of Rhode Island, manifest supreme regard for the authority of the Holy Scriptures: "It is ordered that none shall be received as inhabitants or freemen, to build or plant upon the Island, but such as shall be received in by the consent of the Body, and do submit to the government that is or shall be established according to the Word of God."† The second of these acts, "2d of the 11th month, 1638," provides that "the judge, together with the elders, shall rule and govern according to the general rule of the Word of God, when they have no particular rule from God's Word by the Body prescribed as a direction unto them in the use." Again: "that all cases, actions, and rules, shall by the judge and elders be scanned and weighed by the Word of Christ."‡

Another settlement was effected at Newport. There is no record of their original compact of government, but a document dated October 1, 1640, gives a list of such persons as were admitted to be inhabitants "of the Island now called Aqueedneck," "having submitted themselves to the government that is, or shall be established according to the Word of God therein."§

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\* Henning's *Statutes at Large*, vol. i., pp. 144, 240, 432, 434.

† Act of May 13, 1638. *Rhode Island Colony Records*, vol. i., p. 53.

‡ *Rhode Island Colony Records*, vol. i., pp. 63, 64.

§ *Ibid.*, pp. 90, 91.

These three settlements, Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport, were united under a patent obtained from Charles I., November 2, 1643, or rather from the commissioners, who had been invested in 1635 with power to grant such instruments. A General Court, representing these three settlements, was held at Portsmouth, May 19-21, 1647. It was jointly agreed that they should incorporate themselves into one form of government, known as the Providence Plantations. Acknowledging their "different consciences touching the truth as it is in Jesus," they proceeded to establish and confirm their laws, basing their classification upon the words of Paul to Timothy: "Knowing this, that the law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and for sinners, for unholy and profane," etc. (1 Tim. 1 : 9, 10.) This code, founded on what Paul in the succeeding context declares to be "according to the glorious gospel of the blessed God," closes with these words: "These are the laws that concern all men, and these are the penalties for the transgression thereof, which by common consent are ratified throughout this whole Colony; and otherwise than thus what is here forbidden, all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his God. And let the saints of the Most High walk in the Colony without molestation in the name of Jehovah their God forever and ever." \*

At the session of the General Assembly of Rhode Island in 1664 a law was enacted "in relation to the rights and privileges of his majesty's subjects within the Colony." This law, as it appears in the officially printed digests for 1719, 1731, and 1767, contains this provision :

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\* *Rhode Island Colony Records*, vol. i., pp. 147-190.

"All men professing Christianity, and of competent estates, and of civil conversation, who acknowledge and are obedient to the civil magistrate, though of different judgments in religious affairs (Roman Catholics only excepted), shall be admitted freemen, and shall have liberty to choose and be chosen officers in the Colony, both military and civil."\*

The "Great Law" of Pennsylvania furnishes one of the best examples of the balancing of liberty and law in the early history of our country. This justly celebrated "Great Law," as it has been termed, comprises the body of laws passed at the Assembly which met at Chester, or, as it was also called, Upland, December 7, 1682, for "the province of Pennsylvania, and the territories thereunto belonging."

The preamble to this body of laws reads thus: "Whereas the glory of Almighty God, and the good of mankind, is the reason and end of government, and therefore government, in itself, is a venerable ordinance of God; and forasmuch as it is principally desired and intended by the proprietary and governor, and the freemen of the province of Pennsylvania, and territories thereunto belonging, to make and establish such laws as shall best preserve true Christian and civil liberty, in opposition to all unchristian, licentious and unjust practices, whereby God may have his due, Cæsar his due, and the people their due, from tyranny and oppression of the one side,

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\* *Rhode Island Colony Records*, vol. ii., pp. 36-37. It has been affirmed that the parenthetical clause, excepting Roman Catholics from the privileges of citizens, a disqualification formally removed in 1783, was not a part of the original law, but was added by a committee. The fact remains, however, that for over half a century this clause appeared in successive editions of the laws of the Colony. Certainly the unauthorized work of a committee could hardly secure so permanent a place in a body of laws. If it did, it must have been in harmony with the mind of the Colony.

and insolency and licentiousness of the other, so that the best and firmest foundation may be laid for the present and future happiness of both the governor and people of this province and territories aforesaid, and their posterity—Be it therefore enacted," etc.

Careful provision was made in this body of laws for securing true liberty of conscience—not irreligious or atheistic license, but genuine Christian liberty in subjection to the laws of the province: "Almighty God being only Lord of conscience, Father of lights and spirits, and the author, as well as object, of all divine knowledge, faith, and worship, who only can enlighten the mind, and persuade and convince the understanding of people, in due reverence to his sovereignty over the souls of mankind: It is enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no person now or at any time hereafter living in this province, who shall confess and acknowledge one Almighty God to be the Creator, Upholder, and Ruler of the world, and that professeth him or herself obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly under the civil government, shall in any wise be molested or prejudiced for his or her conscientious persuasion or practice, nor shall he or she at any time be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever, contrary to his or her mind, but shall freely and fully enjoy his or her Christian liberty in that respect, without any interruption or reflection; and if any person shall abuse or deride any other for his or her different persuasion and practice in matter of religion, such shall be looked upon as a disturber of the peace, and shall be punished accordingly. But to the end that looseness, irreligion, and atheism may not creep in under pretense of conscience in this prov-

ince, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that according to the good example of the primitive Christians, and for the ease of creation, every first day of the week, called the Lord's Day, people shall abstain from their common toil and labor, that whether masters, parents, children, or servants, they may the better dispose themselves to read the Scriptures of truth at home, or to frequent such meetings of religious worship abroad as may best suit their respective persuasions."

This "Great Law" made special provision that rulers should be honest and God-fearing men. In the second section it was enacted "that all officers and persons commissioned and employed in the service of the government of this province, and all members and deputies elected to serve in Assembly thereof, and all that have right to elect such deputies, shall be such as profess and declare they believe in Jesus Christ to be the Son of God and Saviour of the world, and that are not convicted of ill-fame, or unsober and dishonest conversation, and that are of one and twenty years of age at least."

The distinctively Christian laws for the prevention of the desecration of the Lord's Day and the suppression of profanity and blasphemy, which have always given an indisputably Christian character to the statute books of our various States, had a prominent place in this early legislation of Pennsylvania. The Sabbath law has already been quoted in connection with the provision for liberty of conscience. The enactments against profaneness and blasphemy are as follows: "Whosoever shall swear in their conversation by the name of God, or Christ, or Jesus, being legally convicted thereof, shall pay for every such offense five shillings, or suffer five days imprisonment in the house of correction, at hard labor, to the



behoof of the public, and be fed with bread and water only, during that time." "And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, for the better preventing of corrupt communication, that whosoever shall speak loosely and profanely of Almighty God, Christ Jesus, the Holy Spirit, or the Scriptures of truth, and is legally convicted thereof, shall, for every such offense, pay five shillings, or suffer," etc., in the same terms as before.\*

Laws of the same general character against Sabbath desecration, blasphemy, profanity, and vice and immorality generally, were enacted by the various Colonies. We subjoin only one further illustration, however, selecting this because of the remarkable method adopted for giving it publicity. This law was passed by the General Assembly of North Carolina, during its session held at Edenton, beginning April 4, 1741. After forbidding in Section II. all hunting, fishing, sports, and labors, excepting works of necessity and mercy, and requiring all and every person or persons whatsoever to apply themselves carefully to the duties of religion and piety, it is provided in Section XII. : "That this Act shall be publicly read, two several times in the year, in all parish churches and chapels, or for want of such, in the place where divine service is performed in every parish within this government, by the minister, clerk, or reader of each parish, immediately after divine service."†

The limits of this chapter forbid the accumulation of evidence from the colonial provisions for the education of the youth, of the truly Christian character of the govern-

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\* Hazard's *Annals of Pennsylvania*, pp. 619-621.

† Iredell's *Laws of North Carolina*, pp. 77, 79.

ments of the colonies. It must suffice at present to subjoin one of the most remarkable examples of care for the young on the part of the colonists. This is an "Ordinance of the Director General and Council of New Netherland for the better and more careful instruction of youth in the principles of the Christian religion." This ordinance, as felicitous in expression as it is broad and tender in spirit, was passed March 17, 1644: "Whereas it is most highly necessary and most important that the youth from childhood up be instructed not only in reading, writing, and arithmetic, but especially and chiefly in the principles and fundamentals of the Reformed religion, according to the lesson of that wise king, Solomon, — 'Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it,'—so that in time such men may proceed therefrom as may be fit to serve their fatherland as well in the church as in the state: this, then, being taken into particular consideration by the Director General and Council of New Netherland, because the number of children is, through the merciful blessing of the Lord, considerably increased here, they have deemed it necessary, in order that so useful and God-acceptable a work may be the more effectually promoted, to recommend and command the schoolmasters, as we do hereby, that they shall appear in the church, with the children committed to their care and entrusted to them, on Wednesday before the commencement of the sermon, in order, after the conclusion of divine service, that each may, in the presence of the reverend ministers and the elders who may be present, examine his scholars as to what they have committed to memory of the Christian Commandments and Catechism, and what progress they have made; after which performance the children

shall be dismissed for that day, and allowed a decent recreation."\*

*Early National Acknowledgments.*

Coming now to the first acts of a government springing from Christian commonwealths, yet distinct from their own individual governments, let us note a few illustrations of its connection with the Christian religion. The first truly national Congress of America met in Carpenters' Hall,† Philadelphia, on Monday, September 5, 1774. Nothing was done the first day, except the organization of the body and the reception and approval of credentials of delegates. The next day it was resolved, "That the Reverend Mr. Duche be desired to open the Congress to-morrow morning with prayers, at the Carpenters' Hall, at nine o'clock."‡ Mr. Jay, of New York, and Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, objected to the resolution for prayers, on the ground of the diversity of religious opinions among the delegates. But the overwhelming sentiment of the Congress demanded that these differences should not prevent a youthful people, struggling through pangs of revolution into the family of nations, from calling for help upon the God of hosts. Hardly had the resolution been carried, when an express arrived with the report of a bloody attack by the troops in Boston on the

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\* *New York Colonial MSS.*, vol. x., part iii., p. 101; *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland*, p. 461.

† "On Monday, the fifth day of September, the members of Congress, meeting at Smith's tavern, moved in a body to select the place for their deliberations. Galloway, the Speaker of Pennsylvania, would have had them use the State House, but the Carpenters of Philadelphia offered their plain but spacious hall; and from respect for the mechanics, it was accepted by a great majority." (*Bancroft's History*, vol. vii., p. 127.)

‡ *Journal of Congress*, vol. i., p. 10.

people, and of patriot comrades rising in arms.\* The tolling of muffled bells the next morning was in keeping with the solemn opening of Congress. The thirty-fifth Psalm, † the collect of the Episcopal Church for the 7th of September, was read by the minister of Christ. Well might John Adams say in his diary: "The collect for the day, the 7th of the month, was most admirably adapted, though this was accidental, or rather providential." "It seemed as if heaven had ordained that Psalm to be read on that morning." ‡ "Plead my cause, O Lord, with them that strive with me; fight against them that fight against me. Take hold of shield and buckler, and stand up for mine help. Draw out also the spear, and stop the way against them that persecute me: say unto my soul, I am thy salvation." Following the stirring words of this Psalm, which in that hour of unutterable hopes and fears must have thrilled every soul, the minister of God, forsaking all accustomed forms of supplication, broke forth in an extemporaneous prayer, in the fervor and Christian faith of which the Congress as a body united. The scene of that first prayer in Congress has become an historic picture, not only on canvass and paper, but on the heart of every Christian patriot.

On Friday, October 21, 1774, Congress agreed upon an "Address to the People of Great Britain," in which not only the Christian, as distinguished from Mohammedan, pagan, or infidel, but the Protestant, character of the

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\* Bancroft's *History*, vol. vii., p. 131. This report of the attack, however, was a mere rumor, growing out of the seizure by a body of troops, under orders from General Gage, of the gunpowder belonging to the province, stored in Charlestown. (Frothingham's *History of the Siege of Boston*, p. 13.)

† Morris, in his book on the *Christian Life and Character of the Civil Institutions of the United States*, by a strange mistake, says the thirty-first Psalm, and quotes it entire in the narrative of the proceedings. (See pp. 211, 212.)

‡ Adams' *Works*, vol. ii., pp. 368, 369, note.

unfolding nationality clearly appears. It must be remembered, in judging of the language of this address, that Romanism had been seen by our ancestors in the dark colors of its then recent history, and that they spoke with the accustomed emphasis of their day, in their apprehension of its establishment in the territory adjoining them on the north. They say: "We think the Legislature of Great Britain is not authorized by the Constitution to establish a religion fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets, or to erect an arbitrary form of government in any quarter of the globe. . . . Such declarations [implying a disparity of rights on opposite sides of the ocean] we consider as heresies in English politics, and which can no more operate to deprive us of our property, than the interdicts of Popes can divest kings of sceptres which the laws of the land and the voice of the people have placed in their hands." Other similar passages occur in the address. The strongest of these is added: "Nor can we suppress our astonishment that a British Parliament should ever consent to establish in that country a religion that has deluged your island in blood, and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder, and rebellion through every part of the world."

This address to the people of Great Britain was prepared in accordance with a provision in the Declaration of Rights, adopted in Congress on Friday, October 14, in which it was "resolved, *nemine contradicente*," that among the acts of Parliament which were regarded as infringements and violations of the rights of the colonists, was that passed the last session of Parliament "for establishing the Roman Catholic Religion in the Province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and erecting a tyranny there, to the great danger (from so

total a dissimilarity of religion, law, and government) of the neighboring British Colonies, by the assistance of whose blood and treasure the said country was conquered from France."\*

An address of the same date to the inhabitants of the Colonies contains similar language: "The people of England will soon have an opportunity of declaring their sentiments concerning our cause. In their piety, generosity, and good sense, we repose high confidence, and cannot, upon a review of past events, be persuaded that they, the defenders of true religion, and the asserters of the rights of mankind, will take part against their affectionate Protestant brethren in the Colonies, in favor of our open and their own secret enemies, whose intrigues, for several years past, have been wholly exercised in sapping the foundations of civil and religious liberty."†

May 17, 1776, was kept as "a day of humiliation, fasting, and prayer," by appointment of Congress, that they with the Colonies might confess and bewail sin, and "by a sincere repentance and amendment of life, appease God's righteous displeasure, and through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ, obtain his pardon and forgiveness."‡ A month and a half afterward, on July 2, a resolution was passed declaring the United Colonies free and independent States, and dissolving their political connection with Great Britain.§ Then, on July 4, was adopted that immortal instrument, in which, while asserting the nation's independence of oppressive human authority, Congress devoutly acknowledged their own and the nation's dependence on God, closing their Declaration with the words: "And for the support of this

\* *Journal of Congress*, vol. i., pp. 27-31, 39-44.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 93.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of DIVINE PROVIDENCE, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.”\*

As Congress had repeatedly betaken itself to God in fasting and prayer in times of distress, so when in answer to the nation's prayers victory was granted to our arms, Congress appointed days of thanksgiving. The first resolution of this kind is found in the Journal for October 31, 1777: “Resolved, that a committee of three be appointed to prepare a recommendation to the several States to set apart a day for thanksgiving for the signal success lately obtained over the enemies of these United States.”† This committee, consisting of Messrs. S. Adams, R. H. Lee, and Roberdeau, reported on November 1, recommending the setting apart of “Thursday, the 18th of December next, for solemn thanksgiving and praise, that with one heart and one voice the good people may express the grateful feelings of their hearts, and consecrate themselves to the service of their Divine Benefactor; and that, together with their sincere acknowledgments and offerings, they may join the penitent confession of their manifold sins, whereby they had forfeited every favor, and their humble and earnest supplication that it may please God, through the merits of Jesus Christ, mercifully to forgive and blot them out of remembrance; that it may please him graciously to afford his blessings on the governments of these States respectively, and prosper the public council of the whole; . . . to take schools and seminaries of education, so necessary for cultivating the principles of true liberty, virtue, and piety, under his nurturing hand, and to prosper the means of religion for the promotion

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\* *Journal of Congress*, vol. ii., p. 245.

† *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 464.

and enlargement of that kingdom which consisteth in righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." \*

It was further recommended by Congress "that servile labor, and such recreation as, though at other times innocent, may be unbecoming the purpose of this appointment, be omitted on so solemn an occasion."

On November 15, 1777, Congress agreed upon "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States," thus drawing into closer form of unity the various portions of what had already become a national unit.† The committee appointed to prepare the form of ratification of these articles, reported on June 26, 1778. In their reported resolution of ratification, adopted by Congress, they thus refer to the approval of the articles by the legislatures of the various States: "Whereas it hath pleased the Great Governor of the world to incline the hearts of the legislatures we respectively represent in Congress, to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify the said Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union," etc.‡

The third of the Articles of Confederation thus ratified reads as follows: "The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defense, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare; binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them or any of them on account of *religion*, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretense whatever."§

In view of the action of the Continental Congress, already quoted, declaring that the religion of the country was Protestant Christianity, there cannot be the slightest doubt in the interpretation of the above article. It was

\* *Journal of Congress*, vol. iii., pp. 467, 468.

† *Ibid.*, vol. iv., pp. 382, 383.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 502-510.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 503.



a league for the defense of the confederated States against any attack, upon any or all of them, which might endanger either their sovereignty or their Protestant character.

Among the earliest endeavors of the Congress of confederated States for the good of the whole country, was a resolution passed October 12, 1778. It runs thus :

“Whereas, True religion and good morals are the only solid foundations of public liberty and happiness ;

“Resolved, That it be and it is hereby earnestly recommended to the several States to take the most effectual measures for the encouragement thereof, and for the suppressing theatrical entertainments, horse racing, gaming, and such other diversions as are productive of idleness, dissipation, and a general depravity of principles and manners.

“Resolved, That all officers in the army of the United States be and hereby are strictly enjoined to see that the good and wholesome rules provided for the discountenancing of profaneness and vice, and the preservation of morals among the soldiers are duly and punctually observed.”\*

Under these Articles of Confederation was passed, July 13, 1787, the famous ordinance for the government of the Territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio. This ordinance consists of six articles of agreement between the original thirteen States and the people and States of said territory. It was prepared by Mr. Dane, author of *Dane's Abridgment*, one of the most

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\* *Journal of Congress*, vol. iv., p. 590. On the first of these resolutions the States all voted “Aye,” except North Carolina, Maryland, and Virginia, the last of which was divided. An attempt was made to reconsider the first resolution after the second was adopted, but it was defeated by an overwhelming vote.

celebrated jurists of Massachusetts, and embodies the essential principles of New England legislation.\* The third article of this ordinance contains the following provision: "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."† The word "religion" in this ordinance, as in the Articles of Confederation, can mean only the religion which was acknowledged by Congress and the American people.

The Inaugural Addresses and Annual Messages of the earliest Presidents of the United States furnish another evidence of the Christian character of the American nation. Washington's first message, in harmony with his inaugural address already noticed, ascribes the nation's blessings to "a gracious Providence." In another message to the Senate and House of Representatives he says: "I humbly implore that Being on whose will the fate of nations depends, to crown with success our mutual endeavors for the general happiness." In still another he calls to mind "the gracious indulgence of heaven by

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\*The laws of Massachusetts, as to the rights of persons, property, etc., says Justice Story, "were made the root or germ of all our territorial law east of the Mississippi, by being made the material parts of the Ordinance of Congress, passed July 13, 1787, for the government of the United States territories northwest of the Ohio, and from time to time extended to their other territories, as will appear on examining the Ordinance itself." (Article in the *North American Review*, 1826. See Story's *Miscellaneous Works*, p. 400.) Again: "To him [Mr. Dane] belongs the glory of the formation of the celebrated Ordinance of 1787, which constitutes the fundamental law of the States northwest of the Ohio. It is a monument of political wisdom and sententious skillfulness of expression. It was adopted unanimously by Congress, according to his original draft, with scarcely the alteration of a single word." (Discourse pronounced at the inauguration of Justice Story as Dane Professor of Law in Harvard University. See Story's *Miscellaneous Works*, p. 546.)

† *Journal of Congress*, vol. xii., p. 90; Story's *Laws of the United States*, vol. iii., pp. 2075-2077.

which the American people became a nation," and requests Congress to unite with him in "imploring the Supreme Ruler of nations to spread his holy protection over these United States," and "to perpetuate to our country that prosperity which his goodness has already conferred." In his last annual address to Congress he says: "I find ample reason for a renewed expression of that gratitude to the Ruler of the universe which a continued series of prosperity has so often and so justly called forth;" and in closing, repeats his "fervent supplications to the Supreme Ruler of the universe, and Sovereign Arbiter of nations, that his providential care may still be extended to the United States, that the virtue and happiness of the people may be preserved, and the government which they have instituted for the protection of their liberties may be perpetual."

Chief among these official acknowledgments of religion by the first President of the United States is that contained in the immortal "Farewell Address," which, though not strictly an official governmental document, is regarded by the American people with equal or even greater veneration, and may therefore be quoted here. How tenderly and with what solemn warning do these words now come to our nation: "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness—these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connection with private and public felicity. Let it be simply asked, Where is the security for property, for repu-

tation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles.”\*

The example of Washington was recommended by both houses of Congress to the imitation of his successors. His first successor, John Adams, referring to this recommendation in his inaugural address, says: “With humble reverence I feel it to be my duty to add, if a veneration for the religion of a people who profess and call themselves Christians, and a fixed resolution to consider a decent respect for Christianity among the best recommendations for the public service, can enable me in any degree to comply with your wishes, it shall be my strenuous endeavor that this sagacious injunction of the two houses shall not be without effect.” This inaugural address closes with this prayer: “And may that Being who is supreme over all, the Patron of order, the Fountain of justice, and the Protector, in all ages of the world, of virtuous liberty, continue his blessing upon this nation and its government, and give it all possible success and duration consistent with the ends of his providence.”

The first annual message or address of President Adams to Congress, November 23, 1797, the time when French infidelity endangered our national welfare, ac-

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\* For these and the following extracts from Addresses and Messages of Presidents see *The Statesman's Manual*, a Collection of Addresses and Messages of Presidents of the United States. Compiled from official sources by Edwin Williams. For above extracts, see vol. i., pp. 31-75.

knowledges "abundant cause of gratitude to the source of benevolence" "for a rational spirit of civil and religious liberty, and a calm but steady determination to support our sovereignty, as well as our moral and religious principles, against all open and secret attacks."\*

Passing by many similar devout acknowledgments in annual and special messages, we come to John Adam's fourth annual message to Congress, assembled for the first time in Washington, the permanent seat of the nation's government, November 22, 1800. In the newly finished Capitol of the American nation, among the first official words uttered were those of the President's message: "It would be unbecoming the representatives of this nation to assemble for the first time in this solemn temple, without looking up to the Supreme Ruler of the universe and imploring his blessing. May this territory be the residence of virtue and happiness! In this city may that piety and virtue, that wisdom and magnanimity, that constancy and self-government, which adorned the character whose name it bears, be forever held in veneration! Here, and throughout our country, may simple manners, pure morals, and true religion flourish forever!"†

Any amount of similar evidence might be accumulated; but it is believed that a sufficient array of facts and official document has been brought forward to prove

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\* The correspondence between this message of President Adams and the third of the Articles of Confederation, will be observed by the careful reader. The two vital elements of the young nation's life, its sovereignty and its moral and religious principles,—those of Protestant Christianity as opposed to Romanism on the one hand, and infidelity on the other,—were thus associated in the minds of the fathers of the republic. They believed that ours could continue a free and sovereign republic only as it preserved and maintained the moral and religious principles of Protestant Christianity.

† *The Statesman's Manual*, vol. i., pp. 106, 107, 112, 126 see also *Works of John Adams*, vol. ix., pp. 110, 111, 121, 143, 144.

indisputably that our national government, at its origin, was intimately connected with Christianity. Notwithstanding the omission of all acknowledgment of God and the Christian religion from the National Constitution, we have seen that both houses of Congress and the Presidents of the United States, as well as the legislatures and officers of the colonial governments, based their political action on the acknowledged principles of Christianity, and brought the national government itself into close relations, not with any established church, as in some of the Colonies, but with the broad, undenominational, fundamental truths of the Christian religion.

#### *State Constitutions.*

The thirteen original State Constitutions all contained full and explicit acknowledgments of God and Christianity, with the exception of Virginia. The original Constitution of this State—the first of all our State Constitutions—was enacted June 29, 1776, thus antedating the Declaration of Independence.

Says an able writer, whose excellent treatise was published anonymously: "That Virginia was in truth a Christian State, will not be questioned; but her philosophers have not allowed the fact to appear in her political framework."\*

Dr. Baird, in like manner, remarks: "Virginia was unquestionably a Christian State, but her Constitution is silent on the subject. It was drawn up under the eye of one of the greatest enemies that Christianity has ever had to contend with in America; but although he had influence enough to prevent the religion which he hated from being

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\* *An Inquiry into the Moral and Religious Character of the American Government*, p. 75.

mentioned in the Constitution of Virginia, he could not obliterate all traces of it from her laws."\*

Stephen Colwell, in his admirable discussion, speaks as follows: "In Virginia, previous to our national independence, religion was established by law. No mention was made of the subject in a Constitution drawn up under the influence of, if not by, Jefferson himself."†

These statements are hardly correct. It is true that in the Constitution or plan of government reported to the convention by Mr. Cary on June 24, 1776, and adopted June 29—a plan in the drafting of which Mr. Jefferson's influence was no doubt powerfully exerted—there is not a word on the subject of religion. But in the Bill of Rights, which is really a part of the Constitution, originally drafted by George Mason, as it is claimed, and adopted by the convention, June 12, 1776, there is the following provision in the sixteenth section, corresponding to the eighteenth section of the Bill of Rights of the present Constitution: "Religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love, and charity towards each other."‡

Religious liberty was thus watchfully guarded by the Bill of Rights, in connection with a faint acknowledgment of Christianity as a rule of action for citizens; yet while the revulsion from the union of the Episcopal

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\* *Religion in America*, p. 247.

† *The Position of Christianity in the United States*, p. 34.

‡ *American Constitutions*. New York, 1858. Page 245. Also, Hough's *American Constitutions*, vol. ii., pp. 424, 434.

Church with the government led to this almost utter ignoring of Christianity in the Constitution, the laws and administration of the government were in close connection with the Christian religion. Sabbath laws, laws against blasphemy, and the employment by the State of Christian chaplains, continued to be essential features of the government.

The latest revision of the Constitution of Virginia, in 1870, introduced into the preamble the words, "invoking the favor and guidance of Almighty God."

Thirty-four of our present State Constitutions, including those of the four new States admitted to the Union in 1889, contain some form of acknowledgment of God in the preamble. Of these thirty-four, the Constitutions of Alabama, Georgia, Pennsylvania, and Virginia invoke the guidance or the favor and guidance of Almighty God. Those of Maine, Massachusetts, and South Carolina implore the aid and direction of the Sovereign Ruler of the universe, or the direction of the Great Legislator of the universe. Those of Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, and North Carolina acknowledge the dependence of the people of those States on Almighty God, the Supreme Being, or the Sovereign Ruler of nations. Those of Colorado and Washington express "profound reverence for the Supreme Ruler of the universe." Those of New Jersey, North Carolina, and Rhode Island look to Almighty God for a blessing. Those of Alabama, Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota Texas, and



Wisconsin express in varying phrases gratitude to God, the grace of God, the providence of God, Almighty God, the Supreme Being, the Sovereign Ruler of the universe, the Author of all good government, or the Sovereign Ruler of nations, for the blessings of civil and religious liberty, for freedom, guidance, or the right of worshipping the Creator according to the dictates of conscience.

Three of the State Constitutions not included in the above list contain express religious acknowledgments in the body of the instrument. These three are those of New Hampshire and Vermont, which have no formal preamble, and Tennessee.

The five remaining State Constitutions, those of Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Oregon, and West Virginia, are destitute of any religious acknowledgment in the preamble, and also in the body of the instrument, except as it occurs incidentally in statements concerning the freedom of worship, or is implied in the mention of the oath.

Thus thirty-seven out of forty-two State Constitutions accept the principle of acknowledging God in fundamental law. Let this principle be consistently carried out in our national life, and the National Reform Association will have accomplished its work.

#### *Christian Laws of our States.*

Our State legislation generally is based on the moral principles of Christianity. All our definitions of crime are according to the Christian standard of morals. Pagan morality, Mohammedan morality, or what is called independent or natural morality, could never have given us the revised statutes of our several States.

It will be enough to refer to only a few of our State

laws to show the historical and documentary basis for the connection between our government and the Christian religion. Passing by the many clear and distinct Christian enactments of earlier days, we come to our present laws against blasphemy and profanity.

In France, before the 25th of September, 1791, it was blasphemy, according to the law, to speak against the Virgin Mary and the saints, or to speak profanely of things which the Roman Catholic Church alone regarded as holy, or to deny the Roman Catholic faith. So in Spain, the law makes it blasphemy not only to speak against God and his government, but to utter injuries against the Virgin Mary and the saints.

In England, blasphemy includes not only malicious reproaches against God, the Christian religion, and the Holy Scriptures, but also malicious revilings of the Established Church. In the United States, where there is no ecclesiastical establishment, the crime is determined, not by the organization and doctrines of any denomination, but by the essential moral principles of Christianity as an element of the common law.

The connection between our laws against blasphemy and Christianity is thus expressed by Justice Story: Christianity is part of the common law in the sense "that its divine origin and truth are admitted, and therefore it is not to be maliciously and openly reviled and blasphemed against to the annoyance of believers or to the injury of the public." \* But whether the punishment of blasphemy is based upon an admission, by the government, of the divine origin and truth of the Christian religion, or simply on the ground of the public peace and the welfare of

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\* *Vidal et al. vs. Girard's Executors*, 2 Howard, 198.

the State, the fact of the connection of our law with what is distinctively Christian, and even distinctly Protestant, remains unchanged.

Another American authority defines blasphemy as "consisting in speaking evil of the Deity, with an impious purpose to derogate from the divine majesty, and to alienate the minds of others from the love and reverence of God. It is purposely using words concerning the Supreme Being calculated and designed to impair and destroy the reverence, respect, and confidence due to him, as the intelligent Creator, Governor, and Judge of the world. It embraces the idea of detraction as regards the character and attributes of God, as calumny usually carries the same idea when applied to an individual. It is a willful and malicious attempt to lessen men's reverence of God, by denying his existence or his attributes as an intelligent Creator, Governor, and Judge of men, and to prevent their having confidence in him as such. Contumelious reproaches and profane ridicule of Christ or the Holy Scriptures have the same evil effect in sapping the foundations of society and of public order, and are classed under the same head."\*

Profanity is also a criminal offense, kindred to blasphemy, according to the laws of most of our States. Like blasphemy, it is determined by the truths of Christianity.

In like manner our State legislation connects itself with Christianity in laws against the public desecration of the Lord's Day. Here, again, space will not permit the citing of the statutes. Suffice it to say that in varying

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\* Cooley's *Constitutional Limitations*, pp. 472, 473. See also the definition of Chief Justice Shaw, of Massachusetts, in 20 Pickering, 216, 213; Bouvier's and Burrill's Law Dictionaries, *sub voc.*; Wharton's *American Criminal Law*, vol. i., § 36; vol. ii., § 2542; Bishop's *Criminal Law*, vol. ii., § 76.

phrase, every State except California, and every Territory except Arizona, guards the sacredness of the Sabbath.

The attempt to base our Sabbath laws on mere policy, and not on moral principle, tends to undermine the strongest foundations of all criminal legislation. The distinction between the Sabbath as a civil institution and the Sabbath as a spiritual institution is a proper and valid one. But both are moral. The one is for the individual believer, or the collective body of believers in the spiritual service of God; the other is for the welfare of the state itself. But this latter is not a mere matter of expediency. The state is under moral obligation to secure to citizens their rights to a quiet Sabbath, and at the same time it is under moral obligation to keep the Sabbath itself by abstaining from all unnecessary work in its own sphere. The logic which bases Sabbath laws on policy, would base laws against the seventh commandment, or the eighth, or any other, on the same shifting and flimsy foundation. All that would need to be done would be to change public opinion, so that a breach of the law in question would no longer be a breach of the peace, and the obligation of the law would be dissolved. The law of monogamy is a moral law, and is based on Christian morality. The law of the Sabbath is a moral law, founded in the moral as well as in the physical nature of man. And the state, as a moral being, legislating for moral beings, must base its Sabbath laws, its marriage and divorce laws, and all similar laws on an unequivocal moral basis, or they will prove to be powerless in restraining man from wrong. Says Dr. A. H. Lewis, though from no friendly standpoint: "There is no meaning in the statutes prohibiting 'worldly labor,' and permitting 'works of necessity and mercy,' except from the religious standpoint. There can

be no 'worldly business,' if it be not in contrast with religious obligation. Every prohibition which appears in Sunday legislation is based upon the idea that it is wrong to do on Sunday the things prohibited. Whatever theories men may invent for the observance of Sunday on non-religious grounds, . . . to say that the present Sunday laws do not deal with the day as a religious institution, is to deny every fact in the history of such legislation. The claim is a shallow subterfuge."\*

*Christianity and the Common Law.*

Chancellor Kent, whom Charles Sumner described as in his day "the unquestioned head of American jurisprudence," in a decision rendered while Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New York, points out that the constitutional prohibition of religious establishments "does not forbid judicial cognizance of those offenses against religion and morality which have no reference to any such establishment, or to any particular form of government, but are punishable because they strike at the root of moral obligation, and weaken the security of the social ties. To construe it as breaking down the common law barriers against licentious, wanton, and impious attacks upon Christianity itself, would be an enormous perversion of its meaning." After referring to the provision in the Constitution of the State for the rights of conscience and freedom of worship, he adds: "This declaration (noble and magnanimous as it is when duly understood) was never meant to withdraw religion in general, and with it the best sanctions of social and moral obligations, from all consideration and notice of the law."

