

THE STATE AND RELIGION.

ANNUAL ADDRESS BEFORE THE PRESBYTERIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
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I CAN conceive of no more natural or favorable occasion for setting forth fundamental principles, the recognition of which is essential to the common welfare of this generation, than the anniversary of a Presbyterian Historical Society.

First, Because of its generic character as an *Historical Society*.

One of the most conspicuous and disastrous characteristics of the shallow and reckless radicalism, often manifest in this age alike in the affairs of Church and State, is a disposition to break away from all historical connection with the past, and to make wholesale clearance of the stage of action, for the experiment of new and untried principles from absolutely new starting points.

On the other hand it is the lesson alike of universal experience, of the highest philosophy and of the most recent science, that human life in all its spheres is too manifold and intricate to admit of its being administered upon abstract theories exploited on an open field, as mathematical problems are exploited on a newly sponged slate. There is a law of historical continuity whereby the opinions and characters of individuals, and the laws and institutions of society, grow out of the characters and thoughts and institutions of the men and of the communities which have preceded them, and all the conditions under which they live are the inheritance from the generations from which they spring.

This is true of the world as a whole, and of every special community and of every individual within his own sphere. And the practical consequence is that, as members of a great national and moral community, it is neither on the one hand our duty to float down, carried passively by the mechanical forces of our historical conditions, nor on the other hand to attempt the absurd and impossible task of breaking away from those conditions and building up a new creation under new and self-chosen conditions on absolutely new principles—but it is, obviously, our duty to accept the foundations providentially laid for us by our fathers, to learn the principles on which their work was grounded and by which it is cemented, to learn from their experience to avoid their mistakes and to imitate their virtues, and to address ourselves to the completion of their work and to the application of their tested principles to our own life work, modified by the new conditions of the new age in which our lot is cast. Whether voluntarily or of constraint, whether rationally or senselessly, we must fall into rank, and follow the lines of historic progress providentially leading out of the past into the future.

But *secondly*, we regard the occasion as one eminently favorable for the setting forth of essentially important fundamental principles because this is the anniversary of a *Presbyterian* Historical Society.

Here we stand in the line of the grandest succession of events, and in the sphere of the operation of the noblest principles ever realized in human history, the very central current of Providential guidance, conveying the most precious of all inheritances from the past, and the brightest of all promises for the future.

In the first place this history is pre-eminently Theistic. Its essential characteristic is the manifestation of the abiding presence of a personal God and Father displaying his moral perfections, in the vindication of righteousness and in the ministrations of love the natural everywhere working up into the supernatural, and the supernatural everywhere controlling and glorifying the natural.

In the second place this history is eminently Christian, taking its rise in the great new creative epoch of human history, inaugurated by the Incarnation, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection and Session of the God-man on the throne of universal empire, and the Mission of the Holy Ghost.

In the third place it is eminently Protestant, issuing from the great starting point of Modern History, constituted by the Revival of Learning, and the emancipation of the human mind from the dictation of the Roman Curia, and the setting up among all nations

of the Word of God in the vernacular as the supreme, infallible, ir-reformable law of human duty in all relations and spheres of action, from which there is no appeal.

In the fourth place it is Reformed or Calvinistic, springing forth out of that great constructive process which succeeded the disruptive movements of the Reformation when theology as a science first reached systematic definition; when civil and religious liberty were not merely formulated as principles, but achieved as possessions through myriads of martyrdoms; when thus the modern State and the modern Church first emerged, and began to be adjusted into their relations as independent organizations, subject to the same supreme Head, and ministering in different spheres to the accomplishment of the same ultimate design.

In the fifth place, the history which we celebrate to-day is pre-eminently Scottish. Its head-spring is in that unique national revolution, when an evangelical revival embraced and wielded the forces of all classes of an entire nation from the Duke to the highland cottar, under the leadership of that absolutely unparalleled line of statesmen theologians, or theological statesmen, John Knox, John Craig, Andrew Melville, Alexander Henderson, and Thomas Chalmers.

In this line, we, their ecclesiastical heirs, have received this amazing inheritance of theological definitions and Confession of Faith, of martyrdoms, and National Covenants maintained through stubborn wars of voice and pen and sword, of a Christian State and a Free Church, founded on the recognition of the universal supremacy of King Jesus in both spheres. Hence our providentially imposed task is, upon peril of our salvation, to maintain these principles intact, and to apply them faithfully and rationally to the new imperial conditions under which our lot is cast—an entire continent, a population gathered from every race and kingdom under heaven, and a society moulded by the ever accumulating results of modern civilization.