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\* *A Critical History of Sunday Legislation*, Preface, pp. viii., ix.

“We are a Christian people, and the morality of the country is deeply engrafted upon Christianity.” “Christianity, in its enlarged sense, as a religion revealed and taught in the Bible, is not unknown to our law.” The rest of the court, including Justices Thompson, Spencer, Van Ness, and Yates, unanimously concurred with Chief Justice Kent.\*

A decision similar to that of the Supreme Court of New York was given by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, before which had been brought, by writ of error, the case of a man charged with “contriving and intending to scandalize and bring into disrepute and vilify the Christian religion and the Scriptures of truth.” The writ of error was taken out expressly with a view to decide the question whether Christianity was part of the law of the land. As this question was distinctly understood to be raised, the court, through Justice Duncan, discussed the point very fully. He remarked: “The bold ground is taken, though it has often been exploded, and nothing but what is trite can be said upon it—it is a barren soil on which no flower ever blossomed—the assertion is once more made, that Christianity never was received as part of the common law of this Christian land; and it is added that if it was, it was virtually repealed by the Constitution of the United States and of this State, as inconsistent with the liberty of the people and the freedom of religious worship, and hostile to the genius and spirit of our government.”

In answer to this it was said: “If the argument was worth anything, all the laws which had Christianity for their object would be carried away at once—the act

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\* *The People vs. Ruggles*, 8 Johnson's *Reports*, pp. 295-297.

against cursing and swearing, and breach of the Lord's Day," etc. "But," continued the court, "it is not now for the first time determined in this court that Christianity is part of the common law of Pennsylvania." "The late Judge Wilson, of the Supreme Court of the United States, Professor of Law in the College of Philadelphia, was appointed by the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania to revise and digest the laws of the State. In his Lectures, vol. iii. of his works, he says that Christianity is part of the common law." "Christianity, general Christianity, is and always has been a part of the common law of Pennsylvania; not Christianity with an established church and tithes and spiritual courts, but Christianity with liberty of conscience to all men."\*

In other States the same decision has also been given. In Delaware, Chief Justice Clayton, after referring to the decisions of Justices Kent and Duncan in New York and Pennsylvania, accumulates additional authorities to show "that from the time of Bracton, Christianity was part of the common law of England." He then proceeds to maintain that Christianity, as the religion of the people, is so far a part of the common law of Delaware, "that any person reviling, subverting, or ridiculing it, might be prosecuted at common law;" and this on the ground that he who reviles, subverts, or ridicules Christianity strikes at the foundation of civil society, and disturbs the peace of the land.†

Chief Justice Johnson, of Arkansas, rendered a similar decision: "The Christian religion is recognized as constituting a part and parcel of the common law, and as such, all the institutions growing out of it, or in anyway

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\* Updegraph *vs.* the Commonwealth, 11 Sergeant and Rawle, 394-409.

† The State *vs.* Chandler, 2 Harrington, 553.

connected with it, in case they shall not be found to interfere with the rights of conscience, are entitled to the most profound respect, and can rightfully claim the protection of the law-making power.”\*

A decision of quite recent date, in the Supreme Court of New York (1861), by Justice Allen, declares that “Christianity is part of the common law of this State to the extent that entitles the Christian religion and its ordinances to respect and protection as the acknowledged religion of the people.” After referring to the religious acknowledgments in the Constitution of the State, Judge Allen remarks: “These provisions and recitals very clearly recognize some of the fundamental principles of the Christian religion, and are certainly very far from ignoring God as the Supreme Ruler and Judge of the universe, and the Christian religion as the religion of the people, embodying the common faith of the community, with its ministers and ordinances, existing without the aid of, or political connection with the State, but as intimately connected with a good government, and the only sure basis of sound morals.” In the same case the District Attorney argued that Christianity was part of the common law at the revolution; that it continued to be part of the common law of the State under the Constitution of 1776; and that the same law has remained in force ever since.†

To the weight of authority already adduced, it remains to add the decision of Justice Story, of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the Girard will case: “It is said, and truly, that the Christian religion is part of the common law of Pennsylvania.” “It is so in

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\* *Shover vs. the State*, 5 English, 263.

† *Lindenmuller vs. the People*, 33 Barbour, 556-563.



this qualified sense, that its divine origin and truth are admitted, and therefore it is not to be maliciously and openly reviled and blasphemed against, to the annoyance of believers or the injury of the public."\*

It may help reconcile some slight differences of view in the above decisions, and remove objections that have found expression, to admit that the statement that "Christianity is part of the common law of the land," is perhaps not altogether the happiest possible. It might seem to suggest an idea which is excluded necessarily by the relations between the church and the state in this country, viz. : that all the doctrines of the Christian religion enter into the common law. The law of the state does not with us, embody in itself the principles of the Christian religion which belong to the church alone ; but so far as the vital, general truths of Christianity, as distinguished from the teachings of all other religions, touch the sphere of the state, so far the Christian religion enters into the law of a truly Christian government. Regard will always be had to these fundamental Christian truths in all statutes and enactments, and they will be a vital element in that great unwritten code which is known as the common law. It is in this sense that the expression so often

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\* *Vidal et al. vs. Girard's Executors*, 2 Howard, 198. A few citations of high authorities, though not official declarations, may be added: Wharton's *American Criminal Law*, vol. i. § 36 ; vol. iii., §§ 2539-2545 ; Bishop's *Criminal Law*, vol. i., § 497 ; vol. ii., § 74 ; § 76, n. ; Burrill's *Law Dictionary*, *sub voc.* "Blasphemy ;" see also Bouvier's *Law Dictionary*, *sub voc.* "Christianity ;" Dane's *Abridgment*, c. 219, a. 219 ; Swift's *System of the Laws of Connecticut*, vol. ii., p. 321 ; Judge Wilson's *Law Lectures*, vol. iii., p. 112. The words of the Hon. Theo. Frelinghuysen, uttered in the United States Senate during the celebrated "Sunday Mails" controversy, should here be placed on record: "Christianity is the religion of this country, and as such is recognized in the whole structure of its government, and lies at the foundation of all our civil and political institutions ; in other words, Christianity, as really as is republicanism, is part and parcel of our laws."

employed in our courts, and by our judges, is to be understood.

This interpretation of this famous judicial phrase gives us, then, the politico-moral principles on which the National Reform Movement is based.

### *State Thanksgiving Proclamations.*

A few of our early national Thanksgiving Proclamations, like the one adopted by Congress October 31, 1777, supplicate God "through the merits of Jesus Christ." It is a lamentable fact that most of our national proclamations have been and are Christless documents. The baleful influence of the national proclamations is seen in the general exclusion of all acknowledgment of Christ from State proclamations. But there are yet noble, outspoken Christian State proclamations, from a number of which extracts will be given, following the alphabetical order of the States.

Governor Buckingham, of Connecticut, in 1858, called to thanksgiving to God because "He hath not dealt with us after our sins, nor rewarded us according to our iniquities, but has magnified the riches of his grace in giving his Holy Spirit to revive his work and lead sinners to repentance, and that the door of mercy is yet open, through which the guilty may enter and obtain eternal life, by faith in the atonement of Jesus Christ his Son." \*

Governor Lowe, of Iowa, the same year said in his proclamation: "Praise him [the God of our fathers] for giving this whole land so largely of his Spirit, by which

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\* For these documents in full, see Hough's *Collection of Thanksgiving Proclamations*, except in those cases where other references are given in footnotes.

the faces of multitudes have been turned heavenward. Praise him for the Christian's faith, and the spread of our holy religion."

Massachusetts was called by her great war Governor, John A. Andrew, in 1861, to bless God "for the redemption of the world by Jesus Christ, for the means of grace, and the hope of glory."

Governor Alexander H. Rice, in 1877, invited the people of Massachusetts to praise God "for the redemption of the world by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, for his Holy Word, and all the aids to increase in virtue and godliness; and finally, for that uplifting faith which enables the afflicted and distressed to look out from the darkness of human sorrow into the light and blessedness of the life immortal."\*

Governor Olden, of New Jersey, in 1862, in an unusually brief document, found room to mention as a ground of thanksgiving to Almighty God, "above all, the inestimable gift of his dear Son, Jesus Christ," and to render praise "for all the blessings of free salvation through him, for the means of grace and the hope of glory."

John Jay, Governor of New York, in his proclamation for 1794, mentioned "the civilizing light and influence of his holy gospel" as a cause of thanksgiving to "the great Creator and Preserver of the universe," who is also "the Supreme Sovereign of nations."

No State Governor has more uniformly and distinctly marked his official documents with an unequivocal Christian character than Wm. H. Seward. His proclamation for 1839 reads: "Let us also beseech him . . . to

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\* See *Christian Statesman* for November 22, 1877.

vouchsafe to all mankind the privileges of civil and religious liberty, and the knowledge, influences, and blessed hopes of the gospel of his Son our Saviour." His proclamation for the next year, 1840, contains these sentences: "The Church of the living God is one, and embraces all those who in humility of spirit receive his holy faith, and through divine aid seek to keep his commandments. Let us, therefore, in perfect harmony and charity one with another, as patriots and Christians, implore him to sustain and bless all our civil and religious institutions, and to dispense to us abundantly that heavenly grace which, with faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, leads through the ways of virtue here, to the blessed society of the redeemed in his everlasting kingdom."

Governor Bouck, of the same State, in 1854, used these words: "During the past year . . . the blessed gospel has been gradually but surely extending its benign influence. Actuated by its diffusive benevolence, Christian missionaries have not only labored among the waste and desolate places at home, but have gone forth to proclaim 'Christ and him crucified' to the dark and benighted regions of the earth." "With our thanksgiving let us mingle our prayers . . . that there may be an outpouring of the Spirit of God to revive pure and undefiled religion among us—the best security of our civil and political institutions."

Governor Silas Wright, in 1846, said: "The gift of a Saviour, and the full light of divine revelation, are spiritual blessings which should awaken to expressions of devout thankfulness the hearts and the voices of a Christian people."

Governor Hamilton Fish, in 1849, said: "The blessings of the gospel are extended to all who desire to enjoy

its comforts and its consolations. . . . It becomes a grateful Christian people to acknowledge these mercies and to render thanks to their Bountiful Giver."

Governor Myron H. Clark, in 1855: "Let us, as patriots and Christians, implore him [our heavenly Father] to bless our civil and religious institutions; and let us supplicate him to continue his favors to this people throughout all generations, and withal to dispense to us individually that heavenly grace which, with faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and virtuous action here, will prepare us for his heavenly kingdom."

Governor Thomas Worthington, of Ohio, issued a proclamation in 1816 which may well be quoted in full: "Whereas the Legislature of the State of Ohio have, by their resolution of the 27th of February, 1816, requested me to appoint a day of thanksgiving and prayer to God; and believing that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, the way to national and individual prosperity and happiness; that the Christian religion furnishes the purest, plainest, and best measures of individual and social government, and the most rational hope of future happiness, I have appointed, and by these presents do appoint and hereby set apart as a day of thanksgiving and prayer to Almighty God, Saturday, the first day of June next; and recommend to the good people of this State, abstaining from their ordinary labor, to meet together on that day in their respective places of public worship, to implore for the Redeemer's sake the pardon of our individual and national trespasses, and the grace of Heaven with the blessings of peace; that knowledge may be increased and that justice, truth, and holiness may abound; that health and a fruitful season may be granted to us; peace among ourselves and with all nations; and that the kingdom of

the Saviour may come, and his will be done on earth as it is in heaven."\*

Governor S. P. Chase, in 1856, invited the citizens of the same State to give thanks for "institutions of education, religion, and charity, . . . for the mercies of redemption, and the hopes of immortality."

Governor Elisha Dyer, of Rhode Island, in 1858, called for thanksgiving because "the unrestricted enjoyment of our civil rights and religious privileges; the widespread manifestations and presence of the Holy Spirit; the 'means of grace and hope of glory' still offered us in the religion of Jesus Christ, all proclaim his dealings with us to have been in mercy and with love."

Governor Hiland Hall, of Vermont, in 1858, asks citizens "to render thanks to God and proclaim his praises for all mercies both temporal and spiritual; . . . for the means of obtaining and profiting by intellectual, moral, and religious instruction; . . . and finally, for the Christian hope which is vouchsafed to us of a blessed immortality."

### *Christian Common Schools.*

Documentary evidence already quoted proves that our system of public schools was designed to be distinctively Christian. They are meant to be unsectarian, but not secular.

The language of the famous Ordinance for the government of the Territory of the Northwest, quoted on a preceding page, under the action of Congress, has been in substance incorporated into many of our State Constitutions. For example, the Constitution of Ohio

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\* See the *Weekly Recorder*, of Chillicothe, O., for May 15, 1816. The Proclamation was dated May 3 of that year.

reads : " Religion, morality, and knowledge, however, being essential to good government, it shall be the duty of the General Assembly to pass suitable laws to protect every religious denomination in the peaceable enjoyment of its own mode of public worship, and to encourage schools and the means of instruction."\*

The Constitution of Massachusetts declares that " the public worship of God, and instructions in piety, religion, and morality, promote the happiness and prosperity of a people, and the security of a republican government."†

The same instrument further reads : " Whereas our wise and pious ancestors, so early as the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-six, laid the foundation of Harvard College, in which university many persons of great eminence have, by the blessing of God, been initiated into those arts and sciences which qualified them for public employments, both in church and state ; and whereas the encouragement of arts and sciences and all good literature tends to the honor of God, the advantage of the Christian religion, and the great benefit of this and the other United States of America : it is declared, etc."‡

The fundamental law of New Hampshire contains the following provision : " As morality and piety, rightly grounded on evangelical principles, will give the best and greatest security to government, and will lay in the hearts of men the strongest obligations to due subjection ; and as a knowledge of these is most likely to be propagated through a society by the institution of the public worship of the Deity, and of public instruction in morality

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\* Constitution of Ohio, art. i., sec. 7. See also, for the same provision, the Constitutions of Arkansas, art. i., sec. 23 ; Nebraska, art. i., sec. 16 ; and North Carolina, art. ix., sec. 1. See Hough's *American Constitutions*.

† Constitution of Massachusetts, Eleventh Amendment of latest revision.

‡ Part ii., ch. v., sec. 1.

and religion ; therefore, to promote these important purposes, the people of this State have a right to empower, and do hereby fully empower the legislature to authorize, from time to time, the several towns, parishes, bodies corporate, or religious societies within this State, to make adequate provisions, at their own expense, for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality.”\*

While this provision of the Constitution of New Hampshire, like the 11th Amendment of that of Massachusetts, has special reference to the instructions of the Christian ministry, both will yet serve to demonstrate, in harmony with the other provisions quoted, the Christian basis of the schools of our country.

The establishment of the common schools of the great Empire State must suffice to show how thoroughly Christian the instructions of the school systems of our different Commonwealths was intended to be. Five Commissioners were appointed in 1811 to report to the Legislature of New York a system for the organization and establishment of common schools. It is noteworthy that these Commissioners did not advise the reading of the Bible in the schools proposed. They accepted it as a first principle, not to be called in question, that the Bible would be used. They simply offered some advice touching the manner of its use. This is an extract from their report: “Connected with the introduction of suitable books, the Commissioners take the liberty of suggesting that some observations and advice, touching the reading of the Bible in the schools, might be salutary. In order to render the Sacred Volume productive of the greatest

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\* Constitution of New Hampshire, part i., art. 6.



advantage, it should be held in a very different light from that of a common school-book. It should be regarded as a book intended for literary improvement, not merely, but as inculcating great and indispensable moral truths also. With these impressions, the Commissioners are induced to recommend the practice introduced into the New York Free Schools, of having select chapters read at the opening of the school in the morning, and the like at the close in the afternoon. This is deemed the best mode of preserving the religious regard which is due to the sacred writings."\*

Similar to this has been the character stamped on all our State systems of common school instruction. They are of Christian origin, with the open text-book of Christian morals—the Divine Word. Even where the Bible has been expelled from the schools, as in the city of Cincinnati, there is much left in selections from it found in the Readers, and in the general instructions and influence of the teachers, that is distinctly Christian. The logic of secularism, which has expelled the Bible, has made and is making itself felt against all Christian ideas that remain. But our common school system is not yet secularized. It is threatened, and the dangers ahead are grave enough to fill every patriot's heart with anxiety. But in the fact of the discernment of the peril lies the hope of the firm maintenance of our public schools on the Christian basis on which our fathers founded them.

*More Recent Examples of our National Christianity.*

It may be objected to the national acts and documents already cited, that they are of such remote date as to be

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\* See the writer's argument on "The Moral and Legal Right of the Bible in the Public Schools," published as a *Christian Statesman* Tract. See also Randall's *History of the Common School System of the State of New York*, p. 22.

out of force. But a nation's life is a growth that roots itself in the past. We cannot sever the present from the past without violence and danger. What we have been must largely determine what we are and what we are to be. But let us come to more recent documentary evidence, in our federal legislature and executive, that our national life rests on Christianity.

During the sessions of the Thirty-second and Thirty-third Congress an attempt was made to abolish the office of chaplain for the army and navy, and for the Senate and the House of Representatives. The long struggle in that celebrated Thirty-third Congress to elect a Speaker for the House, delayed for many weeks the election of a chaplain. Soon after Congress assembled, however, the following resolution, offered by the Hon. Mr. Dodwell, of Alabama, was adopted :

*"Whereas, The people of the United States, from their earliest history to the present time, have been led by the hand of a kind Providence, and are indebted for the countless blessings of the past and present, and dependent for continued prosperity in the future upon Almighty God ; and whereas, the great vital and conservative element in our system is the belief of our people in the pure doctrines and divine truths of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, it eminently becomes the Representatives of a people so highly favored to acknowledge in the most public manner their reverence for God ; therefore,*

*" 1. Resolved, That the daily sessions of this body be opened with prayer.*

*" 2. Resolved, That the ministers of the Gospel in this city are hereby requested to attend, and alternately perform this solemn duty."*

The petitions which were presented for the abolition

of the office of chaplain, were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, of which the Hon. James Meacham, of Vermont, was chairman. This committee reported against the petition, and the report was adopted March 27, 1853. Their admirable report, which, by its adoption, became the recorded official action of our national House of Representatives, has many notable passages. After referring to the abandonment of the union of church and state, and approving of the separation of these institutions, the report adds: "Down to the Revolution, every colony did sustain religion in some form. It was deemed peculiarly proper that the religion of liberty should be upheld by a free people. Had the people, during the Revolution, had a suspicion of any attempt to war against Christianity, that Revolution would have been strangled in its cradle. At the time of the adoption of the Constitution and the amendments, the universal sentiment was that Christianity should be encouraged—not any one sect. Any attempt to level or discard all religion would have been viewed with universal indignation. The object was not to substitute Judaism, or Mohammedanism, or infidelity, but to prevent rivalry among sects to the exclusion of others."

One more passage is given, to the thoroughly Christian political science of which some ministers of Christ, in their infatuation with secularism, sadly need to go to school:

"Your Committee concede that the ecclesiastical and civil powers have been, and should continue to be, entirely divorced from each other. But we beg leave to secure ourselves from the interpretation of asserting that religion is not needed to the safety of civil society. It must be considered as the foundation on which the whole structure rests. Laws will not have permanence or power without

the sanction of religious sentiment—without a firm belief that there is a Power above us that will reward our virtues and punish our sins. In this age there can be no substitute for Christianity. That, in its general principles, is the great conservative element on which we must rely for the purity and permanence of free institutions. That was the religion of the founders of the republic, and they expected it to remain the religion of their descendants. There is a great and very prevalent error on this subject in the opinion that those who organized this government did not legislate on religion. They did legislate on it by making it free to all, 'to the Jew and the Greek, to the learned and unlearned.' The error has risen from the belief that there is no legislation unless in permissive or restrictive enactments. But making a thing free is as truly a part of legislation as confining it by limitations; and what the government has made free, it is bound to keep free."\*

During the last war there were repeated acknowledgments of God by our supreme law-making power, the Congress of the United States. But let us note the clear and unequivocal utterance of Christian principles of government in the following action by the Senate, March 2, 1863. This was a resolution requesting the President to set apart a day for national prayer and humiliation, and this was done by that august body with a sense of God's presence such as should reign continually in the Senate chamber, and indeed in every department of our national

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\* Report of the Committee on the Judiciary on Chaplains in Congress and in the Army and Navy; House of Representatives, Thirty-third Congress, first session, March 27, 1854, Document 124. The Report of Mr. Badger in the Senate is a similar vindication of the connection of our government with Christianity; see Report No. 376, of the Committee on the Judiciary, Thirty-second Congress, second session, January 19, 1853.

and State governments. Let us mark well the words employed, and we shall not fail to see the very same principles that underlie the National Reform cause :

“Devoutly recognizing the supreme authority and just government of Almighty God in all the affairs of men and nations ; deploring the national offenses which have provoked his righteous judgment ; yet encouraged in this day of trouble by the assurances of his Word, to seek him for succor according to his appointed way, through Jesus Christ,” they made their request of the President to issue his proclamation for a fast-day.\*

The response of the President was as remarkable as the request of the Senate. He promptly issued his proclamation, appointing the 30th of April of that year, 1863, acknowledging “the duty of nations, as well as of men, to own their dependence on the overruling power of God, to confess their sins and transgressions in humble sorrow, yet with assured hope that genuine repentance will lead to mercy and pardon,” and recognizing “the sublime truth announced in the Holy Scriptures and proven by all history, that those nations only are blessed whose God is the Lord.” Farther on, this remarkable document says : “Intoxicated with unbroken success, we have become too self-sufficient to feel the necessity of redeeming and preserving grace, too proud to pray to the God that made us. It behooves us, then, to humble ourselves before the offended Power, to confess our national sins, and to pray for clemency and forgiveness.” “Let us rest humbly in the hope, authorized by the Divine teachings, that the united cry of the nation will be heard on high, and answered with blessings no less than the pardon of our

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\* *Congressional Globe*, third session Thirty-seventh Congress, p. 1448.

national sins, and restoration of our now divided and suffering country to its former happy condition of unity and peace." \*

No candid mind can deny that these documents of our National Senate and Executive exhibit in most definite form the following principles of political and national life :

1. That Almighty God is Supreme Ruler of nations.
2. That nations are bound to acknowledge his authority.
3. That Jesus Christ is the appointed way of acceptance for nations as well as individuals before God, whether in confession of sin or services rendered.
4. That God's Word, the Holy Scriptures, is given for national encouragement and guidance.

Now, what is all this but the basis of the National Reform Movement ?

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\* See Morris' *Christian Life and Character of the Civil Institutions of the United States*, pp. 558, 559.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS OF THE MOVEMENT.

The facts of our political history are not without their philosophical or scientific justification. Back of the documentary basis for our national Christianity is the firm foundation of a sound political science. The official documents and acts of our government, examples of which are given in the preceding chapter, involve certain fundamental principles concerning the true nature and functions of the nation. Prominent among these principles of Christian political science are such as the following: 1. The moral character and accountability of the nation; in other words, its true moral personality. 2. The justice and necessity of the connection of civil government with religion, without any union with the church; also the impossibility of neutrality on the part of this moral person, the state, in reference to such religious principles as are involved in its nature and functions. 3. The twofold office of a written Constitution: (a) To formulate, express, and authenticate the fundamental elements of a nation's providential, vital, or unwritten Constitution. (b) To give authoritative declaration of the will of the people, as sovereign under God, in fundamental principles, for the regulation of the government which they establish. 4. The right of a Christian nation to provide itself with a Christian written Constitution, and with Christian laws and usages founded thereon and authenticated thereby, notwithstanding so-called rights of conscience of objecting individuals.

A chief aim of this Manual is to furnish unquestionable authorities on points like the above—every one with volume and page cited. The weight of authority is here all on one side. From the great mass of testimony that might be cited from the ablest political thinkers of our own and other countries, a comparatively brief selection must be made.

Let us begin with the truth on which the whole controversy hinges. If this truth is conceded, National Reform principles are fully justified.

*The Nation a Moral Person.*

This is an accepted form of statement covering such points as that the nation is not merely an economic, but also a jural society; that it thus has to do with morals, having moral as well as material aims and objects, and that it is capable of being influenced by moral motives. All this simply means that the nation, or the state, in the sense of that word in international law, is a moral agent, or a being with true moral character and accountability. As it is a sovereign power on earth, a power with no earthly superior, its responsibility must be immediately to God himself. Such a being is properly termed a moral person. Let each eminent witness speak for himself:

Chancellor Kent says that "states, or bodies politic, are to be considered as moral persons, having a public will, capable and free to do right and wrong, inasmuch as they are collections of individuals, each of whom carries with him into the service of the community the same binding law of morality and religion which ought to control his conduct in private life."\*

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\* *Commentaries on American Law*, vol. i., p. 3.



Bouvier, in his elaborate work on American Law, thus defines a nation: "A nation is an independent body politic; a society of men united together for the purpose of promoting their mutual safety and advantage by their joint efforts and their combined strength. Such a nation becomes a moral person, and is susceptible of obligations and rights." A little farther on in the same treatise this high authority says that "nations or states become moral persons, having an understanding and will peculiar to themselves."\*

Prof. Francis Lieber stands among the foremost authorities in political science. No witness on points like these deserves greater respect. He says: "The state, being a jural society, and rights being imaginable between moral beings only, it follows that the state has likewise a moral character, and must maintain it. . . . Right is founded on the claim each rational or moral being makes on every other rational or moral being."†

Dr. Elisha Mulford, one of the few great names in political science, author of the book *The Nation*, the masterpiece, all things considered, of American political writings, teaches this truth with great eloquence and fullness. Only a few sentences can be given: "The nation is a moral personality. This is the condition of its vocation, as in the fulfillment of its vocation there is the formation of its character. . . . The nation is a moral person, since it is called as a power in the coming of that kingdom in which there is the moral government of the world, and in whose completion there is the goal of history. . . . The being of the nation as a moral person has its witness in the consciousness of men. It

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\* Bouvier's *Institutes of American Law*, vol. i, pp. 16, 76.

† Lieber's *Political Ethics* (original edition), vol. i., p. 179.

has awakened the higher moral emotion, and its response has been from the higher moral spirit. . . . The assertion of the moral being of the nation has been the foundation of that which is enduring in politics, and has been embodied in the political thought and will, which alone have been constructive in the state. . . . Those who have been the masters of political science, and it has perhaps fewer great names than any other science, all repeat this conception.”\*

John Milton may well take first place among English authorities. Drawing the portraits of “modern politicians,” as true to life now as then, he says: “They teach not that to govern well is to train up a nation in true wisdom and virtue, and that which springs from thence, magnanimity (take heed of that), and that which is our beginning, regeneration, and happiest end, likeness to God. . . . Alas, sir! a commonwealth ought to be but as one huge Christian personage, one mighty growth and stature of an honest man, as big and compact in virtue as in body; for look what the grounds and causes are of single happiness to one man, the same ye shall find them to a whole state, as Aristotle, both in his ethics and politics, from the principles of reason, lays down.”†

Edmund Burke is a worthy companion for John Milton. In his celebrated treatise called forth by the French Revolution, he says: “The state ought not to be considered as a partnership agreement, to be taken up for a little temporary interest, and dissolved at the fancy

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\* *The Nation; the Foundations of Civil Order and Political Life in the United States.* By E. Mulford. Pages 19-23.

† *Milton's Prose Works* (Bohn's edition), vol. ii., pp. 390, 391. *Second Book of Reformation in England.*

of the parties. It is to be looked upon with other reverence, because it is not a partnership in things subservient to the gross animal existence of a temporary and perishable nature. It is a partnership in all science; a partnership in all art; a partnership in every virtue, and in all perfection." Farther on, speaking of the moral relations and duties of the state, he adds, that on account of these the English nation "think themselves bound, not only as individuals in the sanctuary of the heart, or as congregated in that personal capacity, to renew the memory of their high origin and cast; but also in their corporate character to perform their national homage to the Instigator and Author and Protector of civil society." \*

Dr. Thomas Arnold's name is held in high esteem by all educators of youth, and by all students of history and political science. He says: "It is sometimes urged that . . . the highest object of the Royal Society as a society is the advancement of science, although to the individuals of that society a moral and religious object would be incomparably of higher value. Why, then, may not the highest object of a nation, as such, be self-defense, or wealth, or any other outward good, although every individual of the nation puts a moral object before any mere external benefits. The answer to this is simply because a nation is a sovereign society, and it is something monstrous that the ultimate power in human life should be destitute of a sense of right and wrong. . . . That end [the worthy end of a nation's life] appears to be the promoting and securing a nation's highest happiness; so we must express it in its most general formula; but under the most favorable combination of circumstances, this

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\* *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, pp. 183, 185.

same end is conceived and expressed more purely as the setting forth God's glory by doing his appointed work." \*

"It is allowed by those who object to the moral theory of a state, that Christian legislators did well in forcibly suppressing gladiatorial shows and impure rites, as being immoral and pernicious actions ; but if the legislator has anything to do with morality, the whole question is conceded ; for morality is surely not another name for expediency, or what is advantageous for body and goods ; yet if it be not, and a legislator may prohibit any practice because it is wicked, then he regards moral ends, and his care is directed towards man's highest happiness, and to putting down his greatest misery, moral evil. Nor, in fact, does it appear how, on other than purely moral considerations, a state is justified in making certain abominations penal." †

The Hon. Wm. E. Gladstone's testimony has never varied on this point. Criticising the view of S. T. Coleridge, which would subordinate the nation to the church, he remarks : "This view of the state does not specifically include the element of its living personality and consciousness ; it regards the state as a thing composed and guided, rather than as self-composing and self-guiding, and deliberately free in the exercise of its functions."

Once more, in a passage of singular eloquence and beauty : "It [the state] is moral, and not merely economical, inasmuch as its laws and institutions, and the acts done under them, are intimately connected with the formation of our moral habits, our modes of thought, and the state of the affections, and inasmuch as its influences

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\* *Lectures on Modern History* (New York edition of 1866), pp. 32, 33, 34.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 79.

pervade the whole scheme and system of our being, mingling with the first instincts of boyhood ; it may be, even attracting the last lingering look of age on the threshold of its departure ; inasmuch as that which we are individually, we have come to be, in a very considerable degree, through and by means of that which we are nationally." \*

Phillimore, whose extensive work in three large volumes is one of the highest authorities on International Law, thus defines the nature and law of nations : " Moral persons are governed partly by divine law, which includes natural law ; partly by positive instituted human law, which includes written law and unwritten law or custom. States are reciprocally recognized as moral persons. States are therefore governed in their mutual relations partly by divine and partly by positive law. Divine law is either 1st, that which is written by the finger of God in the heart of man, when it is called natural law ; or 2d, that which has been miraculously made known to him, when it is called revealed or Christian law. The primary source, then, of international jurisprudence is Divine Law." †

Passing now to French authorities on this fundamental point, I translate from recent carefully edited originals. Vattel affirms that a nation or state " has its own affairs and interests ; it deliberates and takes resolutions in common, and thus becomes a moral person, which has its own proper understanding and will, and is capable of obligations and rights." ‡

Martens, another of the most eminent French writers

\* *The State in its Relations with the Church*, vol. i., pp. 27, 86.

† Phillimore's *International Law*, vol. i., p. 15.

‡ *Le Droit des Gens* (Paris edition of 1863), tome i., pp. 72, 73.

on the law of nations, frequently expresses the same truth. For example: "The state, considered as a moral person, is equally susceptible of a twofold order of rights and obligations: 1st, the internal relation which is established among its members; and 2d, its external relation toward strangers."\*

Dr. Vergé, the learned editor of this fine edition of Martens, thus confirms the above statement: "The word 'state' signifies the community of laws or of government, and in this acceptation a state is a veritable moral person."†

Leferrière, in the same exalted rank of the political philosophers of France, in his *Course of Administrative and Public Law*, says: "States are moral persons having a free and intelligent nature, and possessing, on account of that nature, fundamental and inviolable rights."‡

Victor Cousin, in his eloquent treatise on *The True, the Beautiful, and the Good*, states that "government, which represents society, is also a moral person."§

Serrigny should be added to this list of French publicists: "It is agreed to consider a state as constituting a moral or civil person, a collective being, having rights and duties, and in consequence a will of its own, distinct from that of each of its members."||

Let German authors close this array of testimony to the moral personality of the state. It is of these that Mulford speaks when he says concerning the idea of the moral personality of the nation: "There is no conception

\* *Précis du Droit des Gens Modernes de l'Europe*, tome i., p. 39.

† *Ibid.*, p. 82.

‡ *Cours de Droit Public et Administratif*, tome i., p. 292.

§ *Du Vrai, du Beau, et du Bien* (Paris edition of 1873), p. 396.

|| *Traité du Droit Public des Français*, tome i., p. 20.

which has such power in the thoughts of men, and in this age it has the greater significance when it is drawn, not from a school of Puritan politics, but from those most widely separated from historical Puritanism, and finds its expression in the literature of a people which is rising to great political might."\*

Klüber, whose work has been translated into French, is a standard authority. One among many instances of testimony like the preceding is this: "The state is a society, free and independent, . . . representing in relation to other states, a moral person enjoying natural liberty."†

Heffter, another German author honored by a French translation, and recognized by both nations as of special eminence, in his *International Law of Modern Europe*, thus draws the important distinction, so often overlooked by superficial political writers, between commercial companies and nations: "Commercial companies, which have played an important part in the colonial politics of the last three centuries, are essentially different from nations. . . . They never become moral persons of international law."‡

Hegel says: "The state is the realization of the moral idea, . . . the rational life of self-conscious freedom, the order of the moral world."§

The name of Bluntschli is one of the most eminent. What could be finer than this passage from his *Universal Law of States*?—"While history informs us of the organic

\* *The Nation*, pp. 22, 23.

† *Droit des Gens Modernes de l'Europe* (Ott's edition), p. 68.

‡ *Das Europäische Völkerrecht der Gegenwart* (Bergson's French edition), p. 35.

§ *Philosophie des Rechts*, pp. 312, 340. Hegel's other works give the same conception of the state; see his *Philosophie der Religion*, vol. i., p. 170.

nature of the state, it at the same time gives us to understand that the state does not stand in the same rank with the lower vegetable and animal organisms, but is of a higher order. History represents the state as a moral-spiritual organism, as a great body that is capable of taking into itself the feelings and thoughts of the people, expressing them as law, and realizing them as deed. It acquaints us with the moral qualities, with the character of single states. It ascribes to the state a personality which has endowed its own will with spirit and body, and made it known. . . . The whole grand idea of the Fatherland and love of Fatherland would be inconceivable, if this high moral-personal nature did not belong to the state."\*

Von Mohl is another of these eminent German names. This author discusses at great length, in his *Encyclopedia*, "the moral principles of the relations of the state," including "the moral purpose of the constitution." The discussion hardly permits a brief extract suited to the limits of this Manual.†

Rothe's testimony is also full, making a brief extract unsatisfactory. In his famous treatise on ethics, he says: "The state must lay hold of the moral aim as its own aim, and set before itself no narrower purpose than this—the realization of complete moral society. It must, therefore, act upon the absolute unity, or rather the identity of politics and morals, and can by no means recognize any difference between their demands."‡

Schleiermacher is another of Germany's famous ethical writers. In his *Christian Morals* he says: "We

\* *Allgemeines Staatsrecht*, vol. i., pp. 40, 41.

† *Encyclopädie der Staatswissenschaften*, pp. 510, 517.

‡ *Theologische Ethik*, vol. v., p. 290. Compare, also, other passages in this great work, especially vol. ii., pp. 422-431.



know no opposition between morals and politics. The state, in which we Christians are to live, must be bound by the same Divine Will that binds us, and have for its nature the same innermost nature which we recognize as our own.”\*

Trendelenburg holds high rank as a political philosopher. His statement is : “The state, in which the individual grows up, is the enduring moral order without which man does not become man. . . . Individual man becomes a person first in the state, and the state ought to reach the same elevation, to become a person, not merely a legal person, as a company with special aims, which comes into being by the state, but a moral person.”†

Dorner, a name as celebrated in ethics as in theology, gives this clear testimony : “It [the state] is a free person, a living existence, a moral personality. . . . Neither is it the sum of all the other moral communities ; on the contrary, it is itself one of them, which has been entrusted with the administration of right.”‡

Stahl’s is a worthy name with which to crown this array of authorities in political science. Perhaps no work in any language has commanded as profound respect in its own department as his *Philosophy of Right*. In this he repeatedly affirms the moral character and accountability of the state. No writer has so fully set forth the moral grounds and relations of the state. A few brief sentences must suffice : “The deeper moral ground for the state, even as for the right itself, lies in the divine authority.”§ “Human society is a moral kingdom,

\* *Christliche Sitte*, p. 279. See also pp. 476, 490.

† *Naturrecht auf dem Grunde der Ethik*, p. 330. Compare also pp. 60-65.

‡ *System of Christian Ethics* (English translation), p. 558.

§ *Die Philosophie des Rechts*, vol. i., part ii., pp. 182, 183.

. . . and governs its common affairs in the manner of a personality, as one will and understanding, as one acting subject. For this purpose it is ordered and ordained as an institution of government, and this institution is the state. . . . According to its contents and meaning, it [the state] is a moral empire. . . . It is not the moral calling of individual men, but the moral calling of human society as one whole, on which the state is founded."\*

*The Justice and Necessity of the Connection of Religion and the State.*

Prof. Francis Lieber has been quoted by some who would separate our government entirely from Christianity and give us a purely secular state. To support this view they cite the following: "It belongs to American liberty to separate entirely the institution which has for its object the support and diffusion of religion from the political government." But it is evident that Dr. Lieber here speaks of the church; and it is to her union with the state that he objects, as does also the National Reform Association. Dr. Lieber adds: "They [the State constitutions] are not hostile to religion, for we see that all the State governments direct or allow the Bible to be read in the public schools."† The teaching of this authority is still further shown to be on the side of religion and the state in the words already quoted: "The great mission which this country has to perform with reference to Europe, requires the total divorce of state and church—not religion."‡

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\* *Die Philosophie des Rechts*, vol. i., part ii., pp. 131, 133.

† *Civil Liberty and Self-Government*, p. 99.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

Justice Story, of the United States Supreme Court, is even more full and explicit on this point: "The right and the duty of the interference of government in matters of religion have been maintained by many distinguished authors, as well those who were the warmest advocates of free governments as those who were attached to governments of a more arbitrary character. Indeed, the right of a society or government to interfere in matters of religion will hardly be contested by any persons who believe that piety, religion, and morality are intimately connected with the well-being of the state, and indispensable to the administration of civil justice. The promulgation of the great doctrines of religion, the being and attributes and providence of one Almighty God; the responsibility to him for all our actions, founded upon moral freedom and accountability; a future state of rewards and punishments; the cultivation of all the personal, social, and benevolent virtues;—these never can be a matter of indifference in any well-ordered community. It is, indeed, difficult to conceive how any civilized society can well exist without them. And at all events, it is impossible for those who believe in the truth of Christianity as a divine revelation, to doubt that it is the especial duty of government to foster and encourage it among all the citizens and subjects. This is a point wholly distinct from that of the right of private judgment in matters of religion, and of the freedom of public worship according to the dictates of one's conscience."

"There will probably be found few persons in this or any other Christian country who would deliberately contend that it was unreasonable or unjust to foster and encourage the Christian religion generally as a matter of

sound policy as well as of revealed truth. In fact, every American colony, from its foundation down to the Revolution, with the exception of Rhode Island, if, indeed, that State be an exception,\* did openly, by the whole course of its laws and institutions, support and sustain in some form the Christian religion; and almost invariably gave a peculiar sanction to some of its fundamental doctrines. And this has continued to be the case in some of the States down to the present period, without the slightest suspicion that it was against the principles of public law and republican liberty. Indeed, in a republic there would seem to be a peculiar propriety in viewing the Christian religion as the great basis on which it must rest for its support and permanence, if it be, what it has ever been deemed by its truest friends to be, the religion of liberty."

"Probably at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, and of the amendment to it now under consideration [the first amendment], the general, if not the universal sentiment in America, was that Christianity ought to receive encouragement from the State so far as was not incompatible with the private rights of conscience and the freedom of religious worship. An attempt to level all religions, and to make it a matter of State policy to hold all in utter indifference, would have created universal disapprobation, if not universal indignation.

"It yet remains a problem to be solved in human affairs, whether any free government can be permanent when the public worship of God and the support of religion constitute no part of the policy or duty of the State in any assignable shape. The future experience of

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\* That Rhode Island is no exception can be seen by the documents of her history already cited. (See pp. 51-56 and 62-64 of this volume.)

Christendom, and chiefly of the American States, must settle this problem as yet new in the history of the world, abundant as it has been in experiments in the theory of government."

"The real object of the Amendment was not to countenance, much less to advance, Mahometanism, or Judaism, or infidelity, by prostrating Christianity, but to exclude all rivalry among Christian sects, and to prevent any national ecclesiastical establishment which should give to a hierarchy the exclusive patronage of the national Government."\*

Both Prof. Lieber and Justice Story simply affirm what was, in substance, embodied by Benjamin Franklin in his speech in the Convention that framed our national Constitution in support of his motion for prayers. As this speech is a classic of our language on the religious duty of a nation, let it be given here in full:

"MR. PRESIDENT: The small progress we have made after four or five weeks' close attendance and continual reasonings with each other—our different sentiments on almost every question, several of the last producing as many noes as ayes—is, methinks, a melancholy proof of the imperfection of the human understanding. We, indeed, seem to feel our own want of political wisdom, since we have been running about in search of it. We have gone back to ancient history for models of government, and examined the different forms of those republics which, having been formed with the seeds of their own dissolution, now no longer exist. And we have viewed modern states all round Europe, but find none of their constitutions suitable to our circumstances.

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\* Story's *Commentaries on the Constitution* (Cooley's edition), vol. ii., pp. 603-606.

“In this situation of this assembly, groping, as it were, in the dark, to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it when presented to us, how has it happened, sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of lights to illumine our understanding? In the beginning of the contest with Great Britain, when we were sensible of danger, we had daily prayer in this room for the divine protection. Our prayers, sir, were heard, and they were graciously answered. All of us who were engaged in that struggle must have observed frequent instances of a superintending Providence in our favor. To that kind Providence we owe this happy opportunity of consulting in peace on the means of establishing our future national felicity. And have we now forgotten that powerful Friend? or do we imagine that we no longer need his assistance? I have lived, sir, a long time, and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth—*that God governs in the affairs of men*. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without his aid? We have been assured, sir, in the sacred writings, that ‘except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it.’ I firmly believe this; and I also believe that without his concurring aid we shall succeed, in this political building, no better than the builders of Babel. We shall be divided by our little partial local interests; our projects will be confounded; and we ourselves shall become a reproach and by-word down to future ages. And, what is worse, mankind may hereafter, from this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing governments by human wisdom, and leave it to chance, war, and conquest.

“I, therefore, beg leave to move that, henceforth,

prayers imploring the assistance of Heaven, and its blessings on our deliberations, be held in this assembly every morning before we proceed to business, and that one or more of the clergy of this city be requested to officiate in that service." \*

What a sad record is it that the Madison Papers and Franklin's note to his speech give us! Prayers were not thought necessary, and the motion was lost by adjournment.† Had that motion carried, the Constitution framed by the Convention would not have been silent as the grave on our national duty to God and the claims of his Son.

In an address before the New York Historical Society, Daniel Webster said: "If we and our posterity shall be true to the Christian religion; if we and they shall live always in the fear of God, and shall respect his commandments; if we and they shall maintain just moral sentiments and such conscientious convictions of duty as shall control the heart and life, we may have the highest hopes of the future fortunes of our country; and if we maintain those institutions of government and that political union, exceeding all praise as much as it exceeds all former examples of political associations, we may be sure of one thing—that while our country furnishes materials for a thousand masters of the historic art, it will be no topic for a Gibbon, it will have no decline or fall. It will go on prospering and to prosper. But if we and our posterity reject religious instruction and authority, violate the rules of eternal justice, trifle with the injunctions of morality, and recklessly destroy the political constitution which holds

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\* *Elliott's Debates*, vol. v., pp. 253, 254. See also *Franklin's Works* (Sparks' edition), vol. v., page. 153.

† *Ibid.*, p. 255, and note on p. 597. Also *Franklin's Works*, as above.

us together, no man can tell how sudden a catastrophe may overwhelm us that shall bury all our glory in profound obscurity.”\*

Prof. Tayler Lewis, who ranks with such political thinkers as Plato and Cicero of old, and Stahl and Mulford, thus demonstrates the necessary connection between the state and religion, or the impossibility of state neutrality in this matter, in opposition to the secular theory :

“The question, What is the state? may be answered theoretically or practically. The latter mode is preferred, because it brings us more directly in contact with certain other questions intimately connected with it, and which are becoming every day more urgent. Instead, therefore, of attempting to give its abstract idea by any *a priori* reasoning, let us endeavor to ascertain what it is as a *fact*—as a real power in the world. Its most practical definition may thus be found in what it actually *does*, or claims to do, and which nothing can prevent it from doing, whether any theory, true or false, would concede or deny such action as belonging to its essential nature.

“In thus defining it, it may be said, in the first place, that the state is a power claiming and exercising supreme jurisdiction over a certain portion of the earth. Here it acknowledges no superior unless it be God. It is the sovereign arbiter of life and death. It fixes the civil status ; it regulates the social action ; it determines, either directly or permissively, wholly or partially, according to

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\* This address is not included in the collected works of Webster. The passage above quoted is preserved from the newspaper reports of the day in Johnson's *Chaplains*, p. 55. In his oration on the landing at Plymouth, Mr. Webster said: “Government is made for man—man as a religious, moral, and social being.” (*Works of Webster*, vol. ii., p. 215; see also another fine passage in vol. i., p. 48.)



its sovereign pleasure, the rights, duties, and relations of all human beings within its territorial sway.

“The state assumes to determine the public good for which it exists, and for this end, true or false, claims the highest prerogatives of sovereignty, whether directly exercised or for any reasons held in abeyance. It is all there, either as an active or latent force. The state takes charge of the person and of the personal conduct. It defines crime. It makes its prohibitions and commands the measure of the lawful and the right. Hence, it raises or lowers, makes consistent or inconsistent, the standard of public morals, whether it disclaim any such intention or not. It employs force to an unlimited degree. It punishes by the infliction of pain to any amount it may deem necessary. It banishes, it imprisons, it puts to death.

“It is, however, enough for us here simply to present the picture of an omnipotent earthly power—a power of life and death, claiming unlimited and illimitable control over millions of human beings now existing, over generations yet unborn—determining, in fact, *how* they should be born, or under what conditions, with or without their consent, they should commence their individual earthly existence—above all, an *educating power*, educating by its laws and its political action, educating directly and positively by assuming to prescribe what shall be taught and what shall not be taught in the schools—a power that must, to a great extent, determine the social character, and fix the moral standard of an age, or of ages yet to come.

“Can such a power be neutral; can it be in a state of indifference in regard to a human interest so vital, so pervasive, so ineradicable, as that of religion? To every serious and intelligent mind the question would seem to

answer itself from the very force of the terms in which it is stated. There are, however, arguments drawn from both reason and experience, which put beyond all controversy the proof of such impossibility. Whatever difficulties, therefore, may be in the way of adjustment, we must prepare ourselves for the one side or the other of this dire alternative.

“The state must be for or against religion, for or against Christianity. That which may be called the mind or the disposition of the state, as exhibited in its legislation, its jurisprudence, its general political action, and, above all, in its claim to be an educating power, must have an attitude of friendship or hostility. It cannot avoid contact with this vital, all-pervading influence, and that contact must be one of amity or repulsion.”\*

The intimate and necessary connection of religion with the very foundation of a nation's life is thus set forth as a matter of purely philosophical investigation by such writers as Schelling, Hegel, and Max Müller: “It was Schelling, one of the profoundest thinkers of Germany, who first asked the question, What makes an *ethnos*? What is the true origin of a people? . . . Is it community of blood? I doubt it. Community of blood produces families, clans, possibly races, but it does not produce that higher and purely moral feeling which binds men together and makes them a people. It is language and religion that makes a people; but religion is even a more powerful agent than language. . . . The most signal confirmation of this view is to be found in the history of the Jews, the chosen people of God. The

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\* *Proceedings of Cincinnati National Reform Convention*, 1872, pp. 39, 40. This invaluable discussion by Dr. Lewis was afterward published in the *Princeton Review* for March, 1879.

language of the Jews differed from that of the Phenicians, the Moabites, and other neighboring tribes, much less than the Greek dialects differed from each other. But the worship of Jehovah made the Jews a peculiar people, the people of Jehovah, separated by their God, though not by their language, from the people of Chemosh (the Moabites), and from the worshippers of Baal and Ash-toreth. . . . A people, as Schelling says, exists only when it has determined itself with regard to its mythology. . . . Hegel, the great rival of Schelling, arrived at the same conclusion. In his *Philosophy of History* he says: 'The idea of God constitutes the general foundation of a people. Whatever is the form of a religion, the same is the form of a state and its constitution; it springs from religion, so much so that the Athenian and Roman states were possible only with the peculiar heathendom of those peoples, and that even now a Roman Catholic state has a different genius and a different constitution from a Protestant state.' '\*

"In affirming that the state is based on religion—that it has its roots in it—we virtually assert that the former has proceeded from the latter, and that this derivation is going on now and will always continue; *i. e.*, the principles of the state must be regarded as valid in and for themselves, which can only be in so far as they are recognized as determinate manifestations of the Divine Nature. The form of religion, therefore, decides that of the state and its constitution." †

Literature furnishes us with few examples of combined philosophy and eloquence, such as Père Hyacinthe's lecture on "Religion in the Life of Nations." This

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\* Max Müller's *Science of Religion* (New York edition of 1872), pp. 55-57.

† Hegel's *Lectures on the Philosophy of History* (Bohn's edition), p. 53.

gifted orator says: "I propose to prove that religion is the principle of national existence and prosperity. I shall do this in two ways: First, by a general view, showing, not so much by reasoning as by history, how nations are constituted by their soul, and that this soul itself is quickened by religion; and then, with a more impressive particularity, tracing the action of the religious principle into the midst of the passions of public life, when it wakens and sustains those two forces, the loss of which nothing else can make good—social justice and patriotic faith. . . . The soul of a people is, above all, its religion. . . . The school of opinion against which I am contending thinks that it finds in the United States an example and model of the separation of the religious and the national life. I do not know a more complete mistake. What is separated in the United States is the state and the church. . . . I am right, then, in saying, with our Holy Book, that righteousness is the salvation of nations, and that Christianity has for its mission upon earth to establish the kingdom of social as well as individual righteousness."\*

No better statements can be found with which to close this view of the philosophic basis of national Christianity than the words of Dr. Martensen, in his admirable treatise on Christian ethics: "No state can exist without moral ideas, which, in their turn, rest upon religious ideas, whether true or false. We define the Christian state as that whose fundamental moral ideas are determined by Christianity; as that which finds its most determining, therefore its supra-political impulses and ideas in the Christian view of life and of the world."

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\* *Father Hyacinthe's Discourses* (New York edition of 1869), pp. 57, 58, 64, 68.

“The inmost and deepest interest of humanity is not culture, but morality and religion. Humanity can neither be delivered from its limitations, nor come to a true knowledge of itself, without Christianity. . . . Moreover, every notion of humanity which is not the Christian one, is more or less affected with falsehood. Hence the truly humanistic state is one and the same with the Christian state.” “The necessity for the Christianization of states rests upon the circumstance that the state is the realm of external justice. But external justice cannot be carried out or administered without internal justice; in other words, without a religious and moral disposition, by which alone it can come to pass that the laws are obeyed not from fear of punishment, but for conscience’ sake.”\*

*Written and Unwritten Constitutions.*

The distinction between a written or enacted Constitution and an unwritten or vital Constitution has been carefully drawn by the ablest political writers.

“The more we examine the influence of human agency in the formation of political constitutions, the greater will be our conviction that it enters there only in a manner infinitely subordinate, or as a simple instrument; and I do not believe there remains the least doubt of the incontestable truth of the following propositions: 1. That the fundamental principles of political constitutions exist before all written law. 2. That constitutional law is, and can only be, the development or sanction of an unwritten pre-existing right.”†

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\* Martensen's *Christian Ethics*, 2d division, Social Ethics, pp 101, 98, 99.

† Works of De Maistre. *Essai sur le Principe Générateur des Constitutions Politiques* (Arras edition of 1874), p 41.

“No written constitution can exist *a priori* or have an *a priori* authority. There must have been an existing sovereignty to originate such constitutions.” “The possession of sovereignty being a fact, and not an effect of law, whatever written memorials or declarations of the rightfulness of any national sovereignty may exist, they can only proceed from itself, and they can only be taken as historical evidences of its existence.”\*

“The Constitution of the United States is twofold—written and unwritten; the constitution of the people, and the constitution of the government. The written constitution is simply a law ordained by the nation or people instituting and organizing the government; the unwritten constitution is the real or actual constitution of the people as a state or sovereign community, and constituting them such or such a state. It is providential, not made by the nation, but born with it. The written constitution is made and ordained by the sovereign power, and presupposes that power as already existing and constituted.”†

“By the constitution of a commonwealth is meant, primarily, its make-up as a political organism; that special adjustment of instrumentalities, powers, and functions by which its form and operations are determined. This is a constitution considered as an objective fact. Besides this, the term ‘constitution’ has a secondary meaning, which is, perhaps, more common than the one given, involving equally the conception of a system of political instrumentalities, powers, and functions, specially adjusted for the purposes of government, but conceived of, not as an objective fact, but as a systematic written state-

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\* Hurd's *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, vol. i., pp. 396, 397.

† Brownson's *American Republic*, p. 218.

ment of such a fact, in the shape of formulæ addressed to the understanding. In other words, a constitution in this secondary sense is the result of an attempt to represent in technical language some particular constitution, existing as an objective fact. This is a constitution as an instrument of evidence.”\*

“The constitution of the political people has a two-fold character: there is a real and a formal constitution. The one is the development of the nation in history, the historical constitution; the other is the formula which the nation prescribes for its order, the enacted constitution. The one is the organism; the other is the form for the organization of the nation. The one is in identity with the nation in its organic being—it is written only in the law in which the members are fashioned; the other is the method which the nation establishes for its jurisdiction, and the order to which the whole is to conform.”†

All these writers, while using each a somewhat peculiar terminology, point out essentially the same distinction. Whether we use the terms unwritten and written constitutions, or, constitution as objective facts and as instruments of evidence, or, the constitution of the nation and the constitution of its government, the essential point—the reality and necessity of the distinction—remains intact.

The relation which a written constitution sustains to the constitution of the nation for which it is framed, demands that the former shall give legal expression to the essential principles of the latter, and authoritative sanction to the distinctive fundamental features of the national life.

On this point Judge Jameson writes as follows: “When a people frame a constitution in the second sense [a con-

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\* Judge Jameson's *Constitutional Convention*, p. 66.

† Mulford's *Nation*, p. 144.

stitution as an instrument of evidence, or a written constitution of government], or make a law or treaty which becomes a part of such a constitution, what is the nature of their act? It is a translating into appropriate legal language, and a formal registering among the archives of the nation, stamped with the fiat which marks the national acquiescence and gives to it authenticity, of the constitution, or part of a constitution, which has in the progress of the nation and under the operation of its social forces, actually evolved itself as a fact.”\*

On the same point Mr. Mulford writes: “The formal constitution must correspond to the real.” “There can be no sacredness attaching to the abstract form, and neither devotion nor sacrifice for the constitution when it is regarded only as an abstract formula; it is sacred only in so far as it is affirmative of the law which is implicit in the nation, or as the life of the nation may be affected in its maintenance.” “The life of a people cannot be sacrificed for a political form or a political dogma.”†

What firmer philosophical basis could the National Reform Movement ask for its great work of securing an undeniably legal basis in our written Constitution for the Christian facts of our national life? For what is the character of the vital constitution of this nation, in reference to morals and religion? And what “is the moral and religious character of the written constitution of its government? Is the latter, as it now stands, the translation into legal language of the former? Does it authenticate the nation’s practical acquiescence in the actually evolved and long upheld and distinctive features of our national life? Does it give authoritative sanction to institutions which

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\* *The Constitutional Convention*, p. 71.

† *The Nation*, pp. 147, 146, 148.



largely form the vital constitution of the nation, evolved, as a fact, by its social forces? The vital constitution of this nation is and always has been unquestionably Christian.. This land was originally settled, not by colonies of infidels or atheists or pagans, but by bands of Christian people. Every American colony, as a matter of state duty, recognized the Christian religion. In every case it was Christian men who founded our civil institutions on the basis of Christianity. The Bible was everywhere the recognized standard of political morality. In the system of education projected by the colony of Massachusetts and imitated in other colonies, the Bible and the Christian religion was conspicuous. As Daniel Webster said, 'Our ancestors founded their government on morality and religious sentiment. They were brought hither by their high veneration of the Christian religion. They journeyed by its light; and labored in its hope. They sought to incorporate it with the elements of their society, and to diffuse its influences through all their institutions, civil, political, social, and educational.' '\*

"Now, turning to the written Constitution, we are confronted with the fact that it has not a corresponding Christian character. Whatever traces of Christianity or of a recognition of God good men may think they can find in it, it is notoriously the boast of the infidel and the atheist that in all questions concerning Sabbath laws, the Bible in the public schools, public fasts and thanksgivings appointed by the President, and all other similar questions, the Constitution is on their side. In two treaties made under the Constitution, and, according to its express provision, thus made part of the fundamental law of the land,

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\* *Webster's Great Orations*; "Oration on First Settlement of New England," p. 51; *Works of Webster*, vol. i., p. 48.

it is distinctly declared that "the government of the United States is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion."\*

"Here we have a direct violation of what we have already seen to be a fundamental principle of constitutional law—a non-Christian, or rather, as it necessarily proves in its practical working, an anti-Christian constitution of government for a Christian people. Here we have the anomaly of a nation distinctively Christian in its civilization and institutions, with Christianity, as Chancellor Kent and numerous other eminent judges have decided, as its common law, adopting a constitution of government by which Mohammedanism or any other false religion, or even atheism, is in effect held to be as closely related and as beneficial to our national life as the one true religion, the religion of Christ. Here we have a nation undoubtedly Christian in its vital constitution, and yet a written constitution of government for it which, instead of giving legal expression and authentication to the facts of its real character, formulates a principle never evolved as a fact by the social forces of the nation—the principle that the religion of Mussulmans, that infidelity and atheism, politically and nationally viewed, shall be placed on a perfect equality with Christianity."†

A non-Christian written Constitution and an unwritten Christian Constitution. These are the facts. Now, what is to be done? Let political science give the answer. And the answer is all the more striking and conclusive because it is not given in reference to any point in particu-

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\* *United States Statutes at Large*, vol. viii, pp. 154, 214.

† "Written and Unwritten Constitutions;" a paper by the writer of this Manual at the Pittsburgh National Reform Convention of 1869. See the same in the *Centennial of the American Constitution*, pp. 84, 85.

lar, but as a general principle, applicable to all points alike: "Not only may the people," says Judge Jameson, in such a case of want of correspondence, "but if they would insure peace with prosperity, they must by amendments cause the former to conform substantially to the latter."\*

Coming now to the second aspect of a nation's written constitution, political science teaches that it is "the fundamental law of the state, containing the principles on which the government is founded, and regulating the division of the sovereign powers, directing to what persons each of these powers is to be confided and the manner in which it is to be exercised. The constitution is made by the authority of the people themselves, . . . and can be changed only by the like power. The legislature, which is the creature of the constitution, cannot make any change in such fundamental law."†

Judge Jameson, with his customary clearness and fullness, thus distinguishes between a constitution or fundamental ordinance, and an ordinary law: "Ordinary laws are enactments and rules for the government of civil conduct, promulgated by the legislative authority of a state, or deduced from long established usage. It is an important characteristic of such laws that they are tentative, occasional, and in the nature of temporary expedients. Fundamental laws, on the other hand, in politics are expressions of the sovereign will in relation to the structure of the government, the extent and distribution of its powers, the modes and principles of its operation, and the apparatus of checks and balances proper to insure its

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\* *The Constitutional Convention*, p. 73.

† Bouvier's *Institutes*, vol. 1., pp. 9, 10. See also Duer's *Constitutional Jurisprudence*, p. 26; Cooley's *Constitutional Limitations*, p. 2.

integrity and continued existence. Fundamental laws are primary, being the commands of the sovereign establishing the governmental machine, and the most general rules for its operation. Ordinary laws are secondary ; . . . fundamental laws precede ordinary laws in point of time, and embrace the settled policy of the state.”\*

The application of this principle concerning fundamental law is the work of the National Reform Association. It regards the nation as sovereign under God, and the government as its agent. The nation speaks authoritatively in the Constitution on fundamental law, laying down principles and rules to govern its agent the government. A fundamental principle thus embodied in the Constitution is felt throughout the whole political structure erected upon it. The absence of a fundamental principle that ought to be there will also be powerfully felt. If ours is a Christian nation, born of Christian parentage, with a glorious inheritance of Christian institutions that we seek to preserve and pass down to children and children’s children, we should register our national Christian aim and purpose in our fundamental law as the only way of giving it authoritative expression, to make it permanently binding upon the national government and upon all State governments as well. This is what a written Constitution is for, in its very nature ; and if a Christian people will not thus embody their Christian principles of civil government in their organic law, as the supreme authoritative act of national life, they need not expect to remain a Christian people.

The logical effect of our national failure to express the Christian principles of government in our Constitution is

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\* *Constitutional Convention*, p. 83

thus admirably presented by Dr. T. P. Stevenson : " Most plausibly they [the enemies of our Christian laws and customs, such as Sabbath laws and the Bible in the schools] reason thus : ' The Constitution is our political covenant, on the terms of which we have united in forming the American government. In that Constitution there is no reference to any system of morality or religion, and, therefore, it is unfair to foist upon the government, in its administration, a religious character not agreed upon in our mutual covenant.' Or again they say : ' The Constitution is the charter of the government. It contains all the functions it may properly perform, all the powers it may ever exercise. The exercise of any religious function is, therefore, extra-constitutional, a clear departure from that secular sphere which alone is covered by the language of the Constitution. This departure may have been tolerated by general consent in the past, but it must cease whenever any party falls back, as we now do, on the letter of the Constitution, and demands strict adherence to its provisions.' . . . They have an argument in the silence of the Constitution, an argument which is strong in proportion to the overshadowing dignity and authority of that instrument, an argument which is used as a powerful lever to overturn the most cherished and important features of our institutions. We must wrest this argument from the unbeliever, or he will wrest from us every argument which defends our Christian institutions. We can no longer leave so precious, so vital a body of laws and usages as those which defend the Sabbath, Christian marriage, the sacred name of God, and the oath, exposed to the argument drawn from a Constitution which contains no utterance in their favor. We must throw around them the shield of constitutional provision, we must provide for

them a basis in our fundamental law, or they perish out of our life as a nation."\*

*Right of a Christian People to a Christian Government.*

A principle of political science too frequently ignored in our day and in our country is the right of society as against the so-called rights of the individual. True liberty, and that means both civil and religious liberty, regards the rights of the whole body as well as the rights of the constituent members of the social unit. Indeed, its chief regard must be for the former, inasmuch as the maintenance and security of these is essential to the maintenance and security of the latter. Dr. Francis Lieber, the eminent publicist already quoted on other important points, defining true liberty, says :

"It consists in the civil guarantees of those principles which are most favorable to a manly independence, and ungrudged enjoyment of individual humanity ; and *those guarantees which insure the people, meaning the totality of the individuals as a unit, or the nation*, against being driven from the pursuit of those high aims which have been assigned to it by Providence as a nation or as a united people. Where the one or the other is omitted, or exclusively pursued, there is no full liberty." †

If it is asked what the rights of society are, the answer is found in the words of the above extract—"the pursuit of those high aims which have been assigned to it by Providence as a nation." And if Providence, interpreted by the historical and documentary evidence given in the preceding chapter of this Manual, has assigned to America one high aim above all others, it is to maintain

\* *Proceedings of Cincinnati National Reform Convention*, pp. 59, 60.

† *Civil Liberty and Self-Government*, p. 56.

her Christian institutions of government. Our country has no enemies to be so greatly dreaded as those aggressors who, in the name of religious liberty and individual rights of conscience, are infringing upon the rights of a Christian people. If those men but knew it, in their assaults upon our national Christianity they are striking at the bulwarks of the nation's freedom, and destroying their own liberties. The National Reform Association is striving to prevent the nation from being driven from the high Christian aims assigned to it by Providence, and in this noble work it is the champion of the truest liberty. It would save those inherited institutions of national Christianity which have been given to the men who seek to strike them down, the very rights and privileges which they now enjoy, and of which, in their blindness, they would rob both themselves and others.