But the principles, verified in the lives and deaths of ten generations of saints, are always the same, though the conditions change. In the time of Knox and Melville, the sovereigns were Mary and James, who arrogated absolute supremacy in all causes. In our time another king has appeared, styled "The People," for whom absolute, irresponsible sovereignty is also claimed, who, it is assumed, can make, by prerogative, whatsoever he wills right.

We take the words of Melville originally addressed to James VI., of Scotland, and address them to this arrogant modern

American sovereign, who proposes to set himself in the seat of God, "Ye are God's silly vassal. There are two kings and two kingdoms in America: there is king 'people,' the immediate head of the commonwealth, and there is Christ the king over both Church and commonwealth, whose subject the people is, and of whose kingdom the 'people' is not king nor lord, nor head, but subject only."

The lesson taught by this God-endorsed Presbyterian History, which is pre-eminently needed in our country and day, is that the civil commonwealth as essentially as the Church, although in a different sphere, stands in responsible relations to God and therefore possesses religious attributes; that it, as well as the Church, is subject to the authority of Jesus Christ; and that the inspired Scriptures are to the one as certainly as to the other, an authoritative expression of his will.

I. The principle that the entire sphere of human life is moral and religious is self-evident, and never has been denied until recently, and in the interest of the exaltation of the new irresponsible sovereign, 'the people.' It has been so clearly recognized that it has been pressed to false and exaggerated conclusions as to the relations of State and Church. The practical difficulty experienced in the working of these two great forms of human organization, and the ambition of the rival officers of each, has led to various theoretical plans for the adjustment of their relations. These are as follows:

1. The theocratic plan realized among the Jews, whereby the Church absorbed the State and constituted its form and life.

2. The theory proposed by Dr. Arnold of Rugby, in which in a perfect Christian community the Christian State absorbs and takes the place of the Church.

Nevertheless the fact that Church and State are distinct institutions having different objects, methods, and spheres, has been always recognized as true by all parties in the historical Christian Churches, while their mutual relations have been very differently adjusted by these several parties. Hence we have

3. The Romish theory, which, while admitting that Church and State are distinct organizations operating in distinct spheres, yet seeks as far as possible everywhere, to subordinate the State to the Church and to make the Pope supreme Lord in both spheres.

4. The Erastian theory which, while in like manner admitting the distinction of object and sphere of these organizations yet subordinates the Church to the State and makes the supreme magistrate of the one, the supreme head of the other.

5. The new American theory, that Church and State have entirely distinct spheres, methods, and objects, and that hence they have, as organizations, no relation whatever to each other, except that both consist of the same personal constituents. The State deals with Church property and the persons of her members, precisely as she deals with any other persons and property, and the members of the Church owe allegiance to the State precisely as all other citizens.

6. But lately this theory has been radically amended, and in its perverted form urgently pressed upon the thought and upon the immediate practical legislation of the nation. This new form of the theory affirms not only that Church and State have entirely distinct spheres and methods of operation, but that it is of the essence of the State that it is purely secular and naturalistic, recognizing no law but that of the human reason and will, no obligation other than that of the individual to society, and no end beyond the well-being of man considered as a rational animal. It is against this secular theory of the State, the affirmed absolutely non-religious character of its essence, and of all its functions, especially that of educating the young, that I now with all my heart protest.

II. Thus we have presented to the distracted Christian consciousness of the present generation, a Triangular Controversy, since Erastianism is finally retired, and is at present represented by no party.

At the opposite angles of an equilateral triangle, place (*a.*) The advocates of the Papal Theory, who have gathered strength and assumed a more aggressive attitude since the publication of the *Syllabus* and the decrees of the Vatican Council, (*b.*) The advocates of the Secularist theory; and (*c.*) Those who maintain the Christian Theory.

This complicated antagonism of principles and parties has occasioned much confusion. The hostility between the advocates of the Papal and of the Protestant Christian theories, is palpably visible and tangible, and is aggravated by passionate antipathies and rivalries, and by traditions of ancestral persecutions for centuries. Yet the actual difference between the Protestant Christian and the Secularist is incomparably more profound and far reaching in its consequences.