Judge Cooley, while vigorously defending religious freedom, and while making concessions that would embarrass the maintenance of our National Christianity, still holds that the civil authorities should not be restrained "from such solemn recognition of a superintending Providence in public transactions and exercises as the general religious sentiment of mankind inspires, and as seems meet and proper in finite and dependent beings. Whatever may be the shades of religious belief, all must acknowledge the fitness of recognizing in important human affairs the superintending care and control of the Governor of the universe, and of acknowledging with thanksgiving his boundless favors, or bowing in contrition when visited with the penalties of his broken laws. . . . Nor, while recognizing a superintending Providence, are we always precluded from recognizing also, in the rules prescribed for the conduct of the citizen, the notorious fact that the prevailing religion

in the States is Christian." "The same reasons of state policy which induce the government to aid institutions of charity and seminaries of instruction will incline it also to foster religious worship and religious institutions, as conservators of the public morals, and valuable, if not indispensable, assistants to the preservation of the public order."\*

The Supreme Court of Maine has given clear and strong expression to the right of the state as against that of the individual. Suit was brought by a scholar against the superintending school committee, who required the reading of the Bible by all the school. Judge Appleton held that a citizen is not absolved from obedience to rules and laws, "because they may conflict with his conscientious views of religious duty or right. To allow this would be to subordinate the state to the individual conscience. . . . With the laws dispensed with whenever they happen to come into collision with some supposed religious obligation, government would be perpetually falling short of the exigency."†

The Legislature of New York has borne a remarkable testimony to this principle of true religious liberty. Its act of April 11, 1842, intended to guard rights of conscience in connection with the Christian common schools, of which the origin was given in the preceding chapter, provides that "nothing herein contained shall authorize the Board of Education [of the city of New York] to exclude the Holy Scriptures, without note or comment, or any selections therefrom, from any of the schools provided for in this act."‡

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\* *Constitutional Limitations*, pp. 470, 471.

† *Donahoe vs. Richards*, 38 *Maine Reports*, pp. 379, 412.

‡ *Randall's History of the Common School System of the State of New York*, p. 138.



Free schools, free to the masses of the people, and free as seminaries of liberty, not of licentiousness, while they are not to be sectarian, are nevertheless not to be secular or godless, but Christian. To be and continue free, they must be Christian.

Summing up these principles of Christian political science we have :

1. The nation is a collective being, with moral character and accountability, directly responsible to the Author of its existence, God himself.

2. As such a moral being, a true moral person, it is under the moral law of the Supreme Ruler of nations, which includes both the law of nature and the Revealed Will of God.

3. The necessary aims of national life compel the nation, in its own proper sphere, as distinct from that of the church, to have regard to the moral laws of the Christian religion, and to base its action upon these or set itself against them.

4. The written constitution of a nation to which Providence has given an unwritten and vital Christian constitution, should correspond, in explicit terms, to that which it is designed to express and authenticate ; and the Christian principles which are fundamental to the nation's life should be embodied in fundamental law as the supreme rule, under God, of the government which the nation establishes as its agent.

5. Christianity, as " the perfect law of liberty " for nations as well as individuals, can infringe on no man's rights of conscience. In being true to this law, the nation best preserves its own rights and liberties, and those of all its citizens and subjects.

On this firm and sound philosophical basis, in har-

mony with all the highest names in the political science of every civilized land, the National Reform Movement finds its impregnable foundation.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE SCRIPTURAL BASIS OF THE MOVEMENT.

We have found a broad historical and documentary basis for our national Christianity. Back of that we have found a solid philosophical and scientific basis. Going a step farther, we come to the substructure that lies underneath all, and that is the foundation given in the Word of God.

Granting that the Bible is the revelation of the will of the Moral Governor of this world, we are constrained to accept its laws as authoritative in every department of human life. It would not be the perfect and adequate revelation of the will of God to our race if it did not give us all the principles of conduct in so important a department of human life as that of the state. And as a matter of fact, a large part of the Bible, especially the historical books of the Old Testament and the prophets, including the Apocalypse of the New Testament, together with important passages of the Psalms, Proverbs, the gospels and epistles, deals with the principles of political science. The political philosophy of the Bible is a subject never yet adequately treated. Nothing more than a general survey of this important field can be taken in a handbook like this.\* The teachings of Scripture are formu-

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\* See a series of Bible Readings on Civil Government prepared for the National Reform Department of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Pennsylvania; also a series of articles on the Relation of the State to Christ, by the writer of this Manual, in the *Christian Statesman* for January 16, January 30, and February 20, 1890.

lated in systematic order, and the passages from which these formulated truths are deduced are quoted in full, both for the confirmation of the deductions, and for the convenience of workers who may use this Manual.

*Scriptural Teaching as to the Origin and Nature of the Nation.*

1. God is the Author of all national life.

DEUTERONOMY 26 : 19.—“To make thee high above all nations which he hath made.”

PSALM 86 : 9.—“All nations whom thou hast made shall come and worship before thee, O Lord, and shall glorify thy name.”

ACTS 17 : 24-26.—“God that made the world and all things therein . . . hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth.”

2. God brings each particular nation into existence in its own time in the progress of the world's history.

ACTS 17 : 26.—“And hath determined the times before appointed.”

3. God gives to each nation its own rightful territory.

ACTS 17 : 26.—“And the bounds of their habitation.”

4. It is, therefore, God's prerogative, as the Just Ruler of nations, to take away national life, as well as to bestow and maintain it.

JEREMIAH 18 : 7-10.—“At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up and to pull down, and to destroy it : if that nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them. And at what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to build and to plant it : if it do evil in my sight, that it obey not my voice, then I will repent of the good wherewith I said I would benefit them.”

5. The nation, a being which God creates, and which he rewards for its righteousness, or destroys for its sins, is a moral being to which God has given supreme moral law.

DEUTERONOMY 6 : 1-3.—“ Now these are the commandments, the statutes and the judgments which the LORD your God commanded to teach you, that ye might do them in the land whither ye go to possess it : that thou mightest fear the LORD thy God, to keep all his statutes and commandments which I command thee, thou, and thy son, and thy son's son all the days of thy life ; and that thy days may be prolonged. Hear, therefore, O Israel, and observe to do it ; that it may be well with thee, and that ye may increase mightily, as the LORD God of thy fathers hath promised thee, in the land that floweth with milk and honey.”

DEUTERONOMY 8 : 1.—“ All the commandments which I command thee this day shall ye observe to do, that ye may live, and multiply, and go in and possess the land which the LORD sware unto your fathers.”

6. Civil government, the institution for the regulation and control of national life, is in its principle the ordinance of God, and is to be obeyed as such a divine ordinance.

ROMANS 13 : 1, 2.—“ Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God ; the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God.”

7. Civil government, in its framework or constitution, the distribution and arrangement of its powers, is the ordinance of man.

1 PETER 2 : 13, 14.—“ Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake : whether it be to the king, as supreme ; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well.”

Gathering up the above teachings of the Old and New Testaments, applying alike to the nation of the Jews and to the Gentile nations, we have what Christian political science teaches, as shown in the preceding chapter, in reference to the origin and nature of the nation. It is a moral being, born into the family of nations, in the providence of God, with a vital or unwritten constitution, its territorial possessions and its place in history determined by the Supreme Governor of nations, capable of obeying or disobeying the divine law of its being, both in reference to the written constitution, which it lays down for the direction of the government, its agent, and in reference to its entire conduct in its organic and collective character, and sure to be punished or rewarded accordingly.

The above passages also show conclusively that civil government is a divine ordinance, and that the state as an institution is founded in the nature of man. When God made man he made him a social being, with the principles of the family and the state in his nature. This is the foundation of the teachings of the authors in political science before quoted, who distinguish between commercial and other companies, or the artificial persons which are created by human law, and natural persons, the nations and states of international law, which are the creations of divine power.

Hence, just as the legal person deriving its corporate existence from the state is bound to acknowledge in its charter the political power which gives it existence, so the nation, which derives its being from God, and its authority from that ultimate and divine Source, is bound to acknowledge in its charter or fundamental law the Author of its being and Source of its authority.

*The Scriptures require Moral and Religious, not Ecclesiastical, Qualifications and Duties of Civil Officers.*

1. Civil rulers are ministers of God, deriving all just authority ultimately from him.

PROVERBS 8 : 15, 16.—“By me [the Personal Wisdom of God, or God in Christ] kings reign, and princes decree justice. By me princes rule, and nobles, even all the judges of the earth.”

ROMANS 13 : 4-6.—“For he [the civil magistrate] is the 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 the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience' sake. For, for this cause pay ye tribute also: for they are God's ministers, attending continually upon this very thing.”

2. Civil officers hold their trust from God, through the people, to protect and enforce right, and restrain and punish evil-doers.

See above, ROMANS 13 : 4-6. Also verse 3.—“For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same.”

1 PETER 2 : 13, 14.—“Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the king as supreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well.”

3. Hence, none but able, just, and God-fearing men should be exalted to the office of civil ruler.

EXODUS 18 : 21.—“Thou shalt provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness; and place such over them, to be rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens.”

2 SAMUEL 23 : 2, 3.—“The Spirit of the LORD spake by me, and his word was in my tongue. The God of Israel said, the Rock of Israel spake to me, He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God.”

4. When immoral men are elevated to the civil magistracy, wickedness and wicked men are encouraged.

PSALM 12 : 8.—“The wicked walk on every side, when the vilest men are exalted.”

5. Civil rulers are enjoined to learn Christ's law, and acknowledge and obey him as King.

PSALM 2 : 10-12.—“Be wise now, therefore, O ye kings: be instructed, ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him.”

6. They are required to consult God's revealed law as the great law-book of the nation.

DEUTERONOMY 17 : 18-20.—“And it shall be when he sitteth on the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book out of that which is before the priests the Levites: and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life: that he may learn to fear the LORD his God, to keep all the words of this law and these statutes, to do them; that his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left: to the end that he may prolong his days in his kingdom, he, and his children, in the midst of Israel.”

7. Just and God-fearing rulers bring the clear sunshine of peace and prosperity to a nation.

2 SAMUEL 23 : 3, 4.—“He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God. And he shall be as the light of the morning, when the sun riseth, even a morning without clouds; as the tender grass springing out of the earth by clear shining after rain.”



*The Scriptures Teach that Christ is Ruler of Nations.*

.. Jesus Christ as Mediator, has all power and universal dominion committed to him, which must include authority over nations.

MATTHEW 28 : 18.—“And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth.”

JOHN 5 : 22, 23.—“The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son; that all men should honor the Son even as they honor the Father. He that honoreth not the Son honoreth not the Father which hath sent him.”

ACTS 10 : 36.—“Jesus Christ, he is Lord of all.”

I CORINTHIANS 15 : 27.—“He [the Father] hath put all things under his [the Son's] feet.”

PHILIPPIANS 2 : 9-11.—“God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name; that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father.”

2. Various titles are given to Christ as Ruler of nations.

PSALM 22 : 28.—“The kingdom is the LORD's, and he is the governor among the nations.”

ISAIAH 33 : 22.—“The LORD is our judge; the LORD is our law-giver; the LORD is our king; he will save us.”

JEREMIAH 10 : 6, 7.—“There is none like unto thee, O LORD; thou art great, and thy name is great in might. Who would not fear thee, O King of nations? for to thee doth it appertain.”

I TIMOTHY 6 : 14, 15.—“Our Lord Jesus Christ, . . . who is the blessed and only Potentate, King of kings and Lord of lords.”

REVELATION 1 : 5.—“Jesus Christ, . . . the Prince of the kings of the earth;” chapter 17 : 14—“He is Lord of lords and King of kings;” chapter 19 : 16—“He hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS AND LORD OF LORDS.”

3. Christ actually rules as King of nations by punishing them for their violations of his law.

PSALM 2 : 1-5, 9.—“Why do the nations rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together against the LORD, and against his Anointed [literally, his Messiah, or his Christ], saying, Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us. He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh; the Lord shall have them in derision. Then shall he speak unto them in his wrath, and vex them in his sore displeasure. . . . Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel.”

PSALM 9 : 17.—“The wicked shall be turned into hell [sheol], and all the nations that forget God” [into their sheol, or national destruction].

PSALM 110 : 1, 2, 5, 6.—“The LORD said unto my Lord, sit thou on my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool. . . . Rule thou in the midst of thine enemies. . . . The Lord at thy right hand shall strike through kings in the day of his wrath. He shall judge among the nations.”

ISAIAH 60 : 12.—“The nation and kingdom that will not serve thee [the church of Christ; *i. e.*, that will not order their government in connection with the moral principles of the Christian religion] shall perish; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted.”

REVELATION 2 : 27.—“As the vessel of a potter shall they [rebellious nations] be broken to shivers: even as I received of my Father.”

REVELATION 19 : 11-15.—“In righteousness he doth judge and make war. His eyes were as a flame of fire, and on his head were many crowns. . . . And he was clothed with a vesture dipped in blood; and his name is called The Word of God. . . . And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations; and he shall rule them with a rod of iron; and he treadeth the winepress of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God.”

Compare also Leviticus 26 : 14-39; Deuteronomy 28 : 15-68; Judges 2 : 12-15; Isaiah 63 : 1-4; Revelation 6 : 15, 16. This truth stands out on every page of Bible history and prophecy.

#### 4. Christ rewards nations that obey him as their Ruler.

DEUTERONOMY 28 : 1-14.—“And it shall come to pass, if thou shalt hearken diligently unto the voice of the LORD thy God, to observe and to do all his commandments which I command thee this day, that the LORD thy God will set thee on high above all the nations of the earth : and all these blessings shall come on thee, and overtake thee, if thou shalt hearken unto the voice of the LORD thy God.” Blessed shalt thou be in the city, and blessed shalt thou be in the field. Blessed shall be the fruit of thy body, and the fruit of thy ground, and the fruit of thy cattle, the increase of thy kine, and the flocks of thy sheep. Blessed shall be thy basket and thy store. Blessed shalt thou be when thou comest in, and blessed shalt thou be when thou goest out. The LORD shall cause thine enemies that rise up against thee to be smitten before thy face : they shall come out against thee one way, and flee before thee seven ways. The LORD shall command the blessing upon thee in thy storehouses, and in all that thou settest thine hand unto ; and he shall bless thee in the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee. The LORD shall establish thee an holy people unto himself, as he hath sworn unto thee, if thou shalt keep the commandments of the LORD thy God, and walk in his ways. And all people of the earth shall see that thou art called by the name of the LORD ; and they shall be afraid of thee. And the LORD shall make thee plenteous in goods, in the fruit of thy body, and in the fruit of thy cattle, and in the fruit of thy ground, in the land which the LORD sware unto thy fathers to give thee. The LORD shall open unto thee his good treasure, the heaven to give the rain unto thy land in his season, and to bless all the work of thine hand : and thou shalt lend unto many nations, and thou shalt not borrow. And the LORD shall make thee the head, and not the tail ; and thou shalt be above only, and thou shalt not be beneath ; if that thou hearken unto the commandments of the LORD thy God, which I command thee this day, to observe and to do them ; and thou shalt not go aside from any of the words which I command thee this day, to the right hand, or to the left, to go after other gods to serve them.

PSALM 2 : 12.—“Blessed are all they [all nations and their rulers, as is clear from the preceding verses] that put their trust in him ” [in the Son, the Messiah or Christ].

PSALM 33 : 12.—“ Blessed is the nation whose God is the LORD ; and the people whom he hath chosen for his own inheritance.”

PSALM 144 : 11-15.—“ Rid me, and deliver me from the hand of strange children, whose mouth speaketh vanity, and their right hand is a right hand of falsehood ; that our sons may be as plants grown up in their youth ; that our daughters may be as corner stones, polished after the similitude of a palace ; that our garners may be full, affording all manner of store ; that our sheep may bring forth thousands and ten thousands in our streets ; that our oxen may be strong to labor ; that there be no breaking in nor going out ; that there be no complaining in our streets. Happy is that people that is in such a case ; yea, happy is that people whose God is the LORD.”

Compare also Leviticus 26 : 3-13 ; Deuteronomy 6 : 12-15 ; Proverbs 14 : 34.—This truth, the counterpart of the preceding, is also illustrated by the whole history of the Bible.

5. Christ provides for the pardon of nations that confess and forsake their sins.

LEVITICUS 26 : 40-42.—“ If they shall confess their iniquity, and the iniquity of their fathers, with their trespass which they trespassed against me, and that also they have walked contrary unto me, and that I have walked contrary unto them, and have brought them into the land of their enemies ; if then their uncircumcised hearts be humbled, and they then accept of the punishment of their iniquity ; then will I remember my covenant with Jacob, and also my covenant with Isaac, and also my covenant with Abraham will I remember, and I will remember the land.”

I KINGS 8 : 33, 34.—“ When thy people Israel be smitten down before the enemy, because they have sinned against thee, and shall turn again to thee, and confess thy name, and pray, and make supplication to thee in [or toward] this house ; then hear thou in heaven, and forgive the sin of thy people Israel, and bring them again unto the land which thou gavest unto their fathers.” (See also 2 Chronicles 6 : 24, 25.)

JEREMIAH 18 : 7, 8.—“ At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up, and to pull

down, and to destroy it; if that nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them."

JONAH 3 : 5-10.—"So the people of Nineveh believed God, and proclaimed a fast, and put on sackcloth, from the greatest of them even unto the least of them. For word came unto the king of Nineveh, and he arose from his throne, and he laid his robe from him, and covered him with sackcloth, and sat in ashes. And he caused it to be proclaimed and published through Nineveh by the decree of the king and his nobles, saying, Let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock, taste anything; let them not feed nor drink water; but let man and beast be covered with sackcloth and cry mightily unto God; yea, let them turn every one from his evil way, and from the violence that is in their hands. Who can tell if God will turn and repent, and turn away from his fierce anger, that we perish not? And God saw their works, that they turned from their evil way; and God repented of the evil that he had said that he would do unto them; and he did it not."

6. The Scriptures foretell the day when all nations shall acknowledge and obey Christ as their Ruler, and shall be blessed under his glorious reign.

PSALM 22 : 27.—"All the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the LORD; and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before thee."

PSALM 72 : 8, 11, 17.—"He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth. . . . Yea, all kings shall fall down before him; all nations shall serve him. . . . His name shall endure forever; his name shall be continued as long as the sun: and men shall be blessed in him; all nations shall call him blessed."

PSALM 86 : 9.—"All nations whom thou hast made shall come and worship before thee, O Lord, and shall glorify thy name."

ISAIAH 2 : 2-4.—"And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the LORD's house shall be established on the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it. And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the LORD, to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways,

and we will walk in his paths : for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the LORD from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people ; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks ; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

DANIEL 7 : 13, 14, 27.—" I saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him ; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed. . . . And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him."

REVELATION 11 : 15.—" And the seventh angel sounded ; and there were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ ; and he shall reign forever and ever."

The substance of the above teachings as to the relation of the nation to Christ is comprised in the actions of our national government, both during the revolutionary war and the war of the rebellion. The resolution of the United States Senate in 1863 (see p. 103), either directly acknowledges or clearly implies the following points : 1. Christ's rulership over nations ; 2. The punishments that justly come by violation of his law ; 3. The reward of national obedience to his authority ; 4. The way of pardon through him, by confession and reformation. Mere Deism was not sufficient for us in our national straits. That could not save us. We then felt our need of the Saviour, and were not ashamed to call upon him. And infidelity, atheism, and every other opponent of Christianity, were awed into silence, while a smitten people

looked to the one and only Mediator between God and man. The national homage that was due to Christ in that day of calamity, and that was so willingly rendered then, is due now and always, and should be rendered with equal alacrity in our days of peace and prosperity.

The National Reform Association will be satisfied with no aim short of the honor due to the royal person of Jesus Christ. It had its origin in loyalty and devotion to that Name which is above every name. It has gone forward steadfastly contending for his crown rights. Its prayer to him who is acknowledged King of the Church has ever been :

“Come, then, and, added to thy many crowns,  
Receive yet one, the crown of all the earth,  
Thou who alone art worthy.”

Its purpose is breathed in the hymn which is fittingly sung to the triumphant strains of “Coronation :”

“Bring forth the royal diadem  
And crown him Lord of all.”

Its motto, engraved on the hearts of its members as well as on its official seal, is, “Pro Christo et Patria,”  
“For Christ and Fatherland.”

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE BASIS OF THE MOVEMENT IN THE LAW OF SELF-DEFENSE.

Secularism in our country, as has been shown already, is the assailant. It is seeking the overthrow of existing institutions. It aims at the utter de-Christianizing of the state. Wherever there is a bond of connection between Christianity and the state or nation, it would ruthlessly sunder the tie. Nor have the efforts of the advocates of secularism been in vain. They have succeeded in banishing the Bible from the schools of a number of our large cities and smaller towns, and in repealing the Sabbath laws of one of our States. They have won to their side many Christian leaders. The National Reform Movement arrays the friends of Christian government on the defensive against these aggressions of secularism. It stands guard over what yet remains of the inheritance bequeathed to us by our fathers. How great the need is for this defensive movement will appear from a partial survey of the assault of the enemy.

The first clear manifestation of secularism in our national life was in the defeat of Franklin's motion for prayers in the Convention that framed the Constitution of the United States. (See p. 121.) Following consistently upon this was the completion of the work of the Convention in the framing of an instrument from which all acknowledgment of God was excluded. Justice Story's testimony, already cited, as to the intention of the mass of the American people in adopting the Constitution,



is unquestionably true. Yet there were many members of the Convention, and many more throughout the country, who accepted the secular theory as to our nation. Luther Martin, a member of the Convention from Maryland, in his letter to the Legislature of his State, giving an account of the formation of the instrument, says: "There were some members so unfashionable as to think that a belief of the existence of a Deity, and of a state of future rewards and punishments, would be some security for the good conduct of our rulers, and that, in a Christian country, it would be at least decent to hold out some distinction between the professors of Christianity and downright infidelity or paganism."\*

Next followed the two Tripolitan treaties, which, according to Article VI. of the Constitution, were a part of the supreme law of the land, in both of which the Christian character of our government was explicitly denied. One of them reads: "The government of the United States of America is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion; it has in itself no character of enmity against the laws, religion, or tranquillity of Musselmans."†

This denial of all Christian character to our government was, of course, based on the written Constitution. In harmony with this, as thus interpreted, Thomas Jefferson, when President, repeatedly refused to appoint a day of national fasting and prayer, notwithstanding all the precedents in the administration of the government by his predecessors, on the express ground that he was prohibited from such official acknowledgment of religion by the Constitution: "I have long wished to find occasion of

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\* Elliott's *Debates*, vol. i., pp. 385, 386.

† Article XI. of Treaty with Tripoli, dated January 3, 1797. See United States Revised Statutes (edition of 1875), p. 756.

saying why I do not proclaim fasts and thanksgivings as my predecessors did. . . . I know it will give great offense to the New England clergy ; but the advocate of religious freedom is to expect neither peace nor forgiveness from them." "I consider the government of the United States as interdicted by the Constitution from intermeddling with religious institutions."\*

This brings us down to the famous controversy about the United States mail on the Lord's Day. Post offices in the large towns were gradually opened about the beginning of this century, largely during Jefferson's administrations, for a part of the Sabbath. This was simply a matter of local arrangement. The law neither required nor prohibited it. In 1810 Congress passed an elaborate "act regulating the post office establishment," providing "that every postmaster shall keep an office, in which one or more persons shall attend on every day on which a mail, or bag, or other packet or parcel of letters shall arrive, by land or water, as well as on other days, at such hours as the postmaster-general shall direct, for the purpose of performing the duties thereof; and it shall be the

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\* *Jefferson's Works*, vol. iv., p. 427; vol. v., p. 236. Frequently, however, Mr. Jefferson officially acknowledged God, and even urged the nation to join with himself in the duty of prayer: "I shall need, too, the favor of that Being in whose hands we are, who led our forefathers, as Israel of old, from their native land, and planted them in a country flowing with all the necessaries and comforts of life; who has covered our infancy with his providence, and our riper years with his wisdom and power; and to whose goodness I ask you to join with me in supplications, that he will so enlighten the minds of your servants, guide their councils, and prosper their measures, that whatsoever they do shall result in your good, and shall secure to you the peace, friendship, and approbation of all nations." (Close of second Inaugural, March 4, 1805, *Statesman's Manual*, vol. i., p. 176.) See also the first Inaugural and several Messages to Congress. In the beautiful words quoted from the second Inaugural the President gave utterance to the sentiments of the American people, being pressed by the occasion and circumstances to what he might not otherwise have spoken.

duty of the postmaster, at all reasonable hours, on every day of the week, to deliver, on demand, any letter, paper, or packet, to the person entitled to or authorized to receive the same."\*

Soon after the war of 1812 petitions were presented to Congress for the correction of the evil, and a respectful report was made by the postmaster-general; but the plea of public convenience prevailed, and the evil rapidly grew worse. The act of Congress of March 3, 1825, "reducing into one the several acts establishing and regulating the post office department," reaffirmed the duty of every postmaster to deliver mail matter "at all reasonable hours on every day of the week."† Following this enactment was the legitimate fruit of a vast increase in Sabbath desecration. A document of that period says: "In many towns, both large and small, the post office is so located as to attract crowds of idlers, who do not pretend to any plea of necessity. The young, if they have not pious parents or guardians, are led, by this public and authorized show of business, to disregard the Sabbath."‡

At length, in December, 1828, a large and influential committee, representing different religious denominations, was appointed in New York, and an invitation was sent forth to Christian citizens all over the country to co-operate in an effort to arrest Sabbath desecration, and petitions were poured into both branches of Congress for the enactment of a law, or for some effective measure, by which the transportation of the mail and the delivery of letters on

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\* Story's *Laws of the United States*, vol. ii., p. 1158. Act of April 30, 1810, Section 9.

† *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 1988. Section 11 of the Act of 1825.

‡ *An Account of Memorials presented to Congress*. Pages 3, 4. New York, 1829.

the Lord's Day should be prohibited. These petitions came in large numbers from the Southern States.

Both Houses of Congress adopted reports on these petitions, justifying and continuing the carrying and distribution of the mail, on the ground that the United States government is purely secular. The entire report, submitted in the Senate by Col. Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, and adopted January 19, 1829, is an attack upon the Christian idea of the obligation of the Sabbath. The following year the same gentleman submitted a report in the House of Representatives, adopted March 5, in which the secular theory of government is again set forth as the justification of the transportation and delivery of the mail.\*

Such acceptance and defense of secularism by the national government was sure to tell upon the States. Only two examples of this unhappy influence will be cited here. The recent tragic death of Judge Terry, of California, recalls one of them. When he was Chief Justice of that State a case came before the Supreme Court during the April term, 1858, in which the main question was the enforcement of the Sabbath law of the commonwealth. The Sabbath law was pronounced unconstitutional on the same secular ground on which Congress had refused to prevent the desecration of the Lord's Day. Chief Justice Terry held that the enforcement of the Sabbath law of the State was a discrimination in favor of Christians, and a violation of the religious freedom of others; and that "the legislature has no right to forbid or enjoin the lawful pursuit of a lawful occupation on one day of the week, any more than it can forbid it alto-

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\*See *Journal of Senate* under date of January 19, 1829, and *Journal of House* under date of March 5, 1830.

gether." In the same case Judge Burnett held that "there can be no higher law for this court than the Constitution; and in determining this question of constitutional construction, we must forget, as far as in us lies, that we are religious or irreligious men. . . . The Constitution of this State will not tolerate any discrimination or preference in favor of any religion; and, so far as the common law conflicts with this provision, it must yield to the Constitution. Our constitutional theory regards all religions, *as such*, equally entitled to protection, and all equally unentitled to any preference."\*

The second of these instances in our States is the celebrated school case in Ohio. The Superior Court of Cincinnati had sustained an injunction restraining the School Board of the city from prohibiting the reading of the Bible and the use of the Lord's Prayer and Christian songs in the common schools. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the State, and the injunction was dissolved. This decision was based on the gravest perversion of the meaning of the clause in the Ohio Constitution taken from the old Congressional Ordinance for the government of the territory of the northwest. The word "religion" in that Ordinance and in the Constitution of Ohio meant nothing else in the minds of the framers of those instruments than Christianity. Yet Judge Welch had the hardihood to deny this. He said: "If by this generic word 'religion' was really meant 'the Christian religion' or 'Bible religion,' why was it not plainly so written?"

Let friends of Christian government note this, and learn the necessity of a clear, express, and unequivocal acknowledgment of Christianity in our fundamental law,

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\* *Ex parte Newmann*, 9 *California Reports*, pp. 502-512.

if they would retain our Christian institutions of State and nation.

But Judge Welch proceeds: "The same word 'religion,' and in much the same connection, is found in the Constitution of the United States. The latter Constitution at least, if not our own also, in a sense, speaks to *mankind*, and speaks of the rights of *man*. Neither the word 'Christianity,' 'Christian,' nor 'Bible' is to be found in either. When they speak of 'religion,' they must mean the religion of man, and not the religion of any class of men."\*

All such official action as the above is in perfect harmony with the avowed sentiments of the enemies of Christian institutions. The principles of the following examples of secularism are more coarsely expressed, but are the same in substance as in the official acts cited. Said a secularist orator: "Free Germans and citizens of America, let us join hand in hand with all other free citizens around us, to oppose a law [the Sabbath law of New York] which is unjust, and an infringement on our sacred liberty. The Sunday laws are only the tools used by cliques of politicians to further their own ambitious ends in opposition to the interests of mankind. They are upheld in the sacred name of religion. We all have our own views of religion, and we mean to keep them without infringement or being forced to adopt those of other men. We honor all days, and consider what is right to be done on one day is right to be done on another. Men should be left to the exercise of their own judgment in regard to the way they spend their time. If they wish pleasure, let them have it; if they wish social enjoyment

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\* Board of Education *vs.* Minor *et al.*, 23 *Ohio State Reports*, p. 246.

and enlivening music, let them have it. This is freedom."\*

Again, an avowed secularist newspaper thus elegantly discourses: "As frogs in the swamp from time to time raise their heads and fill the air with their melodious croaking, and then sink back into their slimy element, so the Sunday-saints raise their heads up and down out of the swamp of their church creed, and croak, 'Sanctify the Sabbath! Desecrate not the Day of the Lord!' Such a frog-concert was held on Friday afternoon before the Commissioners of Police, to whom a delegation of frog-heads presented a memorandum, in which an earnest protest was made against the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sunday, and the faithful execution of the Sunday laws was demanded."†

That political secularism or political atheism † roots itself naturally in infidelity and irreligion needs no further proof than the following recent utterances of the most notorious scoffer and atheist in America: "The government of the United States is secular. It derives its power from the consent of man. It is a government with which God has nothing whatever to do—and all forms and customs inconsistent with the fundamental fact that the people are the source of authority, should be abandoned. In

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\* Report of meeting, in *New York Spectator*, September 13, 1859.

† *New Yorker Demokrat*, May 30, 1859. The above extracts are given in the *Princeton Review* for October, 1859, pp. 735, 736.

‡ The word "secularism" means a system which belongs to this world of time and sense, without any reference to another world or a Divine Spirit. Hence, that the secular theory of government is political atheism needs only to be stated to be proved. This is openly avowed by candid secularists: "The state is atheistic, and the school of the state should therefore be atheistic like the state itself." (*L'Instruction du Peuple*. Par Emile de Laveleye. Paris, 1872, p. 50.) Yet with strange inconsistency this author approves the common schools of the United States, which, he says, are "unsectarian" and not "godless." (Page 52.)

this country there should be no oaths—no man should be sworn to tell the truth, and in no court should there be any appeal to any Supreme Being. A rascal by taking the oath appears to go in partnership with God, and ignorant jurors credit the firm instead of the man. A witness should tell his story, and if he speaks falsely should be considered as guilty of perjury. Governors and presidents should not issue religious proclamations. They should not call upon the people to thank God. It is no part of their official duty. It is outside of and beyond the horizon of their authority. There is nothing in the Constitution of the United States to justify this religious impertinence.

“For many years priests have attempted to give to our government a religious form. Zealots have succeeded in putting the legend upon our money, ‘In God we Trust,’ and we have chaplains in the army and navy, and legislative proceedings are usually opened with prayer. All this is contrary to the genius of the Republic, contrary to the Constitution of the United States. We have taken the ground that the people can govern themselves, without the assistance of any supernatural power. We have taken the position that the people are the real and only rightful source of authority. We have solemnly declared that the people must determine what is politically right and what is wrong, and that their legally expressed will is the supreme law. This leaves no room for national superstition—no room for patriotic gods or supernatural beings—and this does away with the necessity for political prayers.”\*

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\* The *Arena* for January, 1890, pp. 124, 125. The utter worthlessness of this superficial skeptic's historical statements is illustrated by the following sentences from this same article: “In 1776 our fathers endeavored to retire the gods from politics. . . . They appealed from the providence of God to the providence of



This secular or anti-Christian theory of civil government reaches its full logical development in

*The Demands of Liberalism :*

“ 1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

“ 2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

“ 3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

“ 4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished ; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

“ 5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States, or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

“ 6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be

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man.” Let the reader turn to pp. 69 to 80 of this Manual and judge of the value of these flippant utterances in the light of the facts of that period of our nation's history. That very year our fathers called on God in earnest prayer both in Congress and throughout the Colonies, and at the request of Congress, confessed their sin, sought pardon “ through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ,” and in the Declaration of Independence expressed their “ firm reliance on the protection of DIVINE PROVIDENCE.” The only value such reckless and frothy writings as this article in the *Arena* can have is to show the logic of secularism, and drive all lovers of the truths of our historical Christianity who may doubt the wisdom of all the aims of the National Reform Association to the full acceptance of its platform and heartier co-operation in its work.

abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

“7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

“8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of ‘Christian’ morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

“9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.”

Associations have been formed in many cities and towns for the furtherance of these demands, and on the 4th of July, 1876, a National Congress of representatives from these societies assembled in the city of Philadelphia, and organized the “National Liberal League.” We quote from its Constitution :

“WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States, from beginning to end, in spirit and in letter, is framed in accordance with the principle of the total separation of church and state; and the Treaty with Tripoli, signed by George Washington as a part of the supreme law of the land, declares emphatically that ‘the government of the United States is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion;’ and

“WHEREAS, Notwithstanding these facts, the administration of the national government, and the adminis-

trations and Constitutions of the several State governments, maintain numerous practical connections of the state with the church, thereby violating the spirit of the United States Constitution and the glorious traditions which dedicate this country exclusively to the natural rights of man ; . . .

“ *Therefore*, We, the members of the Centennial Congress of Liberals, convened at Philadelphia from July 1 to July 4, 1876, hereby associate ourselves together as a permanent organization, and adopt the following constitution :

“ARTICLE I. The name of this Association shall be ‘The National Liberal League.’

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“ARTICLE III. The specific objects of the National Liberal League shall be . . . 2. To advocate the equitable taxation of church property ; the total discontinuance of religious instruction and worship in the public schools ; the repeal of all laws enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath ; the cessation of all appropriations of public funds for religious institutions or purposes of any kind ; the abolition of State-paid chaplaincies ; the substitution of simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury for the judicial oath ; the non-appointment of religious fasts, festivals, and holidays by public authority ; the practical establishment of simple morality and intelligence as the basis of purely secular government and the adequate guaranty of public order, prosperity, and righteousness ; and whatever other measures or principles may be necessary to the total separation of church and state.”

The resolutions adopted at this Congress protested against the proclamation of President Grant inviting the

people to celebrate the 4th of July in the Centennial year by religious observances; against the closing of the International Exhibition on the Sabbath; against the avowed endeavor of the government to "Christianize the Indians," and against the motto "In God we Trust" on the national coins, and recommended the bust of Thomas Paine for permanent preservation in Independence Hall.

The most deplorable aspect of this assault of the secular theory of government on our Christian institutions, however, is the fact that so many professing Christians have been led to join the ranks of the assailants. It seems almost incredible that men who accept the moral laws of the Christian religion, and who desire to honor Christ as King, can so far ignore our history as a nation founded on Christian truth, and be so blind both to the teachings of sound political science, and the inevitable logic of secularism, as to strike hands with the aggressive movement that cannot rest till it accomplishes the utter de-Christianizing of our institutions.

We might be less surprised if only such men as Horace Greeley, who claimed to be a liberal Christian, espoused the gospel of secularism. Yet it was sad to hear so earnest a patriot as he was say: "We deny that this is a Christian nation. France, Spain, Russia, Austria, Mexico, Portugal, Brazil, etc., *are* Christian nations, no matter how many of their people may be non-Christians; this country is *not* Christian, though a majority of its inhabitants probably are. 'Almighty God' is *not* the 'source of all authority and power' in our government; the people of the United States *are* such source. . . . The Federal Constitution is based on the idea that religious faith is a purely personal matter, with which civil governments have properly nothing to do, and with which

they cannot meddle without doing far more harm than good.”\*

But thoroughly evangelical and orthodox Christians have been carried away by the shallow sophistries of secularism. For example, Dr. S. T. Speer, in his book on *Religion and the State*, says: “So far as the national government is concerned, ‘the people of the United States,’ considered as a body politic, have no religion to teach, no doctrine of God to promulgate, and no form of worship to sustain or enforce. Their Constitution is purely secular in its objects, and its authority entirely human, with out any pretense of divine right.”

Speaking of the Tripolitan Treaty, this writer says: “The language of this article in the treaty was used for a purpose, and that purpose was in exact correspondence with the fact contained in the Constitution itself. Christianity, though the prevalent religion of the people when the Constitution was adopted, is unknown to it. The Constitution says that it shall be unknown as having any place in the organic law of the United States or in the legislative powers of Congress.”

The civil authority with us, he affirms, “proposes a *secular* education, and that only—an education that would be needful and useful in this life, if there were no God and no future for the human soul.”†

One of the most injurious concessions to this spirit of secularism was that of the eminent Christian educator, Dr. Theodore D. Woolsey, ex-President of Yale College, at the Conference of the Evangelical Alliance in New York in 1873. In a paper on the “Relations of Constitution and Government in the United States to Religion,”

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\* *New York Daily Tribune*, March 7, 1865.

† *Religion and the State*, pp. 210, 211, 53.

he said: "The Constitution of the United States has properly nothing to do with religion. If the people were Mohammedans under the same Constitution, similar departures in minor points from the principle of absolutely ignoring a particular religious faith would be possible." "If the people should all turn Mohammedans or Mormons, what material change would be needed in the laws, except in those relating to the marriage union and to the division of estates? . . . The law has as little to do with Christianity, and Christianity with the law, as possible."\*

How different a view of national life is this from that of such thinkers as Mulford and Bluntschli and Stahl! Dr. Woolsey's statements are but too true as to the written Constitution of the United States; but what student of history can be so blind as to think for a moment that in our unwritten and vital constitution, our body of laws and judicial decisions and authoritative customs and usages, we could be what we are from any other than a

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\* *Proceedings of Evangelical Alliance Conference of 1873*, pp. 523, 528. Many of the friends of our National Christianity have been greatly disappointed in the influence of the Evangelical Alliance on the momentous social problems of our land and day. Its platform and the volumes of its proceedings have been open to the repeated assaults of secularism on our Christian institutions, while the principles set forth in this Manual have been granted a most inadequate hearing. At the Conference in Boston, in the fall of 1889, Dr. Greer, of New York, said: "No system of education is complete unless it teach morality; if it teach morality, it must teach religion; if it teach religion, it must teach the Christian religion. But just here is the difficulty. The state in this country cannot give that religious nurture: it has no right to give it; it does not belong within its scope to give it. And although it is of the first importance that it should be given, it is also of the first importance that the state should not give it." And not a man in the Conference met this secularism with the true idea of the nature and functions of the state as a moral being, with moral aims and objects, and moral authority to define and punish crime, and to train its rising youth for the moral duties of American citizenship. Let Dr. Greer and other secularists of the Evangelical Alliance ponder these questions: Has the state the right to administer an oath? What is the oath, but an appeal to God? How shall multitudes of American youth know the nature and obligation of an

Christian origin or for any other than a Christian people? Our laws are adapted to protect Mohammedans and all other men in their rights, just because we are Christian and Protestant. It would be a world-wide change that would adapt our schools, and State Constitutions, and criminal law, and the whole texture of our life as determined by the one fact of the Christian Sabbath, to say nothing of the oath and other features of the common law, to a Mohammedan people.

It is most gratifying to be able to state that the two Americans who stood up in that Conference to vindicate our country before assembled Christendom were the Hon. Felix R. Brunot and the Rev. Dr. T. P. Stevenson, the President and the Corresponding Secretary of the National Reform Association. Mr. Brunot said that he counted it the chief honor of his life to be the President of a society organized to maintain the many Christian features of our national life, and to correct the lamentable defect in the written Constitution which leads so many to misunderstand and misrepresent American institutions.\*

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oath, if the state does not teach them? What right has the state to administer an oath to witnesses or jurors or civil officers, or to punish the crime of perjury, if it has no right to teach the moral and religious ideas bound up in the divine ordinance of the oath? Before the Evangelical Alliance can be a great power for good in the moral conflicts that are now upon us in our social and political life, it must have an infusion of the sound Christian political science of such writers as are quoted in the fourth chapter of this Manual. What seems almost inexplicable folly is the fact that an organization with the special object in view of counteracting the influence of Romanism should depreciate the strategic position from which alone that subtle and powerful foe can be vanquished in its attempt to destroy our common schools. Let our State schools be secularized, and they must give way to private schools, and then Rome with her parochial schools will triumph in her present struggle. The most hopeful sign for the future of the Alliance is the recent testimony of its Secretary, Dr. Strong, to the necessity of moral and religious education by the state.

\* *Proceedings of Evangelical Alliance Conference of 1873*, p. 32, where an imperfect report of the facts is given.

At an ecclesiastical extreme from Dr. Woolsey is Dr. W. R. Huntington, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, an opponent of Puritanism. This writer, unlike Bishop F. D. Huntington, with whom he must not be confounded, and whose *Divine Aspects of Human Society* he would do well to study, thinks that civil government is a "secular machine;" and that the true solution of "the American Problem" is for the state to secularize human life as thoroughly as possible so that the church may more earnestly labor to spiritualize and ennoble it. "Under such circumstances," he adds, "we need not feel obliged to call the state atheistic any more than we call a Jacquard loom atheistic. The state is simply non-Christian, that is all."\*

In the case of this author, as in that of Dr. Woolsey, the secularism of the written Constitution has so beclouded the mental vision as to shut out from view the historical and philosophical basis and elements of the nation's life. Dr. Huntington is right in saying: "Our government rests in theory . . . upon a purely secular basis. . . . Christ and his religion are alike unknown to that instrument which alone gives the government its authority—the Constitution of the United States." And when we reflect upon the mighty educating power of our written fundamental law, and its constant operation in molding the national life into its own likeness, we cannot read his further words without alarm: "These vestiges of Christianity, as we may call them [our Christian institutions of government], are printed on the sand. The tide has only to crawl up a few inches farther to wash them clean away. There is nothing in the theory of the

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\* *The Church Idea*, p. 135.



Republic that makes such usages an essential part of the national life. They rest for the most part upon the precarious tradition of colonial days; or if on statute law, what is statute law but the creature of temporary majorities? . . . They are not the natural fruit of our system; they are but reminders of an old order of things that has passed away—fossils imbedded in the rock on which the existing structure stands. One by one they will probably be chipped out and set aside as curiosities.”\*

These citations, which might be indefinitely multiplied from Christian editors and ministers of the gospel of the Christ, the anointed King, demonstrate our danger. Multitudes of Christian citizens are hostile to our Christian institutions of government. Many more, though not hostile, are ashamed or afraid to avow or manifest their friendship. Secularism, the creed of modern rationalistic Judaism and infidelity generally, and atheism, disguised under the name of “liberalism,” and powerfully supported, as Dr. Martensen says, “by the declension which has appeared in Christendom itself, and by all that folly and baseness so plentifully found among Christians,”† threatens to destroy our national inheritance. Christian patriots cannot act too promptly nor too earnestly. With this conviction, the National Reform Association calls upon all who would stem the tide of secularism and save our Christian civil inheritance, to active co-operation in its patriotic work.

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\* *The Church Idea*, pp. 127-129.

† Martensen's *Christian Ethics* (social), p. 108.

## CHAPTER VII.

### OBJECTIONS TO THE MOVEMENT.

Many of the objectors to the cause of National Reform frankly concede its principles. Others imply the same concession. The radical objectors deny the principles of Christian civil government. As the preceding chapters furnish the substance of a sufficient answer to nearly every objection that has ever been raised, only a few leading objections will be more fully answered here.\*

#### *The Alarm Cry of "Church and State."*

Perhaps the best way to meet this is to probe the objector to the quick at once. He is probably a secularist, and it is well to demonstrate this. We may ask him, then, if the use of the oath, the Bible in the schools, our Sabbath laws, our laws against profanity and blasphemy, constitute a union of church and state. This will bring the whole matter to a speedy test. If he is a secularist, the fact will appear, and we shall know then how to deal with our objector. If he admits the propriety of these practical acknowledgments of God and religious truth by the civil power, he cannot consistently oppose the National Reform cause. If he still insists that the inserting of religious or theological ideas into the Constitution is the union of church and state to which he specially objects; the question is then in order as to the acknowledgments of

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\* For a pretty full consideration of all classes of objections, see *National Reform Document*, No. 4, for January, 1888, or *Christian Statesman Series*, No. 6, by the writer of this Manual.

God in our State Constitutions. Are these proper or not? Do these connect our States or Commonwealths with the church? If not, how could they effect such a union if found in the fundamental law of the nation?

A Christian secularist is the one who is logically driven to the union of church and state. He is forced to join hands with the advocates of ecclesiastical establishments. He forbids the state itself having anything to do with religion. Yet he believes Christianity essential to human welfare.\* The state is incompetent to give her citizens what is essential to her own prosperity and perpetuity. She must, therefore, go to the Christian Church and have that organization do what the state herself cannot do, but must have done in her imperative need. This is union of church and state. It is the church doing the work that is essential in the sphere of the state itself.

Multitudes of those who raise the cry of "church and state" do not know what would constitute such a union. A good way to deal with them is to ask them what this union means. Let them explain themselves, and their blundering attempts at explanation will often need no further answer. Any intelligent objector who comprehends what is meant will admit that to form such a union there must be the establishment of some ecclesiastical organization, as in England or Germany, where the Erastian principle subjects the church to the state; or on the other hand, the subjection of the civil power to the control of an ecclesiastical pontiff or council, as Romanism demands. Union of church and state is some mingling of civil and ecclesiastical offices and functions. The National Reform Association maintains the independence

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\* See extract from Dr. Greer's Evangelical Alliance address in note on page 168.

of each. The Bible is the supreme law of each in its own sphere. The church may not usurp civil functions; nor may the state usurp ecclesiastical functions. The state must confine itself to the sphere of maintaining rights and doing justice among men. But to do this it must be guided by the law of the righteous Ruler of nations; and for itself, and not through any church, it must acknowledge its Divine Ruler, and the moral principles of his law, revealed both in nature and the Scriptures, that apply to its distinctive sphere and functions. This is its own religion. This is national Christianity. And this is the best possible safeguard against the intermingling of civil and ecclesiastical offices and functions, or the union of church and state.

Another practical and pointed way of answering this stale objection is by asking, What church? Is it the Methodist? or the Protestant Episcopal? or the Baptist? or the Presbyterian? or the Congregationalist? or the Unitarian? Some church as a visible organization must be in view, if there is to be an actual union with the state. It should be enough to silence any reasonable objector to remind him that members of all the above and many more churches co-operate most cordially in the National Reform work. They could not thus harmoniously labor if the union of the state with any church were sought. They do not wish it for their own church, nor apprehend it as to any other. They labor in this cause not so much as church members, as in the character of Christian citizens, striving to bring their beloved country to the high standard of the law of the King of kings in the sphere of its own national life. They do not desire to have any church principle or any ecclesiastical dogma embodied in the Constitution or wrought into the nation's life. But they do

seek to have the politico-moral principles of Christianity made the basis of all our legislation and administration in the affairs of State and nation.

*Rights of Conscience.*

Quite as loud or even louder than the alarm of "church and state" is the cry of "infringement of rights of conscience." Here, again, it may be well to use the Socratic probe. What are meant by rights of conscience? and what is an infringement of them? Has any citizen a right of conscience to object to the thanksgiving proclamations by our President and State Governors? Has he a right of conscience to object to the employment at government expense of Christian ministers to pray in Congress or State Legislatures? A certain citizen doesn't believe in these things. Must they be abandoned as an infringement of his rights? The name of God in our State Constitutions offends him. Is this an infringement of his rights of conscience? Such questions will scratch and show the secularist Tartar, in which case we shall know again just where the controversy lies.

But if it is conceded that the above and other similar acknowledgments and acts of the civil power do not constitute infringements of rights of conscience, the ground is swept away from under the objector's feet. He admits in substance, with the authorities quoted in this Manual, that the state itself has rights no less than the individual. She has a right to her Sabbath laws and her laws against blasphemy. She has a right to Christian common schools. For her own welfare she must maintain such institutions, whatever objectors may say to the contrary. She has her own duty to God and his law, and no plea of right of

conscience by infidel or atheist may turn her from her own right and duty.

But suppose this high-sounding claim of rights of conscience were granted—repeal our Sabbath laws; abolish the oath; banish the Bible from all our schools; hush the devout aspirations of prayer in Congress and State Legislatures; discontinue all national and State calls to thanksgiving and prayer—do all this, and more than this, in deference to this plea of rights of conscience;—would the difficulty be ended? would the problem be solved? would no individual rights of conscience now be infringed upon? What about Christian citizens who believe that they have a right to a quiet Sabbath? What about citizens who believe with Washington that the oath is essential to our courts of justice; that rights of property and character and even life itself demand for their maintenance the solemn appeal of witness and juror and judge to God himself, as answer shall be made to him in the judgment of the great day? Are there no rights involved on this side of the question? Is there not an overwhelming majority of our citizens whose most sacred and precious rights would be wantonly and impiously trampled under foot by a government administered on the basis of the godless political creed of modern secularism?

And whither would this cry lead us? Roman Catholics claim that our common schools are an infringement of their rights of conscience. Must we therefore destroy the most magnificent system of public instruction on the face of the earth? The war power of the National Constitution is opposed to the conscientious convictions of thousands of our best citizens. Shall we disband our small army, scuttle our iron-clads, and level our forts to the ground? Shall we reimburse to the tax-payers the

vast sums expended by our war and navy departments? The consciences of multitudes are grievously oppressed by capital punishment. Shall we therefore forbid the execution of the murderer? In a word, shall we have the mis-called freedom of the French Revolution, which proves itself to be anarchy, or shall we have the administration of a true Christian government, a government based on the principles of the law of Christ, the Prince of peace? Just as Christianity gives us the individual man who is most regardful of the rights of others, so Christianity will give us the nation that will, in the maintenance of its own Christian character and institutions, best maintain the rights of all citizens and subjects. National Christianity is the only true balance of liberty and law.

*“The State Has Nothing to Do with Religion.”*

This is secularism pure and simple. If by “religion” the objector means the church or church creeds, his objection is really that of “church and state.” But the above is the sum and substance of the secular theory of the state. This maintains that the state cannot acknowledge or teach any religious idea because it has no religious idea to acknowledge or teach. The utter shallowness of this boasted liberal political philosophy is shown by the authorities cited in Chapter IV. But let us follow up the sophistries of secularism a little.

What *may* the state *do*? That is a practical question for the secularist to answer. The consistent secularist will say: “Nothing that involves a religious idea.” And so he would, of course, put the Bible and all mention of God out of state schools, the oath out of courts of justice—in short, he would remorselessly carry out the “Demands of Liberalism.” But what may the state still *do* even

under these "Demands?" May it teach? Secularism says, Yes. But what may it teach? Secularism answers, History, astronomy, physiology, mental science, and all other secular knowledge.

But let us see what this involves. Take the history of our own country, for example. It asks and answers such questions as the following: Who were the Pilgrims? Who were the Puritans? Why were they so called? Why did they leave England and Holland? What did they do when they arrived in this country? What were the causes of the Revolutionary War? What was the great cause of the war of the rebellion? Were these wars justifiable or not? Here are a few out of thousands of questions to which American history must furnish an answer, and tell our youth whether certain things were right or wrong. And these are questions of morals which the state must answer according to some moral standard if it undertakes to teach at all.

Once more, it is asked, "Is the state the institution of right? May it have courts of justice? May it define and punish crime? But this is all in the sphere of morals. Some secularists have been driven to the absurdity of denying this. They strive to make right and justice distinct from morals. For example, a celebrated French philosopher says: "I am profoundly convinced that the moral necessarily supposes the existence of a Sovereign whose sovereignty is not limited to this world. For me a moral without God is a law without sanction; that is to say, a law that is not a law."\* There can be no question of the soundness of this position. It is the desperation of secularism that drives it to the conclusion that right is

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\* *L'Ordre Social et l'Ordre Morale; le Droit et le Devoir.* Par A. Bertauld, Paris, 1874. Page 2.



distinct from duty, and the social order from the moral order. For the only alternative to this dark and cheerless conception of a state without God, is the duty of the state as a being in the moral world to acknowledge the Almighty Sovereign.

The very definition of the words "just," "unjust," "right," "wrong," with which the state has to do, if it is to have an existence at all, proves that it must have the deepest possible concern with morals. If it puts Webster's Dictionary of the English language into the common schools, it teaches morals and religion; for that author's definition of the adjective "right," in its moral sense, is, "conformed to the constitution of man and the will of God." The same authority defines the word "law," in the moral sense, as distinguished from a law of nature, "the will of God, as the supreme moral ruler, concerning the character and conduct of all responsible beings; the rule of action as obligatory on the conscience or moral nature; the rules of external conduct which arise from the relations of men to each other in society, and the mutual rights which are founded on these relations." And now, in brief, turning from other kindred moral terms to the word "God," the name of him whose will is "law," and to whose will everything must be conformed to be "right," we have this definition: "The Supreme Being, the Eternal and Infinite Spirit, the Creator, and the Sovereign of the universe, Jehovah." And to illustrate the proper use of the word, we have this verse from the Scriptures: "God is a spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth. (John 4 : 24.)"\*

Just at this point let us hear a typical Christian secu-

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\* See Webster's Unabridged Dictionary, under the words "right," "law," and "God."

larist: "No system of education is complete unless it teach morality; if it teach morality, it must teach religion; if it teach religion, it must teach the Christian religion." And what is the sage conclusion from all this? One would think that common sense, to say nothing of Christian principle and Christian loyalty, would, without any hesitation, reason and decide as follows: The state administers justice and right. It punishes all violations of justice and right. It must therefore teach its youth the justice and right which it requires, and the wrong which it condemns and punishes. Such teaching is the teaching of social morals. These moral duties are based on religion. The only true religion is Christianity. The state uses Webster's Dictionary, which is full of the moral and religious teachings of the Bible. It should therefore frankly and honestly acknowledge that religion from which it derives the very idea of its own nature and functions and duties, and to the moral standard of which it requires its citizens to conform, while it should not fail to acknowledge the God whose will is the rule of right and ultimate law for all responsible beings.

But no! This would be for the state to have to do with religion. And so our secularist, follower of Christ, the King of kings, though he be, falls back on this conclusion: "The state in this country cannot give that religious nurture; it has no right to give it; it does not belong within its scope to give it; and although it is of the first importance that it should be given, it is also of the first importance that the state should not give it."\*

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\* See Dr. D. H. Greer's address on *Christianity and the State*, in the volume entitled *National Needs and Remedies*, or *Discussions of the General Christian Conference in Boston*, December 4, 5, and 6, 1889, page 198. Compare also the note in this Manual on page 168.

What is of the first importance for these Christian ministers is that they should study the true idea and functions of the state; that they should learn what it may do, ought to do, and must do, if it is to be a blessing to our race; and that they should not continue, like "blind leaders of the blind," to help drag our struggling nation, with all the burdens of its tremendous moral problems pressing upon it, down into the hopeless abyss of political atheism.

*"The Folly of Trying to Make Men Religious by Law."*

This is a sample of secular unfairness or confusion of thought. To hear this objection solemnly urged, one would think ours a Roman Catholic country, with its inquisition. Much of this outcry about compelling men to be religious is *ad captandum vulgum*. It is designed to catch the ignorant masses. When have men ever been so free, as under our Christian institutions, to profess any religion or no religion? Our national Christianity, because it is the religion of Protestant freedom, condemns all persecutions whatsoever. Religious liberty is the fruit of Christianity. But religious liberty does not mean licentiousness or immorality. The state has no right to compel any man to be religious or to be irreligious; but it has a right to say that his outward conduct as a citizen shall be moral and righteous according to the standard of the Christian religion. All good laws in our criminal code are designed to make men religious in this sense, and in no other sense. Laws against impurity, theft, murder, drunkenness, are all open to the same objection. They are designed, enacted, and enforced to make men moral or religious simply in the sense that their conduct in civil society shall be such as not to trespass on the rights

and liberties of others, according as the authoritative moral standard of Christianity requires. Men may attend church or not; they may pray and read the Bible or not, just as they see fit. They choose for themselves. They may believe in God and in his Word, or they may be infidels, pagans, or atheists. They may profess faith in the Saviour or not. These are their own affairs, and no association of men on the face of the earth would protest more promptly or more vigorously against any attempt to coerce them into the performance of any religious act of this kind than the National Reform Association. But the state itself is a moral and religious being. It has the right to choose God and serve him. It has the right to take Christ as its acknowledged Lord. It, as a unit, must neither be coerced into a religious or an irreligious acknowledgment. It must choose for itself. Its duty, like that of the individual, is freely to acknowledge the supreme obligation of the Divine Law in its own sphere of moral conduct. And in doing this sincerely and consistently, it is making sure that it will have regard to the rights and liberties of all that are under its authority.

If it be urged that the proposed acknowledgment in the Constitution is the chief ground of this objection in the minds of many, the reply at once presents itself in another question: Do the acknowledgments of God now found in thirty-seven of our State Constitutions compel any man to be religious by law? If not, how could a similar acknowledgment in our National Constitution have this effect? Such an acknowledgment would not be legislation. It would not lay down a rule for the subjects of statutory law at all. It would be the affirmation of a fundamental principle to guide the government. It would be a basis for such Christian laws as already exist.

It would be a firm anchorage for the nation, now in danger of drifting, with the high tide of irreligion and infidelity, from the moorings of free Christian institutions. It would be the authentication of those principles of national life which have given to the world the free institutions and the civil and religious liberty, for the enjoyment of which the oppressed of every land have flocked to our shores.

*“God and Religion Need no such Empty Compliments.”*

In the first place, this flippancy betrays a gross misconception and entire want of appreciation of the issue at stake. Is the nation capable of knowing God and honoring him? Is its avowed adoption of his law for nations as its supreme rule a matter of empty compliment? What is so clearly and widely known as the nation's own sovereign utterance as the Constitution? What can have so profound and extensive an educating power? What can tell so effectually on the whole life of the nation? Was it an empty compliment to God and religion when the Senate of the United States and the Chief Magistrate of the nation acknowledged God and Jesus Christ in the Resolution and Fast Proclamation of 1863? God and Christianity would have survived if our nation had followed many another rebellious one into the grave of ruin and oblivion. But that national acknowledgment was a potent means of our national salvation. Let our beloved country fall into such straits once more, and the men who now flipperantly talk about “empty compliments” will be hushed into reverence, while the nation, coming to its senses in the day of calamity, will call on its Lord and Saviour. If such acknowledgments are suitable in times of national affliction, why should

they not, with manly courage and candor, be spoken and recorded in the day of our prosperity and peace?

And then, in the next place, let it be remembered that the church of Christ and the cause of religion cannot be expected to accomplish their noblest results in an irreligious or secular state. The Divine Word teaches us that the glorification of Christ is an essential and necessary condition of the full outpouring of the Holy Ghost. (See John 7 : 39.) He who is King, as well as Prophet and Priest, must have his rightful place accorded him as Governor among the nations before the Pentecostal baptism from on high shall bless our land. The glorifying of the Prince of the kings of the earth, by the acknowledgment of his authority over us as a nation, whether in our fundamental law or in any act based upon it, so far from being an empty formality, will be the sure source of richest national blessing. "Them that honor me," says this Lord over all—and his promise includes nations as well as individuals and churches—"I will honor." (1 Samuel 2 : 30.)

One other aspect of this objection requires notice. The friends of National Reform are misrepresented, as seeking an empty paper acknowledgment, or an acknowledgment in parchment for its own sake. The view given in this volume of the relation of a written constitution to the unwritten or vital constitution of a nation is a complete answer to this form of this objection. Organic fundamental law is the voice of the nation, and the nation itself, by an overwhelming majority of its citizens, must speak in it. The States have spoken in their Constitutions, and their religious acknowledgments have been something more than paper acknowledgments. They have been a powerful means to the end of preventing the States from being

secular in their government. So would the acknowledgment in the National Constitution, had it been made at first, have had its powerful practical influence in preventing such a dishonor as the secular statement of the Tripolitan Treaty, or the secular reports in Congress on the transportation and delivery of the mail on the Lord's Day. Much more will the acknowledgment, when at length made as it only can be made, by the people themselves, and now only after full discussion of the whole subject throughout the land, be a means of indisputable efficacy in the great work of maintaining our Christian institutions of government. As we have registered and authenticated our republicanism and our achieved liberty for all men in our nation's fundamental law, so shall we one day register and authenticate the assailed or half-buried but revived institutions of our Christian nationality.

*“The National Reform Movement is Unwise and Unnecessary.”*

This objection is heard in various forms. “God is already acknowledged;” “the Constitution is already Christian;” “you are playing into the hands of infidelity;”—these are some of the changes rung on this objection. Not infrequently the same objector who cries “church and state,” and “infringement of rights of conscience,” faces about and takes up this entirely different ground. Years ago a sermon was preached against the movement, which may serve to illustrate this inconsistency. First, the movement was denounced as wrong, unjust, oppressive. Next, it was declared to be unnecessary, inasmuch as what it asked for had already been done. And what had been done was cordially approved.

To crown all, the third point was that this unjust and yet commendable thing which ought not to be done and which nevertheless had already been wisely and fittingly done, could not possibly be done at all. The discourse was a veritable battle of Kilkenny cats. In this internecine struggle of the learned and eloquent preacher's objections not even the tip of the tail of one of them survived.

This Manual affords ample proof that God is and has been acknowledged in our national life; and that the unwritten and real constitution of the nation is Christian. Such facts in our history are far from being ignored by this Association. It does not play into the hands of infidels, as secularist Christians do, by making light of such facts. It does not say of them, as the secularist clergyman, referred to in a former chapter, said of them, "these vestiges of Christianity are printed on the sand." It holds them in the highest esteem, and regards them as the salt that saves our political and national life from utter corruption. But the written Constitution does not acknowledge God and is not Christian. This is the simple statement of fact. The Declaration of Independence and the old Articles of Confederation do acknowledge God. But they are not the nation's fundamental law. They are no part of the written Constitution. They are a part of the vital or historical and providential constitution of the nation, and it was a violation of the very principles of constitutional law to omit from the new written Constitution all expression and authentication of so fundamental a fact in our nation's life as the two older documents, and, indeed, all similar documents before in our colonial history had acknowledged. But the defect is there. And it is to remedy this defect, and thus give to our exist-



ing Christian institutions which ministerial secularists are ready to chip out like fossils and set aside as curiosities, an authoritative authentication that will imbed them firm and fast in the rock of our fundamental law.

Before closing this chapter a brief space may be given to a few objections that have troubled thoughtful minds not at all unfriendly to the National Reform Movement. It is sometimes asked—

*“Doesn't Religion Belong Exclusively to the States?”*

When the National Constitution was framed a number of the States did have an ecclesiastical establishment, or a union of church and state. It was the intention of the first amendment to the Constitution to forbid Congress doing what it was conceded the States might do in reference to this “establishment of religion.” Senator Blair's school amendment now before the United States Senate, proposes to prohibit the States from doing what Congress is forbidden to do by this first amendment. But if Senator Blair's amendment were adopted no one would dream that it would prohibit such religious acknowledgments as are now found in the Constitutions and laws of our States. It would simply prohibit ecclesiastical establishments. The second section of the amendment provides for the instruction of the children in our common schools in the principles of the Christian religion, and this in perfect harmony with the prohibition of the first section. In like manner, the prohibition of the first amendment leaves Congress at liberty to perform such Christian acts as those referred to in the Third Chapter of this Manual.

Still further, if the States need the moral principles of the Christian religion in their narrower spheres of political action, how much more does the national govern-

ment need them in its higher, wider, and more responsible sphere? It alone possesses the power of declaring and carrying on war. It alone may treat with other nations—other moral persons of international law. Its example must tell most powerfully for good or evil upon all the commonwealths of which it is composed. If it needs no Divine Lord and Saviour, no Almighty God of battles to shield it in the day of war, no God of infinite wisdom to guide it in the days of peace, how can the States be expected to feel their need of such guidance and protection?

*Will not This Make the State an Interpreter of the Law of Christ?*

Various aspects of this inquiry are presented. It is asked, in substance, Is it the proper function of the state to interpret the law of Christianity? Would it be right for any nation to enforce its interpretation of the law of Christ against the convictions of a large number of even Christian citizens? Is not the proper work of Christianity to labor for the coming of the time when it will not be necessary to have human laws in order to enforce the law of Christ?

The answer to these questions may be summed up in the following points:

1. A nation must decide moral questions that belong to its own proper sphere of action, as they come up for practical settlement. It must decide, for example, whether its legislature shall be at liberty to meet on the Sabbath or not. It must decide whether or not it will require postmasters to attend to the duties of their office on the Lord's Day. And so on in numberless practical questions.

2. It may and should take the law of Christ as its surest and safest guide in all such cases. And here it must interpret this law for itself. It has just as good a right to take the law of Christ as the code of Justinian. It is bound to take the best moral code it can find, and that is the code of Christianity. And while it should gladly avail itself of the light which the Church of Christ can give by her teachings, it must decide for itself what its own duty is in the sphere that belongs to it, by its own responsible interpretation of the Christian law of its life and functions.

3. Perfect unanimity is not necessary, nor may it ever be expected in any social organism or collective being in this world. The church interprets and enforces by spiritual penalties the law of Christ in her sphere against the convictions of many of her members. The state simply does the same thing under civil penalties.

4. So long as the state exists, so long will moral questions rise. When the present moral questions of our political life are settled, as the question of slavery has been settled, others will demand attention. And there will always be need of human laws. Civil government is a necessity of human nature. If man had never fallen, the state would have been needful for the development and highest possible attainments of our race. In the golden age of the Millennium, civil government, with its interpretation and enforcement of law, will still be necessary to human welfare. It is the acceptance and enforcement of the law of Christ by the nations of the earth that will introduce and establish the Millennium. Parties, majorities and minorities there will be, until men see as they are seen and know as they are known, in the heavenly world. And the only law of society that will

secure the rights of minorities and prevent the triumphant majorities from oppressing their vanquished opponents, is the perfect law of the Prince of peace. This law, given in nature and in the politico-moral principles of Christianity for the conduct of a nation's affairs and for the maintenance of the rights of all men, the civil authority should acknowledge, interpret, and enforce.