The advocates of the Papal Theory are popularly understood to be the opposers of the sanctification of the Sabbath, and of the reading of the Bible in the Public Schools. Their real intent however, is not a purely negative one, but the diffusion of Papal Chris-

tianity, and denominational education. The Secularists quietly advise the withdrawal of the Bible from the common schools, avowedly only in the interests of peace, while they claim to stand on our side, differing from us simply in occupying a more advanced and consistent platform of Protestantism. They are Protestants, however, only in the negative sense, and can be properly known and classified not by their negative, but by their positive affirmations of principle. Their system is essentially, however, and by necessary consequences of their affirmations, purely atheistic and naturalistic, and hence immoral and anarchical.

By as much, therefore, as Papal Christianity with all its faults and perils is better than atheism and ultimate anarchy, by so much, therefore, is the foe standing at the Secular corner of the triangular battle-field to be feared and opposed more than the more visible and ostensibly offensive foe occupying the Papal angle.

III. *Statement of the Secularist Theory, and the grounds on which it rests.*

The State, by which we mean the people acting in their organic capacity through the machinery of law, has no religious character; it is absolutely neutral with reference to all religious doctrines drawn from the Bible or elsewhere; it is no more Christian than Mohammedan, and no more theistic than atheistic. The State schools propose to give only a secular education; an education that would be needful and useful in this life, if there were no God and no future for the human soul. (Spear's "Religion and the State," pp. 51, 52 53. *)

The reasons by which their position is enforced are

1. The subject matters of civil legislation and administration, the interests the State is created to conserve, are themselves essentially devoid of all religious character. The secular and religious elements of human life are practically susceptible of absolute separation. And this separation, instead of working any injury, promotes the best interests of both departments.

2. That, as a matter of fact all past history affords unanswerable evidence that the confusion of these elements secular and religious, has wrought incalculable injury to both and brought upon human society its sorest and most wide-spread woes. It has corrupted the church, generated hypocrites and sycophants over-

* The fact that some of the most prominent advocates of this political and social revolution are orthodox and sincere Christians, does not change the nature of the principle, nor affect the conditions of the argument. It only renders the situation the more alarming.

thrown religious liberty and occasioned cruel and endless persecutions. And on the other hand, it has no less corrupted the State, perverted legislation obstructed progress, and limited civil liberty.

3. It is asserted, that the least recognition, theoretical or practical, of religious truths and obligations by the State, is in principle identical with the formal union, or legal confederation, of the organized Church with the Civil Government, and that such recognition must inevitably lead by logical consequences to the full legal establishment of some particular denomination of religionists.

4. It is claimed that, as a matter of fact, the Constitution of the United States, and a majority of the Constitutions of the several States, and the laws formed in pursuance thereof, are based upon the purely *secular* theory of Government; that this principle was deliberately endorsed by the wisdom of the founders of our government, and has worked well for one hundred years, and hence that the authoritative recognition of its own religious character by the State would be an essential revolution in our fundamental law.

5. The absolutely secular or atheistic principle of government is essential to the principle of perfect equality before the law in a community constituted as that which exists in America. The population has been gathered out of all nations and races, drawn together and constituted one people on a pledged basis of perfect equality of all rights and duties. As a matter of fact it consists of Jews and Idolaters, of Catholics and Protestants, of Deists and Atheists. The recognition of the religious quality of the State would necessarily lead to the preference of Protestant to Catholic, of Believer to Infidel, of Theist to Atheist which is a violation of natural right, and a specific breach of constitutional faith. In all such adjustments, the man that believes most must be sacrificed to the man that believes least, and as the atheist believes nothing, the common law must be adjusted on his basis.

6. It is claimed that this principle is absolutely clear and simple, and that it alone affords a perfectly effective and equitable solution of all embarrassing practical questions as to the Bible in the Schools, the Sunday laws, and laws relating to marriage and divorce, &c.

7. That the advocates of the opposite theory are, "religionists," "bigots," "zealots," "fanatics," and "ignorant." (See Spear's "Religion and the State.")

IV. *Statement of the Christian Doctrine of the Relation of the State to Religion, and the Evidence by which it is Confirmed.*

Statement. We hold fully and sincerely the true American

theory that the Church and the State are distinct institutions, having separate organizations, objects, spheres and methods. The State has for its object the conservation of human society, the protection of life and property, and the promotion of the temporal well being of the Commonwealth. The church has for its object the salvation of souls. They are in such a sense, and to such a degree separate and independent, that neither organization has any function whatever to fulfill within the sphere of the other.