*Will not This Movement Damage the Cause of Religion?*

It cannot be too strongly urged that the welfare of the state is the main question here at issue. What will damage the nation? What is essential to its welfare and perpetuity? Can it prosper or survive without those moral and religious principles on which the National Reform Movement is based? What is the preservative principle of civil society? Corrupt politicians would gladly shut out religious principle from the state on the plea that religion will be corrupted by politics. But what will then become of politics? Without the salt of religion, politics will become a stench, and the state itself will rot and perish. Even the heathen saw this truth and were guided by it. To save the state we must found it upon religious, not church, principles.

And let it never be feared that religion will suffer in doing her beneficent work for humanity. She will prosper just in proportion to her fidelity in fulfilling her appointed mission on the earth. Christian ministers who say they have no time to come down from their exalted service of the cause of religion into the sphere of such work as that of the National Reform Association should remember that corrupt civil society causes the loss of multitudes of immortal souls. A godless state will be a curse to every interest of religion. Secularize civil society and

you help to secularize all the rest of human life. On the other hand, let the fear of God and obedience to his law for conscience' sake reign in the life of the nation, and you create a pure and religious social atmosphere in which the church can do her noblest and most effective work. Let Christ be glorified as our acknowledged Ruler in the nation, and his Holy Spirit will be poured out in the fullness of his saving power upon our land. (See John 7 : 39.)

*Why not Adopt More Popular Methods than Those of the National Reform Movement?*

It is affirmed, and with a great deal of truth, that the very name of National Reform is unpopular with multitudes. Good friends of our Christian institutions of government will not co-operate with the National Reform Association. Why not drop, then, everything that is objectionable, and seek to combine all the friends of National Christianity in a more popular organization? To this inquiry the following points of answer may be made :

1. Various associations are already in existence, each with its peculiar aim in view. The door is thus wide open for every citizen who objects to the National Reform platform to identify himself with other organizations seeking the ends which he approves. But the friends of the National Reform Movement believe that its success is vital to the success of all other kindred causes ; that this reform includes and lies at the foundation of all other moral reforms. The cause of the Sabbath is only one application of the moral laws of the Christian religion to the nation's life. The temperance cause is another. And so with every other reform. The National Reform Movement comprehends all these interests, and proposes the radical measure of the national acknowledgment, in our

fundamental law, of the moral laws of Christ as the supreme standard of governmental action on all moral questions.

2. The appeal to the great principles of the National Reform Movement is virtually made in all worthy efforts at Sabbath or other moral reform. Unwillingness to make this appeal with frankness can only detract from the efficiency of true reformation work. The Sabbath reform, which takes pains to ignore the moral basis of Sabbath laws, and fails through fear of popular disfavor to appeal to the authority of the Divine Law, can never reach the conscience of the nation. In like manner, the advocates of temperance reform who are ashamed to avow their allegiance to Christ and his laws, reject the most efficient means of promoting their work. The National Reform Movement puts these moral principles to the front and proposes to keep them there. It has the courage to avow its principles simply because it believes in them as the truth of God himself. It cannot by silence or in any other way prove untrue to them.

3. The friends of National Reform are more deeply concerned to know what will honor the Master and secure his blessing than what will please the multitude. They know that the reforms which are so earnestly sought cannot be accomplished until the people become enlightened enough to favor them. But the way to the enlightenment of the people is not by the hiding of the truth. The Lord will not bless the efforts that dishonor his truth and thus dishonor him. National Reform principles must, therefore, be uncompromisingly maintained until they become popular. The wonderful progress of these principles for the last twenty-five years gives full assurance that they shall yet find intelligent and hearty acceptance by the nation, and only in such acceptance can the cause triumph.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### RESULTS AND PROSPECTS.

The account, given in the second chapter, of "Methods of Work" affords abundant evidence of large and gratifying results. In addition, however, to the results there mentioned, such as the creation of an extensive literature on Christianity and the State, the uniting in a national organization of the friends of this cause, and the arresting of public attention to the grave social problems involved in the movement, there have been other encouraging results of the work.

Not a few indirect results of importance might be noted. In connection with other causes, this work has helped to raise the standard of qualifications for public servants. Its teachings as to the Bible law for the high moral character of civil rulers have not been in vain. The interests of a true civil service reform have been promoted by the increasing number of moral and religious men elevated to positions of influence in the nation. And while political corruption still shows itself, in many instances, in the choice of high officers of government, the steps of progress are clearly marked by the growing demand for moral and religious men.

An impulse has been given to the study of political science. Special attention has been called to the subject of constitutional law; its nature as distinguished from statutory legislation; the relation of the written to the unwritten constitution; the responsibility of the nation for the action of its agent, the government; and the duty

of the nation to lay down in constitutional law such regulations as will permanently settle great moral questions like the liquor traffic. Constitutional prohibition is the offspring of the teachings on which the National Reform Association has laid peculiar emphasis.

The influence of this work has been felt by multitudes who have not been ready to accept all its principles. Planting its standard on advanced ground, which many friends of Christian government have not been prepared to occupy, the National Reform Association has exerted a powerful influence in stirring up these friends to redoubled exertions within the limits of their own accepted field. The revival of the cause of the Sabbath, for example, and the marked success which has attended the labors of the American Sabbath Union, are in no small measure due to the work of National Reform. The most earnest and devoted laborers in the Sabbath cause to-day, under the Field Secretary, the Rev. Dr. Crafts, are the District Secretaries of the National Reform Association. Secretary Mills, of Ohio, and Secretary Gault, of Iowa, have been in the front rank in this noble work. All such moral and patriotic enterprises as that of the Sabbath Union find their strongest helpers among the trained workers of the National Reform Movement.

All the various organizations for reform work are influenced, unconsciously it may be, and yet none the less really and powerfully, by the National Reform Movement. The secular theory of our written Constitution has so tainted our whole political atmosphere that hardly a Convention is held, like those of the Evangelical Alliance, without the manifest working of this evil influence. Speaker after speaker will show himself ready to give the cause of Christian government clean away. The friends of



our American National Christianity in these organizations need moral support. Some of them need to be keyed up to a higher and clearer utterance of Christian truth. Such support and such stimulus the National Reform Movement affords.

This prevailing spirit of reform, which in so marked a degree characterizes these closing years of the nineteenth century, has recently embodied itself in an extraordinary organization, called the "Associated Press of Reforms." One of the lines of work of this Association is the circulation of a sheet with ninety questions on it, with the request that all to whom the list may come will indicate their answer to each question, "Yes," "No," or "Doubtful," and return the sheet to the office of the organization. The aim in this is to learn the drift of public opinion on the proposed reforms, and to help guide it. The prominent place of National Reform ideas in this list of questions may be seen from the following selections :

"A uniform marriage and divorce law to prevent both contemporaneous and 'consecutive polygamy?'"

"A provision in marriage laws, whether Federal or State, that divorces with permission to marry again can be granted only for the one cause of adultery, and only to the innocent party?"

"The enactment and enforcement of such laws as will prevent theatrical managers, tobacconists, and others from displaying pictures whose tendency is to arouse lust in our youth?"

"Having the churches, as such, both separately and in unison, take a more active part in reforms than is usual, by protesting against bad laws whenever proposed, and promoting the enactment and enforcement of good ones?"

"Sabbath rest for postmen, railroad men, telegraphers,

barbers, news-dealers, tobacconists, confectioners and provision-dealers, as well as other toilers?"

"A Sabbath law for the capital of our country that shall give its residents as complete protection against needless work and noise and dissipation on that day as is enjoyed by the most favored of the States?"

"Adopting the phraseology in which the Declaration of Independence acknowledges the God of nations as a preamble to the National Constitution to put the Christian elements of government, chaplaincies, thanksgiving days and the like, upon a more unquestionably constitutional basis?"

Another line of work of this "Associated Press of Reforms" is almost identical with that of the special department of the National Reform Association presided over by Dr. I. P. McCurdy, of Philadelphia, Secretary of the "Department of the Press." This is the prompt preparation of items and summaries of news on important moral questions, and the supply of them to newspapers, particularly in the State or more limited locality where the issue is raised, in the hope that journals all over the country, favorable to social morals, will become subscribers to this new "Associated Press."

The central idea of National Reform, the ultimate authority of the law of Christ, and the necessity of its application in all social and civil reforms, is accepted by this organization. Its official statement reads: "There are differences of opinion among the members on lesser matters, but they are all agreed upon the principle so admirably stated by Hon. Carroll D. Wright, of the National Bureau of Labor, in the following passage, which should be the watchword of all social reforms: 'I believe that in the adoption of the philosophy of the religion of

Jesus Christ, as a practical creed for the conduct of business, lies the surest and speediest solution of those industrial difficulties which are exciting the minds of men to-day, and leading many to think that the crisis of government is at hand.' With this should be associated the recent utterance of Gladstone: 'Talk about questions of the day: there is but one such question, and that is the Gospel. It can and will correct everything that needs correction. All men at the heads of great movements are Christian men. During the many years I was in the Cabinet I was brought into association with sixty master minds, and all but five of them were Christians. My only hope for the world is in bringing the human mind into contact with divine revelation.' These sayings recall the fact that when men came to Jesus with hard questions about divorce and government and law, he uncovered the fundamental question, whose answer is the solution of all others, 'What think ye of Christ?'

Among the results to which the National Reform work may claim to have made some contribution, is the spread of interest, during the week of prayer, on the subject of national religion. Prayer for nations has now a recognized place in the devotions of that week. No friend of Christian civil government can attend one of the prayer-meetings, in any part of our country, on the evening set apart for prayer for nations, and note the wonderful change of the last fifteen or twenty years, without a deep sense of gratitude. The nation is learning the lesson of its need of the help of him who is the Hearer of prayer.

Closely related to this is the widespread study of the International Series of Sabbath School Lessons, in which so many of the principles of national religion find illustration and enforcement. Let us glance, for example, at the

lessons for 1891. Among them are included, for the first quarter, such themes as "The Kingdom Divided," "Idolatry in Israel," "Elijah and the Prophets of Baal," "Ahab's Covetousness;" and for the second quarter, "Saved from Famine," "Jonah Sent to Nineveh," "Nineveh Brought to Repentance," "Israel Often Reproved," "Israel's Overthrow Foretold," "Sin the Cause of Sorrow," "The Captivity of Israel," "The Book of the Law Found," "The Captivity of Judah." What a grouping of vivid lessons in the principles of national morals and religion! It is true, that our lesson helps for next year, as for years past, may almost without exception lamentably fail to bring out and carry home, as they should, the great principles which the Holy Spirit has embodied in these records of the Divine government of the nations of old. And yet that commentator or that teacher must be a "blind leader of the blind," who can altogether fail to perceive and teach, or whose readers or class can permit the lesson to pass, without inquiring into such questions as national sin; Divine warnings sent to nations because of their transgressions; punishment inflicted upon disobedient and impenitent nations; national sin the cause and source of national calamities; famine, the overthrow of a nation by the desolations of war, and captivity under a victorious enemy, as modes of Divine punishment of sinful nations; the Book of the Law or God's Word, the authoritative and supreme rule for nations; the duty of national repentance and reformation. A cheering view of the somewhat meagre work already accomplished in this way is the hope that may reasonably be entertained as to the ampler treatment of momentous subjects such as these in the Sabbath School labors of the coming year.

Were there nothing else to reward the friends of the National Reform Movement for their efforts, they would find no scanty compensation in the measures now before Congress. Among these are the Blair Educational Bill, a Constitutional Amendment, as a basis for Congressional legislation on Marriage and Divorce, a bill providing a Sabbath Law for the District of Columbia, the National Sabbath Rest Bill, and the joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution, known as the Blair School Amendment. All these measures involve the principles of Christian civil government, and the discussion of them will be so many lessons to the nation in National Reform.

The Bill for Sabbath Rest was introduced in the Senate by the Hon. Henry W. Blair, May 21, 1888. It was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, before whom there was a full hearing on the 13th of December of that year. This hearing illustrates the manner in which these measures help forward the cause of Christian government. A large number of the ablest advocates of Sabbath laws, representing the American Sabbath Union, the Sabbath Observance Department of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and the National Reform Association, besides others of eminence in the cause of Christian government, were heard before the Committee. A full report of this hearing, with protests against the Bill, was published in a Senate Document, No. 43 of Miscellaneous Documents of the Second Session, Fiftieth Congress, and widely distributed throughout the land.

This same Bill, with a few slight verbal alterations, was introduced once more in the Senate on December 9, 1889, by its author, and again referred to the Committee

on Education and Labor. As this measure is of vast moment, it is given here in full :

“ A BILL,

“To secure to the people the privileges of rest and of religious worship, free from disturbance by others, on the first day of the week.

“*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That no person or corporation, or agent, servant, or employee of any person or corporation, or in the service of the United States in time of peace, except in the necessary enforcement of the laws, shall perform, or authorize to be performed, any secular work, labor, or business to the disturbance of others, works of necessity and mercy and humanity excepted ; nor shall any person engage in any play, game, or amusement or recreation to the disturbance of others on the first day of the week, commonly known as Sunday, or during any part thereof, in any Territory, district, vessel, or place subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States ; nor shall it be lawful for any person or corporation to receive pay for labor or service performed or rendered in violation of this section.

“SECTION 2. That no mails or mail matter shall hereafter be transported in time of peace over any land postal-route, nor shall any mail matter be collected, assorted, handled, or delivered during any part of the first day of the week: *Provided,* That whenever any letter shall relate to a work of necessity or mercy, or shall concern the health, life, or decease of any person, and the fact shall be plainly stated upon the face of the envelope containing the same, the Postmaster General shall provide for the transportation of such letter or letters in packages separate from other mail matter, and shall make regulations for the delivery thereof, the same having been received at its place of destination before the said first day of the week, during such limited portion of the day as shall best suit the public convenience and least inter-

fere with the due observance of the day as one of worship and rest: *And provided further*, That when there shall have been an interruption in the due and regular transmission of the mails it shall be lawful to so far examine the same when delivered as to ascertain if there be such matter therein for lawful delivery on the first day of the week.

“SECTION 3. That the prosecution of commerce between the States and with the Indian tribes, the same not being work of necessity, mercy, or humanity, by the transportation of persons or property by land or water in such way as to interfere with or disturb the people in the enjoyment of the first day of the week, or any portion thereof, as a day of rest from labor, the same not being labor of necessity, mercy, or humanity, or its observance as a day of religious worship, is hereby prohibited, and any person or corporation who shall wilfully violate this section shall be punished by a fine of not less than ten nor more than one thousand dollars, and no service performed in the prosecution of such prohibited commerce shall be lawful, nor shall any compensation be recoverable or be paid for the same.

“SECTION 4. That all military and naval drills, musters, and parades, not in the time of active service or immediate preparation therefor, of soldiers, sailors, marines, or cadets of the United States on the first day of the week, except assemblies for the due and orderly observance of religious worship, are hereby prohibited, nor shall any unnecessary labor be performed or permitted in the military or naval service of the United States on the first day of the week.

“SECTION 5. That it shall be unlawful to pay or to receive payment or wages in any manner for service rendered or for labor performed or for the transportation of persons or of property in violation of the provisions of this act, nor shall any action lie for the recovery thereof, and when so paid, whether in advance or otherwise, the same may be recovered back by whoever shall first sue for the same.

“SECTION 6. That labor or service performed and rendered on the first day of the week in consequence of accident, disaster, or unavoidable delays in making the regular connections upon postal-routes and routes of travel and transportation, the preservation of perishable and exposed property, and the regular and necessary transportation and delivery of articles of food in condition for healthy use, and such transportation for short distances from one State, District, or Territory into another State, District, or Territory as by local laws shall be declared to be necessary for the public good shall not be deemed violations of this act, nor shall the provisions of this act be construed to prohibit or to sanction labor on Sunday by individuals who conscientiously believe in and observe any other day than Sunday as the Sabbath or a day of religious worship, provided such labor be not done to the disturbance of others.”

Of no less importance is the joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution, known as the School Amendment, introduced in the Senate by Mr. Blair, on May 25, 1888. While there may be disagreement on the part of many earnest friends of our public schools with the third section of this proposed amendment, on the ground that it would furnish a basis for unwise and harmful interference by the national government with our State systems of education, there is very general agreement as to the wisdom and necessity of the first and second sections which are the essential features of the measure. The first section provides in reference to the States of the Union, what is already provided by the first amendment to the Constitution in reference to Congress, that “no State shall ever make or maintain any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.”

The second section of the proposed amendment



provides as follows: "Each State in this Union shall establish and maintain a system of free public schools adequate for the education of all the children living therein, between the ages of six and sixteen years, inclusive, in the common branches of learning, in virtue and morality, and in knowledge of the fundamental and non-sectarian principles of the Christian religion. But no money raised by taxation imposed by law, or any money or other property or credit belonging to any municipal organization, or to any State, or to the United States, shall ever be appropriated, applied, or given for the said purposes in any school or institution, whereby instruction or training shall be given in the doctrines, tenets, belief, ceremonials or observances peculiar to any sect; nor shall such peculiar doctrines, tenets, belief, ceremonies or observances be taught or inculcated in the free public schools."

A hearing before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor was held on February 15, 1889, at which the National Reform Association, through its indefatigable Corresponding Secretary, together with other organizations and prominent individuals, pressed the claims of Christian education. A full report of this hearing, as in the case of the Sabbath Rest Bill, was printed as a Senate document, and widely distributed.

Special honor is due to Senator Blair for bringing such important and far-reaching matters before Congress. His own high moral character and large-hearted patriotism dictated his course. Yet this noble action of the Senator has its antecedent conditions in a development of public sentiment on the great moral issues involved, and this development is the work in which the National Reform Movement may justly claim an honorable share.

These two measures, the National Sabbath Rest Bill, and the School Amendment, with its guarantee for the education of all the children of the nation in virtue, morality, and the principles of the Christian religion, now pending in the Senate of the United States, may be defeated in that body; or, if passed there, they may be defeated in the lower House. But the fact that such measures command to-day the attention of Congress and the nation is enough to compensate for years of labor. The nation must meet these questions face to face. And even if the present measures should be defeated, that will not end the matter. No moral question is settled at all until it is settled right. The agitation will and must go on until the principles of the Sabbath Rest Bill and the School Amendment shall become supreme national law.

The most significant result of the discussions of our National Christianity during the last quarter of a century, is the bringing of the nation close to the point where it must decide whether it will be for Christ or against him. The times of ignorance, during which a doubtful course is possible, are well nigh gone. God's providence as well as his Word is saying to our country, "Choose ye this day whom ye will serve." The claims of Jesus Christ as king are being so pointedly pressed upon our republic that it will have to decide, like the Jews of old, whether it will crown him, or crucify him afresh and put him to an open shame. And this crisis, so near at hand, should press home upon every Christian his duty, in loyalty to his Saviour, to make his influence felt in the decision of this question on which depends the welfare, yes, the very life of our nation.

While this Manual has brought forward ample testimony that our government was founded upon Christian

principles in our early legislation, and in our unwritten and providential constitution as a nation, it has also borne faithful witness to the fact that our written Constitution, though not by the intelligent and deliberate choice of the nation, is on the side of secularism; and that its mighty moulding and educating power is against our Christian institutions of government. We have within our political being, as in the Shulamite of Solomon's Song, "as it were the company of two armies." It may be both affirmed and denied, according to the point of view taken, that we are a Christian nation. But this state of things cannot continue. As our nation was compelled to choose intelligently and deliberately between slavery and freedom, and to register its choice in the fundamental law, so it will be compelled to choose, with full knowledge of what is involved in the choice, between secularism and Christianity, and register its choice in the same way.

A passage in Dr. H. Martensen's *Christian Ethics* is so pertinent here that with a slight modification it may well be adapted to our impending crisis: "If it is asked what are the future prospects of our American National Christianity, a twofold possibility, as so often happens in history, presents itself in this case also. Either a revolution in thought and feeling, produced by a nearer and clearer view of the abyss of secularism which has been arrived at, will take place in the Christian people, among whom a large amount of vigorous conservatism still exists and operates; and then, as a result of this revolution, a revival, a renewal of Christian political institutions, whereby the destructive forces will be so arrested, restricted, and confined within due bounds that a just limitation will be set to individualism by the whole, and by a regard to the welfare of the whole; or, on the other hand,

the dissolution now in process will hold on its course, government will be more and more involved therein, Christianity will increasingly retire from public life, and the nation will be to a greater and greater extent unchristianized. . . . Then, sooner or later, a socialist revolution will break out, . . . and, after the waters of the deluge have abated, a new social formation will appear."\*

Which of these two possibilities shall be realized in our land? This is the question for American Christians to decide. Christian patriots of America, may your love of country and your love of Christ move you to prompt and energetic action! Will you permit our inheritance of national Christianity to be more and more retired from public life? Will you permit the text-book of Christian morals to be banished like a culprit from our public schools? Shall city after city follow the example of Cincinnati, San Francisco, St. Louis and Chicago in expelling the only perfect standard of morals from the system of education by which our youth are to be trained for the duties of American citizenship? Shall other States follow the example of California, and declare all laws against the public desecration of the Sabbath unconstitutional? Shall this unchristianizing of our nation go on until the deluge of secularism or political atheism sweeps away every vestige of the inheritance that has come down to us from the fathers who founded our civil institutions in the fear of God, and the love of Christ, and respect for his Holy Word? It is for you to answer. What shall the answer be? You are earnestly invited to co-operate with the National Reform Movement. Here you can work effectively with your Christian patriotic fellow citizens. But whether here, or elsewhere, may you work zealously and prayerfully for Christ and country.

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\* *Christian Ethics* (social), pp. 112, 113.

## APPENDIX A.

## SUGGESTIONS FOR WORKERS.

## I. GENERAL SUGGESTIONS.

1. It is hoped that every one who has interest enough in the subject to read this book will be a worker in the cause of our national Christianity. Women and youth as well as men are needed in this work. Opportunities are open to all on every hand for co-operation in some one or more of the departments of practical effort. This Manual will not accomplish its purpose with any reader who is not led to give a helping hand in some way for the advancement of the cause of American Christian civil government. Should any reader be unable to work, and yet be able to give, the cause can be served by such friends becoming life members of the National Association. If unable to do this, they can at least maintain a constant membership by a yearly contribution.

2. The broad and practical character of the National Reform Movement should be kept clearly in mind. It seeks to maintain every existing Christian feature of our government, such as the use of the Bible in the public schools and Sabbath laws, and attaches value to the religious amendment to the Constitution, because this will uphold and promote everything honoring to God,

and Christ, and the Bible, in the life of the nation itself. The actual connection of the government with Christianity is the main point, and the acknowledgment in the written instrument is of importance because of its necessary and powerful influence on this.

3. The friends of National Reform should keep a watchful eye upon the vital issues of the day, and be prompt to exert all their influence in favor of maintaining or securing religious acknowledgments in State Constitutions when undergoing revision; of retaining the Bible in the schools; upholding Sabbath laws, chaplaincies, public days of fasting and thanksgiving, the oath, and all other Christian institutions of our government, so often and so bitterly assailed.

4. It should be carefully remembered that the controversy of National Reform is with the secular theory of civil government, as it seeks practical illustration in our States and in the nation, and as it shelters and intrenches itself in our National Constitution. So far as professing Christians adopt this secular or infidel theory of civil government, the controversy must be with them, as well as with the enemies of Christianity. But every friend of moral and religious influences in the schools; of laws for the observance of the Sabbath; of public days of thanksgiving, or any other Christian element of our national life, is logically on the side of National Reform, and should be treated as in large part a friend and co-worker, who, when the great issue is at length raised in the land, will be wholly on the right side.

5. The National Reform cause is one of true piety and patriotism. Its workers are animated by love to God, to Christ their Lord and Master, to the Bible, and to their country. It is God's honor, their country's highest wel-

fare, and the best interests, temporal and eternal, of all their fellow men, which they aim to promote. And this should appear in every effort put forth.

6. It should never be forgotten that the success of this work depends ultimately on God's blessing; that all workers should be baptized with the Spirit of prayer; that in every endeavor by voice, or pen, or any form of effort, there should be sought by the workers and their friends and brethren, the support and direction of Him together with whom all in this work are builders of the Kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ.

7. A special appeal is made to ministers of Christ into whose hands this Manual may fall, to become active workers in this cause. On Thanksgiving Days and other public occasions they may find fitting opportunities to discuss some aspect of our national Christianity. And in addition to their regular pulpit work, it is suggested that they arrange for public meetings, at which they themselves and known friends of the cause who may be invited, may impress these principles on their fellow citizens. If every public speaker would thus join a "Volunteer Lecture Bureau," how much might be done to leaven our land with the truths of Christian political science. While this appeal is made especially to ministers, there are many others, both men and women, who are gifted in public speech, who might thus most efficiently serve the Master.

## II. PREPARING FOR A LECTURE CAMPAIGN.

1. Earnest National Reform workers have combined most effective service with their visits from home. Examples of vacation service are not wanting. Visitors are often heard with great eagerness by large audiences in the

places of summer sojourn. Popular lecturers, whose services are in demand, may well turn their attention to the weighty and interesting themes of this movement.

2. Before leaving home on any tour the worker or lecturer should make himself as familiar as possible with the whole subject of National Reform. He should understand something of the principles and philosophy of the subject of religion and the state, be furnished with the historical data necessary, and be ready to meet popular objections against the movement. The special literature of the subject should be carefully read.

3. One or more addresses should be written out, or carefully prepared in outline. It is respectfully suggested that the Christian character of the movement should in every address be made prominent. The claims of Christ as the Ruler of nations should be fearlessly asserted. Herein lies the power of the cause. The truly conservative aims of the movement in maintaining and securing existing Christian features of our government should never be overlooked. There should be wisdom and tact in adapting the address to the community and the occasion; and it should ever be remembered that solid argument and practical point are the speaker's most effective weapons.

4. The whole field of labor for the campaign should be marked out definitely, points for meetings fixed upon, the aid of friends secured, and preliminary arrangements made by correspondence before leaving home, as far as practicable.

5. Supplies of documents—tracts, copies of the *Christian Statesman*, reports of conventions, petitions, blank pulpit notices, hand-bills, posters, National Reform subscription cards, and *Christian Statesman* subscription



cards, should be obtained from the office of the National Association before starting out.

6. The campaign should be laid out so as to economize time and travelling expenses and strike the most central and important places. In every campaign arrangements should be made to break new ground, as well as to re-visit the fields of former labors.

### III. ARRANGING FOR MEETINGS.

1. In arranging for meetings, as in all active campaign work, the Lord's rule should be observed as far as practicable, by having the laborers go forth in pairs. A compensation for this may oftentimes be found by a secretary or other active friend of the cause in the cordial co-operation of a pastor or other earnest worker in any particular field. But whether alone or with many helpers, let every National Reformer who takes the field for a longer or shorter time push his work with hopeful energy. He is never without the companionship of the "Friend that sticketh closer than a brother."

2. Having fixed upon a locality for a meeting, the workers should call first on the ministers and other prominent citizens of the place, and take time to talk the matter over satisfactorily with them, securing the approval and co-operation of as many as possible. Ministers' meetings afford one of the best opportunities for such presentation of the claims of the movement.

3. The most suitable building, all things considered, church or hall, that can be obtained, should be selected for the meeting or Convention. And while consulting pastors and others in the place, the workers should have their own minds made up to hold the meeting, and press

energetically forward, unless circumstances render such a course absolutely unwise and injurious to the cause.

4. Judicious use should be made, in all interviews, of tracts and other documents. In all conversations and discussions it is important to maintain good nature, and try to persuade and win, rather than conquer and triumph over an opponent. A wise rule is, never provoke opposition.

5. Effective use can be made of local papers. Items on the general subject should be furnished as long as possible in advance of the meeting. And all particular arrangements should be conspicuously announced in the papers in good season. One of the best methods is to have a brief call for the meeting prepared and signed by all prominent citizens whose names can be obtained, and then publish it, with a local item calling attention to it, in the paper or papers. Such a call ought to state candidly the objects of the National Reform Association. It ought never to be frittered down in order to obtain the names of those who are not willing to avow their connection with this movement.

6. Sometimes it is wise to arrange for a Conference, particularly in large towns and cities, the call for which need not commit the signers to anything more than "the principles of Christian government." Such Conferences as have been held in connection with the Annual Meetings of the National Association in recent years might be held with great advantage all over the land. This kind of Conference has proved more than ordinarily popular and successful during the past year.

7. When ministers are out arranging for meetings they should embrace every opportunity for presenting the claims of National Reform in such pulpits as are acces-

sible on the Sabbath. Such work will accomplish much towards the success of other meetings. It is hardly necessary to suggest that the Scriptural and spiritual aspects, rather than the more strictly political aspects of the question, should be presented on such occasions.

8. Speakers ought always to be definitely engaged in ample time, as many as may be needed for the size and length of the meeting; and their addresses should be so divided as to cover the points effectively, and avoid repetition. Two well-prepared speeches are usually enough for an evening meeting, with brief remarks by one or two others occasionally.

9. A chairman for the meeting, a committee on resolutions, and any other committees needed, should be definitely engaged beforehand, and the business of any meeting ought invariably to be thoroughly digested before the time of assembling.

10. Pulpit notices, hand-bills, and posters should be invariably used. Much depends on the wide, thorough, and timely announcement of a meeting.

11. In all arrangements a wise economy should be consulted. No needful outlay should be spared when means can be provided, but nothing should be wasted or imprudently expended. The expenses of lecturers at the very least should be provided for.

#### IV. CONDUCTING MEETINGS.

1. Appointments for meetings should be kept without fail. No condition of roads or weather should prevent a lecturer from being at his post, if Providence does not shut up the way.

2. Meetings should begin at the appointed time, be carried forward in a direct, animated, business-like man-

ner, and on all ordinary occasions closed at an early hour in the evening. If the chairman has been wisely chosen there will be little difficulty.

3. A National Reform meeting should never be a mere entertainment. Practical work should be aimed at. The whole conduct of the meeting should be such as to secure practical results in the hearers, and through the efforts which they should be induced to put forth.

4. It is well to give opportunity for the brief statement of difficulties or requests for fuller information on any point; but a meeting called for addresses and business should never be thrown open for debate. Courteous opposition should be met with courtesy and respect.

5. A brief and pointed series of resolutions, embodying the main points of the movement, will be very helpful in fixing ideas in the minds of the hearers, and will serve to admirable purpose in the report of the meeting published in the papers. Pithy and ringing speeches in support of resolutions add greatly to the interest and influence of a meeting. It is often wise to arrange beforehand for the support of particular resolutions by effective speakers.

6. Any business to be attended to, such as organizing an auxiliary society, circulating subscription cards, securing subscribers to the *Statesman*, securing names to petitions, should never be delayed to a late hour. All such matters should be carried through in the earlier part of the session, when the audience is fresh and the interest at its height.

7. The secretary of a meeting or Convention should never fail to prepare or have prepared, or in case of his neglect, the district secretary should have prepared, a report of the addresses delivered, and the resolutions passed, and the action taken, for publication in as many

journals as can be reached within reasonable distance. When the meeting or Convention is a very important one, arrangements should be made for full reports, and an abstract should be promptly sent to leading journals in many States.

8. Every meeting or Convention should be regarded as in a most important respect a failure, no matter how eloquent the speeches nor how enthusiastic the audience, unless practical points are gained—subscriptions secured, an organization effected or revived and strengthened, petitions circulated and signed, or arrangements made for their systematic circulation, subscribers obtained for the *Statesman*, or some similar tangible end accomplished.

#### V. SECURING THE FRUITS OF LABOR.

1. A fundamental rule for the husbandman in this field, as in any work of seed-sowing, is to look after the seed sown. To scatter the seed and leave it to rot, or permit the springing blade to be choked, is a profitless labor. When a meeting has been held in any place and an interest awakened, the field should be again visited at an early day. An impression made by addresses, conversations, tracts or other documents, should be followed promptly with other influences. The energies often scattered over a wide field, to little purpose, might be concentrated with powerful and lasting effect on a particular community.

2. Except in some instances in places where the cause is presented for the first time, an annual subscription should invariably be taken. The more any class of people can be induced to do for any cause, the deeper interest they will take in it. There should be no false delicacy in holding back from an appeal for money in a good cause

like that of National Reform. It is a privilege as well as a duty to give for its support. The best method of taking subscriptions is by cards. All cash cards should be forwarded, with the money, to the Treasurer of the National Association. All time cards should be retained by the district secretary, and promptly presented for payment at the time when the subscription falls due. The Finance Committee, whose work it will be at any meeting to circulate cards and take the subscription, should be carefully selected.

3. At every meeting an earnest endeavor should be made to secure subscribers for the *Christian Statesman*. A good agent, or more than one, should be furnished with specimen copies of the paper, and cards for receiving subscriber's names, and the district secretary should state the relation of the paper to the movement, as it is and always has been the official organ of the cause, and in all such cases offer it to new subscribers at a price that will only cover the cost of paper and press-work for extra copies, with postage prepaid. Such an offer and statement will show clearly that the aim in obtaining subscribers is the furtherance of the work of National Reform, and not the pushing of any financial enterprise. No more important fruit of National Reform work can be secured than this. The *Statesman* is the right arm of the whole movement. The cause itself advances or falters with this organ of the National Reform Association.

4. An organization of the friends of the cause should be effected in every place where a score or a dozen of them can be brought together. Such a work as circulating petitions should be given to the newly organized society, and at least one or two meetings should be held every year, the members helping the district secretary to work

up each meeting. No organization should be permitted to die out.

5. When subscriptions for the National Reform cause are taken up where there is no local association, the district secretary should take charge of the funds, and forward the same to the Treasurer of the National Association. If there is a local auxiliary association, its treasurer should take charge of the money, using what may be needed in local work, and forwarding the balance to the district secretary, to be by him paid over to the Treasurer of the National Association.

6. At every meeting an opportunity should be offered for friends of the cause to become life members if their means permit the contribution of fifty dollars. Parents could not make a better investment of that sum for a son or daughter, if in this way the youth's life can be brought more fully under the impulses of Christian patriotism.

7. Every one attending a meeting or Convention who is able to prepare a report for publication, should without delay furnish such a report to some newspaper in the neighborhood. Reports of this kind should always be put into the hands of some friend whose influence with the editor will make sure of their insertion. A definite understanding should be had among those who prepare reports as to the particular paper to which each report shall be sent.

8. Every district secretary should charge himself with having a report of every meeting held promptly forwarded for publication in the *Christian Statesman*. Such reports will stimulate laborers in other fields. No class of reading is more attractive and animating to the friends of the cause than early and pithy accounts of stirring meetings and conventions.

9. The district secretary should keep an accurate account of all work done—the number of meetings arranged for and addressed by himself in his own district; the number of meetings addressed for which others made arrangements; the total number of auxiliary societies in his district and their membership; the number of new societies organized within the year and their membership; the number of names obtained for petitions; the amount of money raised at meetings, and in other ways; the number of pages of tracts and Convention reports distributed. Occasional reports of other items should be sent to the *Statesman*, and a complete annual report in due form should be sent to the National Association. Blanks will be furnished to district secretaries for their annual reports.

## VI. CIRCULATING PETITIONS.

1. Large use should be made of the right of petition. This belongs to all citizens, old and young, who can have an intelligent interest in public questions.

2. Matters of present interest should specially be made subjects of petition. For example; As each Thanksgiving Day approaches the President and the State Governor should be petitioned to acknowledge Christ in the forthcoming proclamations. Measures actually before Congress, like the Sabbath Rest Bill and the School Amendment, should receive attention.

3. The friends in every neighborhood should organize themselves, if not already organized, into an auxiliary society, put themselves into communication and connection with the district secretary, and appoint suitable persons to carry forward this work. The whole section of country should be marked off into districts, and one



energetic canvasser assigned to each. Earnest women make excellent canvassers.

4. Each signature should be appended to two petitions, one for the Senate, and the other for the House of Representatives.

5. The names of all, men and women, old and young, should be obtained as far as possible. All who are old enough to understand thoroughly what they are doing, have the right of petition, and will be heard respectfully. The names of children should not be taken.

6. Every signature should be by the petitioner's own hand, in large clear characters, in ink. Have the signer sit down, with good pen and ink, and write deliberately. The post office and State should always be added in full.

7. The petitions should be kept as clean and neat as possible. A soiled petition with names in dim lead pencil marks, scarcely legible, injures the cause it seeks to promote.

8. To keep up the interest and push forward the work with energy, meetings of the organization should be frequently held, at which signatures may be obtained and canvassers may report progress.

9. To stimulate workers elsewhere let reports of successful labors be sent for publication in the columns of the *Christian Statesman*.

10. When the space for signatures is filled, half sheets of foolscap paper may be pasted on. Additional petitions, whenever needed, may be obtained by applying to the district secretary or to the office of the National Association.

11. When rolls of names are complete they may be retained by the district secretary until the National Association directs their presentation to Congress.

## APPENDIX B.

## HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS.

The following documents, from some of which extracts are given in Chapter III., are here copied in full from authoritative sources, because of their important bearing on our national Christianity.

I. COMPACT MADE ON BOARD THE MAYFLOWER  
NOVEMBER 11, 1620.

In the name of God, amen. We, whose names are under written, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. Having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and the honour of our King and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia; do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politick, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid: And by virtue hereof, do enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and officers, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; into which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names, at Cape Cod, the eleventh of November, in the reign of our sovereign Lord,

King James, of England, France and Iteland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno. Dom. 1620.

John Carver,  
 William Bradford,  
 Edward Winslow,  
 William Brewster,  
 Isaac Allerton,  
 Miles Standish,  
 John Alden,  
 Samuel Fuller,  
 Christopher Martin,  
 William Mullins,  
 William White,  
 Richard Warren,  
 John Craxton,  
 John Billington,  
 Joses Fletcher,  
 John Goodman,  
 Digery Priest,  
 Thomas Williams,  
 Gilbert Winslow,  
 Edmund Margeson,  
 Peter Brown,

John Howland,  
 Stephen Hopkins,  
 Edward Tilly,  
 John Tilly,  
 Frances Cooke,  
 Thomas Rogers,  
 Thomas Tinker,  
 John Ridgdale,  
 Edward Fuller,  
 John Turner,  
 Francis Eaton,  
 James Chilton,  
 Richard Bilteridge,  
 George Soule,  
 Richard Clark,  
 Richard Gardiner,  
 John Allerton,  
 Thomas English,  
 Edward Doten,  
 Edward Leister.

## II. PLYMOUTH COLONY LAW FOR EDUCATION OF CHILDREN.

Forasmuch as the good Education of Children and Youth, is of singular use and benefit to any Commonwealth; and whereas many Parents and Masters either through an over respect to their own occasions and business, or not duly considering the good of their Children and Servants, have too much neglected their duty in their Education, whilst they are young and capable of Learning;

It is Ordered, That the Deputies and Select men of every Town, shall have a vigilant eye from to time over their Brethren and Neighbours, to see that all Parents and Masters do duly Endeavour, by themselves or others, to teach their children and servants as they grow capable, so

much learning as through the blessing of God they may attain, at least to be able duly to read the Scriptures, and other good profitable Books printed in the English Tongue (being their Native Language) and the knowledge of the Capital Laws, and in some competent measure to understand the main Grounds and Principles of Christian Religion, necessary to Salvation, by causing them to learn some short Orthodox Catechism without Book, or otherwise instructing them as they may be able to give a due answer to such plain and ordinary Questions, as may by them or others be propounded to them concerning the same: And further that all Parents and Masters do breed and bring up their children and apprentices in some honest lawful calling, labour or employment, that may be profitable for themselves, or the Country; and if after warning and admonition given by any of the Deputies, or Selectmen, unto such Parents or Masters, they shall still remain negligent in their duty, in any the particulars aforementioned, whereby Children or Servants may be in danger to grow Barbarous, Rude or Stubborn, and so prove Pests instead of Blessings to the Country; That then a fine of ten shillings shall be levied on the Goods of such negligent Parent or Master, to the Town's use, except extreme poverty call for mitigation of the said fine.

And if in three months after that, there be no due care taken and continued, for the Education of such children and apprentices, as aforesaid, then a fine of twenty shillings to be levied on such Delinquent's Goods, to the Town's use, except as aforesaid.

And Lastly, if in three months after that, there be no due Reformation of the said neglect, then the said Selectmen with the help of two Magistrates, shall take such children and servants from them, and place them with some Masters for years (boys till they come to twenty-one, and girls eighteen years of age), which will more strictly educate and govern them according to the rules of this Order.

III. ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION BETWEEN THE PLANTATIONS VNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS THE PLANTACONS VNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF NEW-PLYMOUTH THE PLANTACONS VNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF CONNECTACUTT AND THE GOVERNMENT OF NEW-HAVEN WITH THE PLANTACONS IN COMBINACON THEREWITH.

Whereas wee all came into these parts of America with one and the same end and ayme namely to aduance the kingdome of our Lord Jesus Christ and to enjoy the liberties of the Gospell in puritie with peace And whereas in our settleinge (by a wise Providence of God) we are further dispersed vpon the Sea Coasts and Riuers then was at first intended, so that we cannot according to our desire with convenience communicate in one Governement and Jurisdiccon: And whereas we live encompassed with people of seueral nations and strang languages which hereafter may proue injurious to vs, or our posteritie. And forasmuch as the Natiues have formerly committed sondry insolences and outrages vpon seueral Plantacons of the English and have of late combined themselues against vs And seing by reason of those sad Distraccons in England which they have heard of, and by which they know we are hindred from that humble way of seeking advise, or reapeing those comfortable fruits of protection which at other tymes we might well expecte Wee therefore doe conceiue it our bounden dutye without delay to enter into a present Consotiation amongst our selues for mutuall help and strength in all our future concerns: That as in Nation and Religion so in other Respects we bee and continue one according to the tenor and true meaneing of the ensuing Articles: Wherefore it is fully agreed and concluded by and betweene the parties or Jurisdiccons aboue named and they joyntly and seuerally doe by these presents agree and conclude That they all bee and henceforth bee called by the Name of *The United Colonies of New-England.*

II. The said United Colonies for themselves and their posterities do joyntly and seuerally hereby enter into a firme and perpetuall league of Friendship and amytye for offence and defence mutuall advise and succour vpon all just occations both for preserueing and propagateing the truth and liberties of the Gospell and for their owne mutuall safety and welfare.

3. It is further agreed That the Plantacons which at present are or hereafter shalbe settled within the limmetts of the Massachusetts shalbe forever vnder the Massachusetts and shall have peculiar Jurisdiccon among themselves in all cases as an entire Body and that Plymouth Connecktacutt and New Haven shall eich of them haue like peculiar Jurisdiccon and Gouvernment within their limmetts and in reference to the Plantacons which already are setled or shall hereafter be erected or shall settle within their limmetts respectiuey Prouided that no other Jurisdiccon shall hereafter be taken in as a distinct head or member of this Confederacon nor shall any other Plantacon or Jurisdiccon in present being and not already in Combynacon or vnder the Jurisdiccon of any of these Confederats be received by any of them nor shall any two of the Confederates joyne in one Jurisdiccon without consent of the rest which consent to be interpreted as is expressed in the sixt Article ensuinge.

4. It is by these Confederats agreed that the charge of all just warrs whether offensive or defensiuie upon what part or member of this Confederacon soeuer they fall, shall both in men and provisions and all other Disbursements be borne by all the parts of this Confederacon in different proporcons according to their different abillitie in manner following, namely that the Commissioners for eich Jurisdiction from tyme to tyme as there shalbe occasion bring a true account and number of all the males in euery Plantacon or any way belonging to or under their seueral Jurisdiccions of what quallyty or condicon soeuer they bee from sixteene yeeres old to threescore being Inhabitants there. And that according to the different numbers which from tyme to tyme shalbe found in eich Jurisdiccon upon a true

and just account, the service of men and all charges of the warr be borne by the Poll: eich Jurisdiccon or Plantacon being left to their owne just course and custome of rating themselues and people according to their different estates with due respects to their quallites and exemptions among themselues though the Confederacon take no notice of any such priviledg: and that according to their differrent charge of eich Jurisdiccon and plantacon, the whole advantage of the warr (if it please God to bless their Endeavours) whether it be in lands goods or persons shall be proportionably deuided among the said Confederats.

5. It is further agreed That if any of these Jurisdiccons or any plantacon vnder or in combynacon with them be envaded by any enemie whomsoever vpon notice and request of any three majestrats of that Jurisdiccon so invaded the rest of the Confederates without any further meeting or expostulacon shall forthwith send ayde to the Confederate in danger but in different proporcons; namely the Massachusetts an hundred men sufficiently armed and provided for such a service and jorney, an eich of the rest fourty five men so armed and provided, or any lesse number, if lesse be required, according to this proporcon. But if such Confederate in danger may be supplied by their next Confederate, not exceeding the number hereby agreed, they may craue help there, and seek no further for the present; the charge to be borne as in this Article is exprest: And at the returne to be victualled and supplied with poder and shott for their jorney (if there bee neede) by that Jurisdiccon which employed or sent for them: But none of the Jurisdiccons to exceed these numbers till by a meeting of the Commissioners for this Confederacon a greater ayd appeare necessary. And this proporcon to continue till upon knowledge of greater numbers in eich Jurisdiccon which shalbe brought to the next meeting some other proporcon be ordered. But in any such case of sending men for present ayd whether before or after such order or alteracon, it is agreed that at the meeting of the Commissioners for this Confederacon, the cause of such warr or invasion be duly considered:

And if it appeare that the fault lay in the parties so invaded that then that Jurisdiccon or plantacon make just Satisfaccon, both to the Invaders whom they have injured, and beare all the charges of the warr themselves without requiring any allowance from the rest of the Confederats towards the same And further that if any Jurisdiccon see any danger of any Invasion approaching, and there be tyme for a meeting that in such case three majestrats of that Jurisdiccon may summon a meeting at such convenyent place as themselues shall think meete, to consider and provide against the threatned danger Provided when they are met they may remoue to what place they please Onely whilst any of these foure Confederats have but three Majestrats in their Jurisdiccon, their request or summons from any two of them shalbe accounted of equall force with the three menconed in both the clauses of this Article till there be an encrease of Majestrats there.

6. It is also agreed that for the managing and concluding of all affaires proper and concerning the whole Confederacon two Commissioners shalbe chosen by and out of eich of these foure Jurisdiccons namely two for the Massachusetts, two for Plymouth, two for Connectacutt and two for New Haven being all in Church fellowship with us which shall bring full power from their seuerall generall Courts respectively to heare examine weigh and determine all affaires of our warr or peace leagues ayds charges and numbers of men for warr division of spoyles and whatsoever is gotten by conquest receiuing of more Confederats for Plantacons into combinacon with any of the Confederates and all things of like nature which are the proper concomitants or consequents of such a confederacon for amytye offence and defence not intermeddleing with the government of any of the Jurisdiccons which by the third Article is preserued entirely to themselues. But if these eight Commissioners when they meete shall not all agree yet it is concluded that any six of the eight agreeing shall have power to settle and determine the business in question: But if six do not agree that then such proposicons



with their reasons so farr as they have beene debated be sent and referred to the foure generall Courts vizt. the Mattachusetts Plymouth Conectacutt and New Haven: And if at all the said Generall Courts the business so referred be concluded then to bee prosecuted by the Confederates and all their members. It is further agreed that these eight Commissioners shall meete once every yeare besides extraordinary meetings (according to the fift Article) to consider treate and conclude of all affaires belonging to this Confederacon which meeting shall euer be the first Thursday in September. And that the next meeting after the date of these presents which shalbe accounted the second meeting shalbe at Bostone in the Massachusetts the third at Hartford the fourth at New Haven the fift at Plymouth the sixt and seaventh at Boston. And then Hartford New Haven and Plymouth and so in course successiue, if in the meane tyme some middle place be not found out and agreed on which may be commodious for all the Jurisdiccons.

7. It is further agreed that at eich meeting of these eight Commissioners whether ordinary or extraordinary they or six of them agreeing as before may choose their President out of themselues whose office and worke shalbe to take care and direct for order and a comely carrying on of all proceedings in the present meeting: but he shalbe invested with no such power or respect, as by which he shall hinder the propounding or progress of any businesse or any way cast the Scales otherwise then in the precedent article is agreed.

8. It is also agreed that the Commissioners for this Confederacon hereafter at their meetings whether ordinary or extraordinary as they may have Commission or opertunitie do endeavoure to frame and establish agreements and orders in generall cases of a civill nature wherein all the Plantacons are interested for preserving peace among themselues and preventing as much as may bee all occasions of warr of differences with others, as about the free and speedy passage of Justice in every Jurisdiccon, to all the Confederats equally as to their owne, receiveing

those that remoue from one plantacon to another without due certefycats; how all the Jurisdiccons may carry it towards the Indians, that they neither grow insolent nor be injured without due satisfaccion, lest warr break in vpon the Confederates through such miscarryage. It is also agreed that if any servant runn away from his master into any other of these confederated Jurisdiccons That in such Case vpon the Certyficate of one Majestrate in the Jurisdiccon out of which the said servant fled or vpon other due prooffe, the said servant shalbe deliuered either to his Master or any other that pursues and brings such Certificate or prooffe. And that vpon the escape of any prisoner whatsoever or fugitiue for any criminall cause, whether breakeing prison or getting from the officer or otherwise escapeing vpon the certificate of two Magistrats of the Jurisdiccon out of which the escape is made, that he was a prisoner or such an offender at the tyme of the escape, The Majestrates or some of them of that Jurisdiccon where for the present the said prisoner or fugitive abideth shall forthwith graunt such a warrant as the case will beare for the apprehending of any such person, and the delivery of him into the hands of the officer or other person who pursues him. And if there be help required for the safe returneing of any such offendor, then it shalbe graunted to him that craves the same he paying the charges thereof.

9. And for that the justest warrs may be of dangerous consequence especially to the smaler plantacons in these vnited Colonies It is agreed that neither the Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connectacutt nor New-Haven, nor any of the members of any of them shall at any tyme hereafter begin undertake or engage themselues or this Confederacon or any part thereof in any warr whatsoever (sudden exegents with the necessary consequents thereof excepted) which are also to be moderated as much as the case will permit) without the consent and agreement of the forenamed eight Commissioners or at least six of them, as in the sixt Article is provided: And that no charge be required of any of the Confederats in case of a

defensiuē warr till the said Commissioners haue mett and approved the justice of the warr; and have agreed vpon the sum of money to be levyed which sum is then to be payed by the severall Confederates in proporcon according to the fourth Article.

10. That in extraordinary occations when meetings are summoned by three Magistrats of any Jurisdiccon, or two as in the fift Article If any of the Commissioners come not due warneing being given or sent. It is agreed that foure of the Commissioners shall have power to direct a warr which cannot be delayed and to send for due proporcons of men out of eich Jurisdiccon, as well as six might doe if all mett; but not less than six shall determine the justice of the war or allow the demaunde or bills of charges or cause any levies to be made for the same.

11. It is further agreed that if any of the Confederates shall hereafter break any of these present Articles, or be any other wayes injurious to any one of thother Jurisdiccions, such breach of Agreement, or injurie shalbe duly considered and ordered by the Commissioners for thother jurisdiccions, that both peace and this present Confederacon may be entirely preserued without violacon.

12. Lastly this perpetuall Confederacon and the severall Articles and Agreements thereof being read and seriously considered both by the Generall Court for the Massachusetts, and by the Commissioners for Plymouth Conectacutt and New-Haven were fully allowed and confirmed by three of the forenamed Confederates namely the Massachusetts Conectacutt and New-Haven Onely the Commissioners for Plymouth havinge no Commission to conclude, desired respite till they might advise with their General Court, wherevpon it was agreed and concluded by the said Court of the Massachusetts and the Commissioners for the other two Confederates That if Plymouth Consent, then the whole treaty as it stands in these present articles is and shall continue firme and stable without alteracon: But if Plymouth come not in, yet the other three Confederates doe by these presents confirme the whole Confederacon and all the Articles thereof: only in

September next when the second meeting of the Commissioners is to be at Boston, new consideration may be taken of the sixth Article which concernes number of Commissioners for meeting and concluding the affaires of this Confederation to the satisfaction of the Court of the Massachusetts, and the Commissioners for thother two Confederates but the rest to stand unquestioned. In testimony whereof the Generall Court of the Massachusetts by their Secretary and the Commissioners for Conectacutt and New-Haven haue subscribed these presente articles this xixth of the third month commonly called May Anno Domini 1643.

At a Meeting of the Commissioners for the Confederation held at Boston the seaventh of September. It appearing that the Generall Court of New Plymouth and the several Townships thereof have read considered and approved these articles of Confederation, as appeareth by Commission from their Generall Court beareing Date the xxixth of August 1643 to Mr. Edward Winslowe and Mr. Will. Collyer to ratify and confirme the same on their behalf wee therefore the Commissioners for the Massachusetts Conecctacutt and New Haven doe also for our seueral Governments subscribe vnto them.

JOHN WINTHROP	Governor Massachusetts
THO. DUDLEY	THEOPH. EATON
GEO. FENWICK	EDWA. HOPKINS
THOMAS GREGSON.	

The ancient style of spelling is retained in the above articles in order that, so far as modern type can reproduce the venerable document, it may appear before our readers in its original dress. The articles entered into by the New England Colonies in 1672 were substantially the same as the foregoing.

#### IV. DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume

among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitled them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident : that all men are created equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness ; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed ; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes ; and accordingly, all experience has shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world :

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operations till his assent should be obtained ; and,

when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise—the state remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states—for that purpose obstructing the laws of naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a juris-

diction foreign to our constitution and unacknowledged by our laws—giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation.

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us ;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states ;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world ;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent ;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury ;

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences ;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies ;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the *forms* of our governments ;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections among us, and

has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms. Our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts, by their legislature, to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of DIVINE



PROVIDENCE, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor. .

The foregoing declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed and signed by the following members :

## JOHN HANCOCK.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.	NEW JERSEY.	THOMAS STONE, [rollton,
JOSIAH BARTLETT,	RICHARD STOCKTON,	CHARLES CARROLL, of Car-
WILLIAM WHIPPLE,	JOHN WITHERSPOON,	
MATTHEW THORNTON.	FRANCIS HOPKINSON,	VIRGINIA.
MASSACHUSETTS BAY.	JOHN HART,	GEORGE WYTHE,
SAMUEL ADAMS,	ABRAHAM CLARK.	RICHARD HENRY LEE,
JOHN ADAMS,		THOMAS JEFFERSON,
ROBERT TREAT PAINE,	PENNSYLVANIA.	BENJAMIN HARRISON,
ELBRIDGE GERRY.	ROBERT MORRIS,	THOMAS NELSON, JR.,
	BENJAMIN RUSH,	FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE,
RHODE ISLAND.	BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,	CARTER BRAXTON.
STEPHEN HOPKINS,	JOHN MORTON,	NORTH CAROLINA.
WILLIAM ELLERY.	GEORGE CLYMER,	WILLIAM HOOPER,
	JAMES SMITH,	JOSEPH HEWES,
CONNECTICUT.	GEORGE TAYLOR,	JOHN PENN.
ROGER SHERMAN,	JAMES WILSON,	SOUTH CAROLINA.
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,	GEORGE ROSS.	EDWARD RUTLEDGE,
WILLIAM WILLIAMS,	DELAWARE.	THOMAS HEYWARD, JR.,
OLIVER WOLCOTT.	CÆSAR RODNEY,	THOMAS LYNCH, JR.,
NEW YORK.	GEORGE READ,	ARTHUR MIDDLETON.
WILLIAM FLOYD,	THOMAS M'KEAN.	GEORGIA.
PHILIP LIVINGSTON,	MARYLAND.	BUTTON GWINNETT,
FRANCIS LEWIS,	SAMUEL CHASE,	LYMAN HALL,
LEWIS MORRIS.	WILLIAM PACA.	GEORGE WALTON.

## V. THANKSGIVING PROCLAMATION OF CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

SATURDAY, November 1, 1777.

The committee appointed to prepare a recommendation to the several States to set apart a day of public thanksgiving brought in a report, which was taken into consideration and agreed to as follows :

Forasmuch as it is the indispensable duty of all men to adore the superintending providence of Almighty God, to acknowledge with gratitude their obligations to him for benefits received, and to implore such further blessings as they stand in need of ; and it having pleased him in his

abundant mercy not only to continue to us the innumerable bounties of his common providence, but also to smile upon us in the prosecution of a just and necessary war for the defense and establishment of our inalienable rights and liberties, particularly in that he hath been pleased in so great a measure to prosper the means used for the support of our troops and to crown our arms with most signal success: it is, therefore, recommended to the legislative or executive powers of these United States, to set apart Thursday, the 18th day of December, for solemn thanksgiving and praise; that with one heart and one voice the good people may express the grateful feelings of their hearts and consecrate themselves to the service of their Divine Benefactor, and that together with their sincere acknowledgments of kind offerings they may join the penitent confession of their manifold sins, whereby they had forfeited every favor, and their humble and earnest supplication, that it may please God, through the merits of Jesus Christ, mercifully to forgive and blot them out of remembrance; that it may please him graciously to afford his blessing on the governments of these States respectively, and prosper the public councils of the whole; to inspire our commanders both by land and sea, and all under them, with that wisdom and fortitude which may render them fit instruments, under the providence of Almighty God, to secure for these United States the greatest of all blessings—*independence and peace*; that it may please him to prosper the trade and manufactures of the people and the labor of the husbandman, that our land may yield its increase; to take schools and seminaries of education, so necessary for cultivating the principles of true liberty, virtue, and piety, under his nurturing hand, and to prosper the means of religion for the promotion and enlargement of that kingdom which consisteth in righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.

And it is further recommended that servile labors and such recreations as, thought at other times innocent, may be unbecoming the purpose of this appointment, be omitted on so solemn an occasion.

## VI. ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.

To all to whom these presents shall come, we, the undersigned, delegates of the states affixed to our names, send greeting.

WHEREAS, the delegates of the United States of America in Congress assembled, did, on the fifteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven, and in the second year of the independence of America, agree to certain articles of confederation and perpetual Union between the states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, in the words following, viz. :

*Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.*

ARTICLE 1. The style of this confederacy shall be, "The United States of America."

ARTICLE 2. Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE 3. The said states hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare ; binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

ARTICLE 4. The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship, and intercourse among the people of

the different states in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these states, paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice, excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several states; and the people of each state shall have free ingress and regress to and from any other state, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce subject to the same duties, impositions, and restrictions, as the inhabitants thereof respectively, provided that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any state to any other state, of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided also, that no imposition, duties, or restriction, shall be laid by any state on the property of the United States or either of them.

If any person guilty of or charged with treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor, in any state, shall flee from justice, and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon demand of the governor or executive power of the state from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the state having jurisdiction of his offence.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these states to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other state.

ARTICLE 5. For the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the legislature of each state shall direct to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November, in every year, with a power reserved to each state to recall its delegates or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead for the remainder of the year.

No state shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor by more than seven members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any term of six years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States, for which he; or another for his benefit, receives any salary, fees, or emoluments of any kind.

Each state shall maintain its own delegates in a meeting of the states, and while they act as members of the committee of the states.

In determining questions in the United States in Congress assembled, each state shall have one vote.

Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Congress; and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests and imprisonments, during the time of their going to and from and attendance on Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

ARTICLE 6. No state, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance, or treaty, with any king, prince, or state; nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state; nor shall the United States in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

No two or more states shall enter into any treaty, confederation, or alliance whatever, between them, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into and how long it shall continue.

No state shall lay any imposts or duties, which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties entered into by the United States in Congress assembled, with any king, prince; or state, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by Congress to the courts of France and Spain.

No vessel of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any state, except such number only as shall be deemed necessary by the United States in Congress assembled for the defence of such state or its trade; nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any state in time of peace, except such number only as in the judgment of the United States in Congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garri-

son the forts necessary for the defence of such state; but every state shall always keep up a well-regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutred, and shall provide and have constantly ready for use, in public stores, a due number of field-pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition, and camp equipage.

No state shall engage in any war without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, unless such state be actually invaded by enemies or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such state, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of a delay till the United States in Congress assembled can be consulted; nor shall any state grant commissions to any ships or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States in Congress assembled, and then only against the kingdom or state, and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States in Congress assembled, unless such state be infested by pirates, in which case vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States in Congress assembled shall determine otherwise.

ARTICLE 7. When land forces are raised by any state for the common defence, all officers of or under the rank of colonel, shall be appointed by the legislature of each state respectively, by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such state shall direct and all vacancies shall be filled up by the state which first made the appointment.

ARTICLE 8. All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several states in proportion to the value of all land within each state granted to or surveyed for any person, as such land and the buildings

and improvements thereon shall be estimated according to such mode as the United States in Congress assembled shall from time to time direct and appoint.

The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the several states, within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE 9. The United States in Congress assembled shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the sixth article—of sending and receiving ambassadors—entering into treaties and alliances; provided, that no treaty of commerce shall be made whereby the legislative power of the respective states shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatsoever—of establishing rules for deciding in all cases, what captures on land or water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the United States shall be divided or appropriated—of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace—appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of captures: provided, that no member of Congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts.

The United States in Congress assembled shall also be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences now subsisting or that hereafter may arise between two or more states concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following: whenever the legislative or executive authority or lawful agent of any state in controversy with another shall present a petition to Congress, stating the matter in question, and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of Congress to the legislative or executive authority of the other state in

controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties, by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint by joint consent commissioners or judges to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question; but if they cannot agree, Congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven nor more than nine names, as Congress shall direct shall, in the presence of Congress, be drawn out by lot; and the persons whose names shall be so drawn, or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges, who shall hear the cause, shall agree in the determination: and if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons which Congress shall judge sufficient, or being present shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each state, and the secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing; and the judgment and sentence of the court to be appointed in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive; and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear, or defend their claim or cause, the court shall nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive, the judgment or sentence and other proceedings, being in either case transmitted to Congress and lodged among the acts of Congress for the security of the parties concerned: provided, that every commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath, to be administered by one of the judges of the supreme or superior court of the state, where the cause shall be tried, "well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favor, affection, or hope of reward:" provided also, that no state shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.



All controversies concerning the private right of soil, claimed under different grants of two or more states, whose jurisdiction as they may respect such lands and the states which passed such grants are adjusted, the said grants or either of them being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall, on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined, as near as may be, in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different states.

The United States in Congress assembled shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective states—fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States—regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians not members of any of the states; provided that the legislative right of any state within its own limits be not infringed or violated—establishing and regulating postoffices from one state to another throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same, as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office—appointing all officers of the land forces in the service of the United States excepting regimental officers—appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States—making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

The United States in Congress assembled shall have authority to appoint a committee to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated “a committee of the states,” and to consist of one delegate from each state; and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States, under their direction—to appoint one of their number to preside, provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office of president more than one year in any term.

of three years—to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses—to borrow money or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half year to the respective states an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted—to build and equip a navy—to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each state for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such state; which requisition shall be binding, and thereupon the legislature of each state shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men, and clothe, arm, and equip them, in a soldier-like manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled: but if the United States in Congress assembled, shall, on consideration of circumstances, judge proper that any state should not raise men or should raise a smaller number than its quota, and that any other state should raise a greater number of men than the quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, clothed, armed, and equipped, in the same manner as the quota of such state, unless the legislature of such state shall judge that such extra number cannot safely be spared out of the same; in which case they shall raise, officer, clothe, arm, and equip, as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared. And the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled.

The United States in Congress assembled shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defence and welfare of the United States or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels

of war to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a commander-in-chief of the army or navy, unless nine states assent to the same; nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day, be determined, unless by the votes of a majority of the United States in Congress assembled.

The Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months; and shall publish the journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations, as in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each state on any question shall be entered on the journal, when it is desired by any delegate; and the delegates of a state, or any of them, at his or their request, shall be furnished with a transcript of the said journal, except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the legislatures of the several states.

ARTICLE 10. The committee of the states, or any nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as the United States in Congress assembled, by the consent of nine states, shall from time to time, think expedient to vest them with; provided that no power be delegated to the said committee, for the exercise of which, by the articles of confederation, the voice of nine states in the Congress of the United States assembled is requisite.

ARTICLE 11. Canada, acceding to this confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to, all advantages of this Union; but no other colony shall be admitted into the same unless such admission be agreed to by nine states.

ARTICLE 12. All bills of credit emitted, moneys borrowed, and debts contracted, by or under the authority of

Congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged.

ARTICLE 13. Every state shall abide by the decision of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions which, by this confederation, are submitted to them. And the articles of this confederation shall be inviolably observed by every state, and the Union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them, unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterward confirmed by the legislature of every state.

And whereas it has pleased the great Governor of the world to incline the hearts of the legislatures we respectively represent in Congress, to approve of and to authorize us to ratify the said articles of confederation and perpetual Union: *know ye*, that we, the undersigned delegates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do, by these presents, in the name and in behalf of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said articles of confederation and perpetual Union, and all and singular the matters and things therein contained; and we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions which, by the said confederation, are submitted to them; and that the articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the states we respectively represent; and that the Union be perpetual.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands, in Congress. Done at Philadelphia, in the state of Pennsylvania, the ninth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, and in the third year of the independence of America.

## NEW HAMPSHIRE.

JOSIAH BARTLETT,  
JOHN WENTWORTH, JR.

JONATHAN BAYARD SMITH,  
WILLIAM CLINGAN,  
JOSEPH REED.

## MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

JOHN HANCOCK,  
SAMUEL ADAMS,  
ELBRIDGE GERRY,  
FRANCIS DANA,  
JAMES LOVELL,  
SAMUEL HOLTEN.

DELAWARE.  
THOMAS M'KEAN,  
JOHN DICKINSON,  
NICHOLAS VAN DYKE.

## RHODE ISLAND.

WILLIAM ELLERY,  
HENRY MARCHANT,  
JOHN COLLINS.

MARYLAND.  
JOHN HANSON,  
DANIEL CARROLL.

## CONNECTICUT.

ROGER SHERMAN,  
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,  
OLIVER WOLCOTT,  
TITUS HOSMER,  
ANDREW ADAMS.

VIRGINIA.  
RICHARD HENRY LEE,  
JOHN BANISTER,  
THOMAS ADAMS,  
JOHN HARVIE,  
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE.