2. But we hold no less firmly that the State, as well as, and as much as the church, is a divine institution; that all the authority possessed by the State is derived from God, and is exercised in His name; that every State is necessarily subject to that natural revelation of his will which God has made in reason and conscience; and that every Christian state is subject to that supernatural revelation of his will which he has given in his inspired word, just in so far as his word expresses his will upon subjects coming within the sphere of the State.

Evidence on which the doctrine rests. 1. That the State is a divine institution is evident. (1.) It springs spontaneously and necessarily under all normal conditions from the constitution of men as social and moral beings. God instituted civil government in precisely the same sense that he instituted marriage and the family. (2.) The special form in which any particular state is organized, as monarchical or republican, is always determined by its historical conditions, which in their turn are immediately determined by the providence of God. (3.) The State is essentially a moral government. Its legislation rests upon man's moral nature. It creates moral obligations, appeals to moral motives, and promotes moral character. But all moral obligation presupposes the revelation of God's will, (see below.) (4.) The Bible asserts this truth explicitly and emphatically. "The powers that be are ordained of God." "Rulers are ministers of God to us for good." "Who-soever resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God." "Wherefore ye must needs be subject not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake."

2. All parties acknowledge that the word "State" is only a collective name for "the people acting in their organic capacity through the machinery of law." It is self-evident therefore that the State must have all the characteristics of the people who constitute it, as far as these characteristics relate to the matters involved in the sphere in which the activities of the State are exercised. It is absurd to conceive of a man being personally a loyal

Bible Christian, and yet indifferent to all the relations and obligations which spring out of the facts recognized in theism and Christianity whenever he comes to act as a voter, as a legislator, or as a magistrate. It is absolutely necessary that all the convictions and all the obligations of persons who constitute the State must be involved in every act of that State to which these convictions and obligations relate.

Besides this, by universal consent, many of the functions of the State necessarily involve moral attributes. They often must be exercised so as to fulfill or to violate the law of justice of righteousness, and of benevolence and not merely the law of expediency. If so the State must of course, possess a positively moral character.

But all morality presupposes Theism. Conscience in every act witnesses to God, and it always commands by his authority. The sense of moral obligation essentially involves an instinctive sense of subjection to a supreme will exterior to ourselves. A sense of guilt necessarily involves the recognition of God whose authority has been violated. Hence moral obligation has its ultimate ground in the binding power of his will. If, therefore, the State is bound to recognize the moral law written on the human heart, it is bound to recognize God. If it denies God, it denies his law. If it denies him and his law, it becomes not merely non-moral and non-theistic but immoral and atheistic.

3. The natural aspects of God as Creator and providential and moral Ruler are those which chiefly concern the State. The aspect and purpose and work of God as Redeemer, set forth in revelation, especially concerns the church. But it is unquestionable that natural Theism is as necessary for a heathen State, and that God's will concerning temporal duties as revealed in the Christian scriptures, is as necessary for the direction of a Christian State as the Biblical revelation of redemption is necessary for a Christian church.

4. There is no possible alternative. The State must be either theistic or atheistic, either Christian or anti-Christian. This is inevitable, because both by the light of nature and by the express words of revelation, God has clearly expressed his will on several great departments of human duty necessarily embraced within the sphere of civil legislation. Sometimes both these manifestations of the divine will unite in imposing the same obligation. In other cases the supernatural revelation of the Word imposes obligations in advance of those imposed by the light of nature. The will of God is the only ground of our obligation to obey the civil magis-

trate. Legislation upon the Sabbath capital punishment, marriage and divorce, and the education of the young must all be conformed to the divine will or the reverse. God has definitely imposed his will in the premises. Man, in every capacity in which he acts, must either obey or disobey, and hence the State in this whole sphere must be either moral or immoral, religious or irreligious.

5. The strength of the position of the secularists is derived from the rational objection, universal in America, to any organic union between Church and State. But there is no logical connection whatever between the rational recognition of a religion and an establishment of an organized church. A national religion is simply the practical recognition by a nation of their subjection to the will of God however revealed, as far as that relates to the political and civil life of the people, i. e., as far as it claims to determine the action of the State. A church, on the other hand, is an ecclesiastical organization having for its object the salvation of souls. Generic theism and generic Christianity have no necessary connection with any form of denominational organization. The State is absolutely independent of the Church. The functions of the one have no place within the sphere of the other. The State may be indifferent to the voice of the organized body called the Church, but if she is indifferent to the voice of God, she must be positively atheistic and anti-Christian.

6 It is an indubitable historical fact that, in reality and of right, not only Theism, but positive Christianity is the religion of this nation. The original Colonies were settled by Puritans, Huguenots, Scotch Irish, Dutch and German Presbyterians Quakers, Episcopalian and Roman Catholics. They were earnest Christians beyond any other equally numerous and various set of men known in human history, and they came here for the purpose of establishing their faith in imperishable institutions. These subdued the wilderness, founded the nation and laid down all the corner-stones of our Constitutional law. The Common Law of England, the creature of Christianity, is the common law of nine-tenths of our States. Christian denominations were established by law in almost all the early colonies. Theism is recognized in almost all the State Constitutions, and Christianity in many of them. It is recognized by the appointment of Chaplains for Congress and for the army and navy of the United States, and for the legislatures and prisons of the several states; by the appointment of fast days and thanksgiving days by the supreme magistrates of the States and the nation, and by the Sabbath laws, and the laws for the suppression of

blasphemy, &c. We propose the adoption of no new principles, and no radical change of customs. We propose only the intelligent recognition and defence of that which has been a universal principle of the national life from the first. We aim not at change, but at conservation. We want to preserve through all coming time, and consistently to carry out in all departments of law, the undeniable historical fact that Christianity is an element of the common law of the land. *Not the advocates of the Christian, but the advocates of the Secularist, or Atheistic theory are the innovators.*

7. The question is simply, shall a minority, composed for the most part of recent immigrants, taking advantage of the divisions of Christian parties, impose atheism upon the nation, as a form of its national life. I have shown that the alternatives are theism or atheism, Christianity or positive infidelity and rebellion. Our party had prior possession for more than two centuries, and they created the empire and determined its unwritten fundamental law. All new comers necessarily come on condition of accepting the moral and religious, as well as the social and political conditions of our national life. It is no hardship for a party of theoretic monarchists, that we will not surrender our republicanism to gratify them. If they cannot conform they can go elsewhere. In like manner they must accept our religion as far as that is necessarily embodied in State action. Atheists and infidels, with negative convictions, are very slightly affected by them, and are only required to abstain from interfering with the positive religious convictions of the great majority who are the true Americans, the true successors of the founders of the nation. On the other hand, the non recognition of God's will in legislation concerning the Sabbath, marriage and divorce, and the education of the young, will practically disfranchise and outlaw all faithful Christians.

V. Allow me to illustrate the immediately practical and measureless importance of this subject.

The real question inexorably forced upon us by the principles of the secularists is not the decision between Catholicism and Protestantism Christianity and Deism, but between all possible forms of Theism, natural or supernatural, and positive Atheism in all that relates to the sphere and functions of government.

The tremendous evil and danger of this doctrine will be seen in the following particulars :

1. The Secularist or Atheistic doctrine destroys the foundation on which all civil order and obedience rest. The will of God is the ultimate ground of all obligation. If that be taken away the moral

obligation to obey human law, not of constraint, but also for conscience sake, fails likewise. What possible reason can be given for any obligation to obey a law enacted against my will by a majority of my fellow men, except either that the will of God imposes the obligation upon me, or that the instinct of self preservation constrains me in view of the penalties imposed by the majority in case of disobedience? If the ground of the obligation be the will of God, the obedience is moral, and I am free – but if it be fear of punishment, it is not moral and I am not free. Thus Theism is directly essential to liberty—because it appeals to duty and not to force. Atheism must either yield to absolute anarchy or introduce absolute tyranny, because it can maintain order only by force. The truth of this principle has been put to the test of practice, and terribly illustrated in the reign of terror in Paris in 1793, and in the frantic despotism of the Commune in Paris, 1870-71, and in every other atheistic society ever attempted. Augustus Maverick has massed together in the New York *Tribune*, April 27, 1878, the evidence rising and blazing on the sight of all men not judicially blind, that socialistic theories are taking possession of vast masses of foreign born American citizens. The International Society which first appeared in Paris in the year 1869, having been discouraged by the resistance presented by the strong governments and standing armies of Europe, has transferred its central authority to New York city, with the intention of availing itself of the facilities afforded by a free press, universal suffrage and a skeleton army, to overthrow the institutions political, social, and religious of the United States. It has already formed an energetic political organization, and brought many of the Trades Unions of the country into its active service. Its true character, and the nature of its ultimate influence, is plainly enough expressed in the language of its first manifesto. “The Alliance declares itself Atheist; it seeks the abolition of worship, the substitution of science for faith, of human nature for divine justice, and the abolition of marriage; it demands above all the abolition of the right of inheritance, and that capital shall be at the disposition only of workers.”