## NEW YORK.

JAMES DUANE,  
FRANCIS LEWIS,  
WILLIAM DUER,  
GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

NORTH CAROLINA.  
JOHN PENN,  
CONSTABLE HARNETT,  
JOHN WILLIAMS.

## NEW JERSEY.

JOHN WITHERSPOON,  
NATH. SCUDDER.

SOUTH CAROLINA.  
HENRY LAURENS,  
WILLIAM HENRY DRAYTON,  
JOHN MATTHEWS,  
RICHARD HUTSON,  
THOMAS HEYWARD, JR.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

ROBERT MORRIS,  
DANIEL ROBERDEAU,

GEORGIA.  
JOHN WALTON,  
EDWARD TELFAIR,  
EDWARD LANGWORTHY.

VII. ORDINANCE FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES NORTHWEST OF THE RIVER OHIO.

Be it ordained by the United States in congress assembled, That the said territory, for the purposes of temporary government, be one district; subject, however, to be divided into two districts, as future circumstances may, in the opinion of congress, make it expedient.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That the estates both of resident and non resident proprietors in the said territory, dying intestate, shall descend to, and be distributed among their children, and the descendants of a deceased child, in equal parts; the descendants of a deceased child or grand child to take the share of their deceased parent, in equal parts among them: and where there shall be no children or descendants, then in equal parts to the next of kin, in equal degree; and among collaterals, the children of a deceased brother or sister of the intestate shall have, in equal parts among them, their deceased parents' share; and there shall, in no case, be a distinction between kindred of the whole and half blood; saving in all cases to the widow of the intestate, her third part of the real estate for life, and one third part of the personal estate; and this law relative to descents and dower, shall remain in full force until altered by the legislature of the district. And until the governor and judges shall adopt laws as herein after mentioned, estates in the said territory may be devised or bequeathed by wills in writing, signed and sealed by him or her, in whom the estate may be (being of full age), and attested by three witnesses; and real estates may be conveyed by lease and release, or bargain and sale, signed, sealed, and delivered, by the person being of full age, in whom the estate may be, and attested by two witnesses, provided such wills be duly proved, and such conveyances be acknowledged, or the execution thereof duly proved, and be recorded within one year after proper magistrates, courts, and registers, shall be appointed for that purpose; and personal property may be transferred by delivery; saving, however, to the French and Canadian inhabitants, and other settlers of the Kaskaskies, Saint Vincents, and the neighboring villages, who have heretofore professed themselves citizens of Virginia, their laws and customs now in force among them, relative to the descent and conveyance of property.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That there shall be appointed, from time to time, by congress, a gov-

ernor, whose commission shall continue in force for the term of three years, unless sooner revoked by congress: he shall reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein, in one thousand acres of land, while in the exercise of his office.

There shall be appointed, from to time, by congress, a secretary, whose commission shall continue in force for four years, unless sooner revoked; he shall reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein, in five hundred acres of land, while in the exercise of his office; it shall be his duty to keep and preserve the acts and laws passed by the legislature, and the public records of the district, and the proceedings of the governor in his executive department; and transmit authentic copies of such acts and proceedings, every six months, to the secretary of congress: There shall also be appointed a court, to consist of three judges, any two of whom to form a court, who shall have a common law jurisdiction, and reside in the district, and have each therein a freehold estate, in five hundred acres of land, while in the exercise of their offices; and their commissions shall continue in force during good behavior.

The governor and judges, or a majority of them, shall adopt and publish in the district, such laws of the original states, criminal and civil, as may be necessary, and best suited to the circumstances of the district, and report them to congress, from time to time; which laws shall be in force in the district until the organization of the general assembly therein, unless disapproved of by congress; but afterwards the legislature shall have authority to alter them as they shall think fit.

The governor for the time being, shall be commander in chief of the militia, appoint and commission all officers in the same, below the rank of general officers; all general officers shall be appointed and commissioned by congress.

Previous to the organization of the general assembly, the governor shall appoint such magistrates and other civil officers, in each county or township, as he shall find nec-

essary for the preservation of the peace and good order in the same. After the general assembly shall be organized, the powers and duties of magistrates and other civil officers shall be regulated and defined by the said assembly; but all magistrates and other civil officers, not herein otherwise directed, shall, during the continuance of this temporary government, be appointed by the governor.

For the prevention of crimes and injuries, the laws to be adopted or made shall have force in all parts of the district, and for the execution of process, criminal and civil, the governor shall make proper divisions thereof; and he shall proceed from time to time, as circumstances may require, to lay out the parts of the district in which the Indian titles shall have been extinguished, into counties and townships, subject, however, to such alterations as may thereafter be made by the legislature.

So soon as there shall be five thousand free male inhabitants of full age, in the district, upon giving proof thereof to the governor, they shall receive authority, with time and place, to elect representatives from their counties or townships, to represent them in the general assembly; provided that, for every five hundred free male inhabitants, there shall be one representative, and so on, progressively, with the number of free male inhabitants, shall the right of representation increase, until the number of representatives shall amount to twenty-five; after which the number and proportion of representatives shall be regulated by the legislature; provided, that no person be eligible or qualified to act as a representative, unless he shall have been a citizen of one of the United States three years, and be a resident in the district, or unless he shall have resided in the district three years; and in either case, shall likewise hold in his own right, in fee simple, two hundred acres of land within the same; provided also, that a freehold in fifty acres of land in the district, having been a citizen of one of the states, and being resident in the district, or the like freehold and two years residence in the district, shall be necessary to qualify a man as an elector of a representative.



The representatives thus elected, shall serve for the term of two years ; and in case of the death of a representative, or removal from office, the governor shall issue a writ to the county or township, for which he was a member, to elect another in his stead, to serve for the residue of the term.

The general assembly, or legislature, shall consist of the governor, legislative council, and a house of representatives. The legislative council shall consist of five members, to continue in office five years, unless sooner removed by congress ; any three of whom shall be a quorum : and the members of the council shall be nominated and appointed in the following manner, to wit : As soon as representatives shall be elected, the governor shall appoint a time and place for them to meet together, and when met, they shall nominate ten persons, residents in the district, and each possessed of a freehold in five hundred acres of land, and return their names to congress ; five of whom congress shall appoint and commission to serve as aforesaid : and whenever a vacancy shall happen in the council, by death or removal from office, the house of representatives shall nominate two persons, qualified as aforesaid, for each vacancy, and return their names to congress ; one of whom congress shall appoint and commission for the residue of the term : And every five years, four months at least before the expiration of the time of service of the members of council, the said house shall nominate ten persons, qualified as aforesaid, and return their names to congress ; five of whom congress shall appoint and commission to serve as members of the council five years ; unless sooner removed. And the governor, legislative council, and house of representatives, shall have authority to make laws, in all cases, for the good government of the district, not repugnant to the principles and articles in this ordinance established and declared. And all bills, having passed by a majority in the house, and by a majority in the council, shall be referred to the governor for his assent ; but no bill or legislative act whatever, shall be of any force without his assent. The governor shall have power to convene,

prorogue, and dissolve, the general assembly, when in his opinion it shall be expedient.

The governor, judges, legislative council, secretary, and such other officers as congress shall appoint in the district, shall take an oath or affirmation of fidelity, and of office; the governor before the president of congress, and all other officers before the governor. As soon as a legislature shall be formed in the district, the council and house assembled, in one room, shall have authority, by joint ballot, to elect a delegate to congress, who shall have a seat in congress, with a right of debating, but not of voting, during this temporary government.

And for extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis whereon these republics, their laws, and constitutions, are erected; to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments, which forever hereafter shall be formed in the said territory; to provide, also, for the establishment of states, and permanent government therein, and for their admission to a share in the federal councils on an equal footing with the original states, at as early periods as may be consistent with the general interest:

It is hereby ordained and declared, by the authority aforesaid, That the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact, between the original states and the people and states in the said territory, and forever remain unalterable, unless by common consent, to wit:

ART. 1. No person, demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments, in the said territory.

ART. 2. The inhabitants of the said territory shall always be entitled to the benefits of the writ of habeas corpus, and of the trial by jury; of a proportionate representation of the people in the legislature, and of judicial proceedings according to the course of the common law. All persons shall beailable, unless for capital offences, where the proof shall be evident, or the presumption great. All fines shall be moderate; and no

cruel or unusual punishment shall be inflicted. No man shall be deprived of his liberty or property, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land, and should the public exigencies make it necessary, for the common preservation, to take any person's property, or to demand his particular services, full compensation shall be made for the same. And, in the just preservation of rights and property, it is understood and declared, that no law ought ever to be made, or have force in the said territory, that shall, in any manner whatever, interfere with, or affect, private contracts or engagements, bona fide, and without fraud, previously formed.

ART. 3. Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged. The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property, rights, and liberty, they never shall be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity, shall, from time to time, be made, for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.

ART. 4. The said territory, and the states which may be formed therein, shall forever remain a part of this confederacy of the United States of America, subject to the articles of confederation, and to such alterations therein as shall be constitutionally made; and to all the acts and ordinances of the United States in congress assembled, conformable thereto. The inhabitants and settlers in the said territory shall be subject to pay a part of the federal debts, contracted or to be contracted, and a proportional part of the expenses of government, to be apportioned on them by congress, according to the same common rule and measure by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other states; and the taxes for paying their proportion, shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the district or districts, or

new states, as in the original states, within the time agreed upon by the United States in congress assembled. The legislatures of those districts, or new states, shall never interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States in congress assembled, nor with any regulations congress may find necessary, for securing the title in such soil, to the bona fide purchasers. No tax shall be imposed on lands the property of the United States; and in no case shall non-resident proprietors be taxed higher than residents. The navigable waters of the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, and the carrying places between the same, shall be common highways, and forever free, as well to the inhabitants of the said territory, as to the citizens of the United States, and those of any other states that may be admitted into the confederacy, without any tax, impost, or duty therefor.

ART. 5. There shall be formed in the said territory, not less than three, nor more than five states; and the boundaries of the states, as soon as Virginia shall alter her act of cession, and consent to the same, shall become fixed and established as follows, to wit: the western state in the said territory, shall be bounded by the Mississippi, the Ohio, and Wabash rivers; a direct line drawn from the Wabash and Post Vincents, due north, to the territorial line between the United States and Canada; and by the said territorial line to the Lake of the Woods and Mississippi. The middle states shall be bounded by the said district line, the Wabash, from Post Vincents to the Ohio, by the Ohio, by a direct line drawn due north from the mouth of the Great Miami to the said territorial line, and by the said territorial line. The eastern state shall be bounded by the last mentioned direct line, the Ohio, Pennsylvania, and the said territorial line: provided however, and it is further understood and declared, that the boundaries of these three states shall be subject so far to be altered, that, if congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two states in that part of the said territory which lies north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend or

extreme of Lake Michigan. And whenever any of the said states shall have sixty thousand free inhabitants therein, such state shall be admitted, by its delegates, into the congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the original states, in all respects whatever; and shall be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and state government: provided the constitution and government, so to be formed, shall be republican, and in conformity to the principles contained in these articles; and, so far as it can be consistent with the general interest of the confederacy, such admission shall be allowed at an earlier period, and when there may be a less number of free inhabitants in the state than sixty thousand.

ART. 6. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: provided always, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original states, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That the resolutions of the 23d of April, 1784, relative to the subject of this ordinance, be, and the same are hereby repealed and declared null and void. Done, &c.

## VIII. CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

We the people of the United States in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

### ARTICLE I.

#### SECTION I.

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

## SECTION II.

The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of *New Hampshire* shall be entitled to choose three, *Massachusetts* eight, *Rhode Island* and *Providence Plantations* one, *Connecticut* five, *New York* six, *New Jersey* four, *Pennsylvania* eight, *Delaware* one, *Maryland* six, *Virginia* ten, *North Carolina* five, *South Carolina* five, and *Georgia* three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the Executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

## SECTION III.

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature

thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be, into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments, until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President pro-tempore, in the absence of the Vice President or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments: when sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

## SECTION IV.

The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

## SECTION V.

Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each house may provide.

Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

## SECTION VI.

The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the



session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same ; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time : and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

#### SECTION VII.

All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives ; but the Senate may propose, or concur with, amendments, as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives, and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States ; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted), after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may

be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

#### SECTION VIII.

The Congress shall have power—To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post offices and post roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited time to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offences against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions ;

To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining, the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress ;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings ;—And

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX.

The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year eighteen hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of *Habeas Corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

No capitation, or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

#### SECTION X.

No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts; or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports and exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws: and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

## ARTICLE II.

## SECTION I.

The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose, by ballot, one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall, in like manner, choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the

States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes the Senate shall choose from them, by ballot, the Vice-President.

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: "*I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.*"

## SECTION II.

The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the

several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: But the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

### SECTION III.

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and, in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

### SECTION IV.

The President, Vice-President and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on im-

peachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

### ARTICLE III.

#### SECTION I.

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

#### SECTION II.

The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States, and the treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority;—to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls;—to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction;—to controversies to which the United States shall be a party;—to controversies between two or more States;—between a State and citizen of another State;—between citizens of different States;—between citizens of the same State, claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before-mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall



be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III.

Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION I.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II.

The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

## SECTION III.

New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union ; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State ; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States ; and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

## SECTION IV.

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion ; and on application of the Legislature, or of the executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

## ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress ; provided, that no amendment, which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article ; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution, as under the confederation.

This constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States shall be bound, by oath or affirmation, to support this constitution: but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the Conventions of nine states, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth.

GO. WASHINGTON,  
*President, and deputy from Virginia.*

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

JOHN LANGDON,  
NICHOLAS GILMAN.

MASSACHUSETTS.

NATHANIEL GORHAM,  
RUFUS KING.

DELAWARE.

GEORGE REED,  
GUNNING BEDFORD, JR.,  
JOHN DICKINSON,  
RICHARD BASSETT,  
JACOB BROOM.

## CONNECTICUT.

WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON,  
ROGER SHERMAN.

## NEW YORK.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

## NEW JERSEY.

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON,  
DAVID BREARLEY,  
WILLIAM PATERSON,  
JONATHAN DAYTON.

## PENNSYLVANIA

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,  
THOMAS MIFFLIN,  
ROBERT MORRIS,  
GEORGE CLYMER,  
THOMAS FITZSIMONS,  
JARED INGERSOLL,  
JAMES WILSON,  
GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

## MARYLAND.

JAMES M'HENRY,  
DANIEL OF ST. THO. JENIFER,  
DANIEL CARROLL.

## VIRGINIA.

JOHN BLAIR,  
JAMES MADISON, JR.

## NORTH CAROLINA.

WILLIAM BLOUNT,  
RICHARD DOBBS SPAIGHT,  
HUGH WILLIAMSON.

## SOUTH CAROLINA.

JOHN RUTLEDGE,  
CHARLES C. PINCKNEY,  
CHARLES PINCKNEY,  
PIERCE BUTLER.

## GEORGIA.

WILLIAM FEW,  
ABRAHAM BALDWIN.

*Attest:*

WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

## AMENDMENTS.

## ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

## ARTICLE II.

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

## ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in a time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

## ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized.

## ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject, for the same offence, to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

## ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law; and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

## ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by

jury shall be preserved ; and no fact tried by a jury shall be re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

#### ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

#### ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

#### ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

#### ARTICLE XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

#### ARTICLE XII.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves ; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President ; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each ; which lists they shall sign and

certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then, from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose, immediately, by ballot, the President. But, in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then, from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President. A quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President, shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

### ARTICLE XIII.

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been

duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

#### ARTICLE XIV.

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of the representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or



comfort to the enemies thereof; but Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States, nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

#### ARTICLE XV.

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

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Of the AMENDMENTS, the first ten were proposed by the First Congress, in 1789. The eleventh, by the Third Congress, March 4, 1794. The twelfth, by the Eighth Congress, 1803-'5. The thirteenth, by the Thirty-eighth Congress, February 1, 1865, and declared ratified December 18, 1865. The fourteenth, by the Thirty-ninth Congress, June 13, 1866, and declared ratified July 28, 1868. The fifteenth, by the Fortieth Congress, February 26, 1869, and declared ratified March 30, 1870.

#### IX. WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

SEPTEMBER 17, 1796.

*Friends and Fellow-Citizens:*

The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your

thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom the choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest, no deficiency of respect for your past kindness, but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led me to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea. I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove of my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust were explained on the proper occasion. In

the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have, with good intention, contributed toward the organization and administration of the government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that, if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is to terminate the career of my political life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me, and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead—amid appearances sometimes dubious—vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging—in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts and a guaranty of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave as a strong incitement to unceasing wishes that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution

which is the work of your hands may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption, of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of our hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that from different causes, and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth—as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) di-

rected—it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and to speak of it as a palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you in your natural capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together. The independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and success.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here, every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The *north*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *south*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *south*, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the same agency of the *north*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *north*, it finds its particular navi-

gation invigorated; and while it contributes in different ways to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted. The *east*, in like intercourse with the *west*, in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad or manufactures at home. The *west* derives from the *east* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort; and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of the indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest, as one nation. Any other tenure by which the *west* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connexion with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionately greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations, and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same government, which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue of the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs as matter of serious concern that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—*northern* and *southern*, *Atlantic* and *western*; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts is, to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You can not shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations. They tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head. They have seen in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic states unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties—that with Great Britain and that with Spain—which secure to them everything they

could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, toward confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute. They must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which alliances at all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political system is, the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberations and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this funda-



mental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction; to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government, destroying afterward the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Toward the preservation of your government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite not only that you steadily discountenance irregular opposition to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretext. One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitutions of a country; that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember especially, that from the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself

will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them upon geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissensions, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of the public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight, the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kin-

dles the animosity of one part against another; foments occasional riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passion. Thus the policy and will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From the natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose; and there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be by force of public opinion to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding, in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power and proneness to abuse it which predominate in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions of the other, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern—some of them in our country, and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modifica-

tion of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way in which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this in one instance may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness—these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexion with private and public felicity. Let it be simply asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles.

It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric? Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to

use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering, also, that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives; but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential you should practically bear in mind that toward the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects, which is always a choice of difficulties, ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages that might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least is recommended by every sentiment which enobles human nature: Alas! it is rendered impossible by its vices.

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more es-

sential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that in the place of them, just and amicable feelings toward all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur.

Hence, frequent collisions and obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject. At other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to the projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and the wars of the latter without adequate inducements or justification. It leads, also, to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which are apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupt, or deluded citizens, who devote themselves to the

favorite nation, facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country without odium, sometimes even with popularity, gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation to a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak nation toward a great and powerful one, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter. Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens, the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious, while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connexion as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence, she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore,

it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war as our interests, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand on foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world, so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony and a liberal intercourse with all nations are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the stream of



commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with powers so disposed (in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, to enable the government to support them) conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and natural opinion will permit, but temporary and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another—that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character—that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not having given more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish—that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good—that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism—this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and the other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to

my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without anything more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity toward other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and constancy which it is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortune.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence, and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright

zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love toward it which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectations that retreat in which I promise myself to realize without alloy the sweet enjoyment of partaking in the midst of my fellow-citizens the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers.

X. PRESIDENT JOHN ADAMS' PROCLAMATION FOR A NATIONAL FAST.

MARCH 6, 1799.

As no truth is more clearly taught in the volume of inspiration, nor any more fully demonstrated by the experience of all ages, than that a deep sense and a due acknowledgment of the governing providence of a Supreme Being, and of the accountableness of man to Him as the searcher of hearts and righteous distributor of rewards and punishments, are conducive equally to the happiness and rectitude of individuals and to the well being of communities; as it is, also, most reasonable in itself that men who are made capable of social acts and relations, who owe their improvements to the social state, and who derive their enjoyments from it, should, as a society, make their acknowledgments of dependence and obligation to Him who hath endowed them with these capacities and elevated them in the scale of existence by these distinctions; as it is, likewise, a plain dictate of duty, and a strong sentiment of nature, that in circumstances of great urgency and seasons of imminent danger, earnest and particular supplications should be made to Him who is able to defend or to destroy; as, moreover, the most precious interests of the people of the United States are still held

in jeopardy by the hostile designs and insidious acts of a foreign nation, as well as by the dissemination among them of those principles, subversive to the foundations of all religious, moral, and social obligations that have produced incalculable mischief and misery in other countries; and as, in fine, the observance of special seasons for public religious solemnities is happily calculated to avert the evils which we ought to deprecate, and to excite to the performance of the duties which we ought to discharge, by calling and fixing the attention of the people at large to the momentous truths already recited, by affording opportunity to teach and inculcate them, by animating devotion and giving to it the character of a national act.

For these reasons I have thought proper to recommend, and I do hereby recommend accordingly, that Thursday, the twenty-fifth day of April next, be observed throughout the United States of America as a day of solemn humiliation, fasting, and prayer; that the citizens on that day abstain, as far as may be, from their secular occupation, and devote the time to the sacred duties of religion, in public and in private; that they call to mind our numerous offences against the most high God, confess them before him with the sincerest penitence, implore his pardoning mercy, through the Great Mediator and Redeemer, for our past transgressions, and that, through the grace of his Holy Spirit, we may be disposed and enabled to yield a more suitable obedience to his righteous requisitions in time to come; that he would interpose to arrest the progress of that impiety and licentiousness in principle and practice so offensive to himself and so ruinous to mankind; that he would make us deeply sensible that "righteousness exalteth a nation, but that sin is a reproach to any people;" that he would turn us from our transgressions and turn his displeasure from us; that he would withhold us from unreasonable discontent, from disunion, faction, sedition and insurrection; that he would preserve our country from the desolating sword; that he would save our cities and towns from a repetition of those awful pestilential visitations under which they

have lately suffered so severely, and that the health of our inhabitants generally may be precious in his sight; that he would favor us with fruitful seasons, and so bless the labors of the husbandman as that there may be food in abundance for man and beast; that he would prosper our commerce, manufactures, and fisheries, and give success to the people in all their lawful industry and enterprise; that he would smile on our colleges, academies, schools, and seminaries of learning, and make them nurseries of sound science, morals, and religion; that he would bless all magistrates from the highest to the lowest, give them the true spirit of their station, make them a terror to evil-doers and a praise to them that do well; that he would preside over the councils of the nation at this critical period, enlighten them to a just discernment of the public interest, and save them from mistake, division, and discord; that he would make succeed our preparations for defence, and bless our armaments by land and by sea; that he would put an end to the effusion of human blood and the accumulation of human misery among the contending nations of the earth, by disposing them to justice, to equality, to benevolence, and to peace; and that he would extend the blessings of knowledge, of true liberty, and of pure and undefiled religion throughout the world.

And I do recommend that, with these acts of humiliation, penitence, and prayer, fervent thanksgiving to the Author of all good be united, for the countless favors which he is still continuing to the people of the United States, and which render their condition as a nation eminently happy when compared with the lot of others.

#### XI. A NEW HAMPSHIRE THANKSGIVING PROCLAMATION IN 1862.

A Proclamation for a Day of Public Thanksgiving and Praise by His Excellency the Governor.

The revolution of the seasons has brought again the period when it is the usage to set apart a day for public

thanksgiving to Almighty God. In accordance with a time-honored custom, inaugurated by our forefathers, and so much in harmony with the convictions of all Christian people, I do, by the advice of the Council, appoint Thursday, the 27th of November next, to be observed as a day of thanksgiving and praise. And I hereby invite the people of this State to assemble in their usual places of public worship to join in ascriptions of praise and other devotional exercises so suitable for dependent beings, and of which the many mercies of our heavenly Father, at this time, are so eminently suggestive. Let us all meet to give Him thanks for the bountiful harvest with which He has gladdened the heart of man; for peaceful homes, and the social, educational, and religious privileges vouchsafed to us; for the progress of civil liberty; for the general prevalence of health throughout our borders during the year approaching its close, and in which, notwithstanding the existence of national calamities, there has been much to remind us of his neverfailing mercy and goodness. Let us adore and bless his holy name for that Christian civilization which is our inheritance, and for the many and illustrious examples which came to us with that heavenly boon, of the patience, unflinching confidence, and heroic endurance of a holy ancestry in seasons of affliction and peril. Let us humbly and gratefully thank and praise the Disposer of Events that such examples of reliance upon his providential care have not been lost to succeeding generations, but are now abundantly developed among a great people, in a year the painful record of which will soon be closed; a year when the patriotism, courage and Christian faith of our fathers have been fully realized in their children, who, disregarding the ties of affection and the comfort of happy firesides, are bravely enduring the perils of camp and the storm of battle, that their country may live, and the cause of good government and free institutions be transmitted to succeeding generations. And, above all, let us praise him for that revelation which brings "life and immortality to light," for the injunctions and promises of that book which for our fathers was the

source of reliance and consolation in seasons of disquietude and danger, and which may with equal certainty and efficacy be appropriated by ourselves in this season of doubt and peril. And, while we thank God for his mercies, let not a day so suggestive of good works be permitted to pass without the exercise of those offices of kindness for the needy, which was an injunction of our Divine Redeemer, who published "peace on earth and good will to men."

Given at the Council-Chamber in Concord, this thirty-first day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

NATHANIEL S. BERRY.

By his excellency, the Governor, with the advice of the council.

ALLEN TENNY, *Secretary of State.*

## XII. RESOLUTION OF UNITED STATES SENATE IN 1863.

*Resolved,* That devoutly recognizing the supreme authority and just government of Almighty God in all the affairs of men and of nations, and sincerely believing that no people, however great in numbers and resources, or however strong in the justice of their cause, can prosper without his favor, and at the same time deploring the national offences which have provoked his righteous judgment, yet encouraged in this day of trouble by the assurances of his Word, to seek him for succor according to his appointed way, through Jesus Christ, the Senate of the United States do hereby request the President of the United States, by his proclamation, to designate and set apart a day for national prayer and humiliation, requesting all the people of the land to suspend their secular pursuits, and unite in keeping the day in solemn communion with the Lord of Hosts, supplicating him to enlighten the councils and direct the policy of the rulers of

the nation, and to support all our soldiers, sailors, and marines, and the whole people, in the firm discharge of duty, until the existing rebellion shall be overthrown and the blessings of peace restored to our bleeding country.

### XIII. FAST PROCLAMATION BY PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

Whereas the Senate of the United States, devoutly recognizing the supreme authority and just government of Almighty God in all the affairs of men and nations, has, by a resolution, requested the President to designate and set apart a day for national prayer and humiliation ; And whereas it is the duty of nations, as well as of men, to own their dependence upon the overruling power of God, to confess their sins and transgressions in humble sorrow, yet with assured hope that genuine repentance will lead to mercy and pardon, and to recognize the sublime truth announced in the Holy Scriptures, and proven by all history, that those nations only are blessed whose God is the Lord ; And insomuch as we know that, by his divine law, nations, like individuals, are subjected to punishments and chastisements in this world, may we not justly fear that the awful calamity of civil war, which now desolates the land, may be but a punishment inflicted upon us for our presumptuous sins to the needful end of our national reformation as a whole people? We have been the recipients of the choicest bounties of Heaven. We have been preserved, these many years, in peace and prosperity. We have grown in numbers, wealth and power as no other nation has ever grown. But we have forgotten God. We have forgotten the gracious hand which preserved us in peace, and multiplied and enriched and strengthened us ; and we have vainly imagined, in the deceitfulness of our hearts, that all these blessings were produced by some superior wisdom and virtue of our own. Intoxicated with unbroken success, we have become too self-sufficient to feel the necessity of redeeming and preserving grace, too proud to pray to the God that made us !



It behooves us, then, to humble ourselves before the offended Power, to confess our national sins, and to pray for clemency and forgiveness.

Now, therefore, in compliance with the request and fully concurring in the views of the Senate, I do, by this proclamation, designate and set apart Thursday, the 30th day of April, 1863, as a day of national humiliation, fasting and prayer. And I do hereby request all the people to abstain on that day from their ordinary secular pursuits, and to unite at their several places of public worship and their respective homes in keeping the day holy to the Lord and devoted to the humble discharge of the religious duties proper to that solemn occasion.

All this being done in sincerity and truth, let us then rest humbly in the hope, authorized by the Divine teachings, that the united cry of the nation will be heard on high, and answered with blessings no less than the pardon of our national sins, and restoration of our now divided and suffering country to its former happy condition of unity and peace.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this thirtieth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

#### XIV. LINCOLN'S SECOND INAUGURAL.

##### *Fellow-Countrymen :*

At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement somewhat in detail of a course to be pursued seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energy of the nation, little that is new could be presented.

The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself, and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it. All sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to the saving of the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city, seeking to destroy it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union and divide the effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would *make* war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would *accept* war rather than let it perish—and the war came. One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and beneficial interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union even by war, while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war the magnitude nor the privation which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might close with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes his aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces. But let us judge not that we be not judged. The prayer of both could not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has his own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offences; for it must needs be that offences come, but woe to that

man by whom the offence cometh." If we should suppose that American slavery is one of those offences, which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a loving God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn by the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said: "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive to finish the work we are in, to bind up the Nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

It is hoped that the candid reader will find cogent arguments in the chapters of this Manual for the Religious Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. But no argument could be more cogent than the simple facts of this Appendix. In the midst of these Historic Documents stands the National Constitution. All save this one devoutly acknowledge the God who gave us our national being, and who has defended and delivered us in war and blessed us in times of peace. But this one, which, because of its place and influence, more loudly called for some suitable acknowledgment of the King of nations than any of the others, has the unenviable dis-

tion of being without any acknowledgment of our God and Saviour, and has thus become the boast of political atheists. The day of its amendment, that it may correspond with the other documents of this Appendix, must come, if we are to have the future of a free and righteous, or a true Christian nation.

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# A NEW BOOK ON THE SCHOOL QUESTION.

*Ready in July, 1890.*

In preparing this work the authorities have all been obtained in the originals, and from Roman Catholic sources, including the Acts and Decrees of the Council of Trent, the Vatican Council, the Third Baltimore Council, the Baltimore Lay Congress, Pope Leo's Encyclicals, the Index Librorum Prohibitorum, the works of Dens, Busembaum, Voit, St. Thomas, St. Liguori, Gury, Archbishop Manning, Cardinal Newman, Cardinal Gibbons, etc., etc. The citations are given with edition of work, volume and page. In the most important references the original Latin is added in the foot notes.

## ROME'S DEATH STRUGGLE WITH THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS; OR, THE END OF ROMANISM, HOW AND WHEN.

### CHAPTER I.

#### THE FACT, OCCASION, AND MAGNITUDE OF THE STRUGGLE.

The latest statistics of the common schools and of Romanism are here given, and the reason, as well as the fact, of Rome's attack on the common schools is shown. Rome's assault is set forth in the words of her own highest officials.

### CHAPTER II.

#### THE PRINCIPLES OF THE COMMON SCHOOL SYSTEM.

An analysis is made of these principles. This includes a view of the origin as well as the character of the public school system of America. Special attention is bestowed on the historic place of Christianity with an open Bible in our school system.



## CHAPTER III.

### THE OPPOSING PRINCIPLES OF ROMANISM.

The fact, of which proof is given in the first chapter, is here shown to be a necessity. The system of Romanism, Vaticanism or Ultramontanism, rests on definite principles. These essential principles of the system are taken from indisputable Roman authorities, and are shown to be in irreconcilable antagonism to our common schools.

## CHAPTER IV.

### ROMANISM AS IDENTIFIED IN SCRIPTURE PROPHECY.

The system, as it proclaims itself by its own official acts and decrees, given in the last chapter, is shown to be the same crafty, persecuting and blasphemous system which the spirit of prophecy portrays. The system is identified by its origin, its location and its prophetic number, as well as by its character.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE STRUGGLE IRREPRESSIBLE AND DECISIVE.

Both the systems portrayed cannot survive. There is a necessary death-struggle between them. The evidence that Rome is now determined to force the issue, in hope of triumph, is quoted at length from Roman councils and officials. These enemies, while professing loyalty to American institutions, are already anticipating the destruction of the public school system. American patriots are at last arousing to the importance of this struggle.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE POSSIBLE TRIUMPH OF ROMANISM.

This is proved to be possible either by a division of the school fund or the secularization of the common schools. In either of these ways, should the effort succeed, the public schools are sure to be broken down, and a parochial system of Roman Catholic instruction will temporarily prevail over the principles of the common school system. A specially full and careful examination is made in this chapter of secular education and of the parochial system.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE END OF ROMANISM—HOW.

The chapter forecasts the final outcome of this struggle. Rome, it is believed, will receive her death-blow as a system in this country in this conflict with the common schools. The manner of the end of the system in Europe is also considered in the light of prophecy.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE END OF ROMANISM—WHEN.

This is an attempt to fix as closely as possible the date of the issue of the struggle. The light of Scripture prophecy is thrown on the conflict now hastening in our land and in Europe to its final decision, and a calculation is made of "the time of the end," on the basis of history and such passages of Scripture as Daniel 7 : 26 and 12 : 8, 11 ; and Rev. 16 : 10-21.

## CHAPTER IX.

### PRESENT DUTY OF AMERICAN PATRIOTS.

These cautions are impressed on American citizens, and an appeal is made for prompt and efficient action.

## APPENDIX.

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