This doctrine and the destructive application it received in the Paris Commune, 1871, and in the American riots, 1877, are in perfect logical coherence with the purely secular non-religious theory of human government, by whomsoever taught.

The moral character of human legislation is essential to moral order and to liberty – and the recognition by the State of the authority of God, and obedience to his will, however revealed, is essential

to the moral character of human law and of its administration. Its alternatives are absolute anarchy or absolute despotism.

2. The fact that we are shut up to positive Christianity or positive infidelity, is conspicuously shown in the case of all the State laws relating to marriage and divorce. Marriage is a divine institution. God constituted it, and has explicitly revealed his will with regard to it and its abuses. Human law relating to marriage, fornication, adultery, incest and divorce must either conform to the law of God, or be discrepant therefrom. This conformity cannot be accidental, but must be intentional. The secular theory, which shuts the ears of legislators to the voice of God, must lead to social corruption and anarchy. Hence the Communists, the logical Secularists, decree the abolition of marriage, and many of our State laws violate the laws of God.

3. The same is true with regard to the Sabbath laws. God has declared that the observance of his Sabbath is the condition of his favor with any people. It is not a natural, but a revealed obligation, yet one which can, as experience demonstrates, be practically realized only when it is enforced by the State, as far as the general cessation of business is concerned.

4. But the overwhelming pressure of this controversy centers in the tremendous interest of the system of national education.

The question of the Bible in the common schools, although of sufficient intrinsic importance, is in reality mainly symbolical, a sign set on a battle-flag in a contest in which principles are contested upon which all religion and the very possibility of the existence of human society rest.

(1.) The Romanists protest against the use of the Version of King James and Protestant forms of worship, and demand the division of the school fund and denominational education.

(2.) The Secularist maintains (a) That the duty of educating the people belongs essentially to Government; (b) That this education must be administered by the central authority of each State on a uniform system of text books, classes, methods, and qualifications of teachers; (c) That it must be absolutely secular, that its text-books, and class instruction must be purged utterly of all traces of theism, as well as of positive Christianity.

(3.) We as advocates of the Christian doctrine hold, as we hold our lives, that the American States are in fact as every State is bound to be, fundamentally and thoroughly theistic and, in the generic sense of the word Christian; and therefore they are bound to provide for all their people impartially an education

in which all history science, ethics, and art are penetrated with Christian ideas and spirit.

We maintain this as the only alternative to making all education a propagandism of atheism and anarchy.

Religion cannot possibly be separated from the mass of human knowledge without rendering it positively irreligious. The one cannot be taught in one school, while the other entirely purged of it is taught in another school, because they necessarily interpenetrate one another just as God and nature, providence and natural law, penetrate each other in every event.

Observe that the scheme of national education as in actual process of development involves not merely a primary education in spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography, necessary for the least educated—but evidently contemplates a consolidated national system—comprising common schools, normal schools, state universities, and over all a National University. It contemplates the imperial administration of education in the land of all grades from the lowest to the highest. This involves a preparation by the State of a uniform course of text books on language, science, history, philosophy, including ethics, art, &c., and hence embracing all literature from which, according to the secularist, all theism and Christianity must be purged. The same central authority must in the same spirit provide for the arrangement of uniform courses of study, for the qualifications of teachers and for the methods of instruction.

Reflect for a moment upon the necessary qualities of a national dictionary from which the word God is stricken, and all other words which signify his attributes or his words or works. And what shall be the effect of such a book upon the people coming with all the authority of the State's imprimatur.

Reflect what shall be the necessary qualities of the National Histories, of Europe in general, of England and of the United States out of which all allusions to God, his providence, his people, to the Reformation, and to the puritans, and to the Wesleyan revival, are all expurgated. Take God out of history and what is left?

Reflect what will be the necessary qualities of a National system of Ethics with God left out—such a moral system, as the secularists themselves define it, such an interpretation of conscience and life, of the relations of husband and wife, of parent and child, of citizen and state, as would be true "if there were no God, and no future for the human soul."

Reflect upon what must be the necessary character of that

physical science from which at last, every tincture of theism and Christianity has been utterly expurgated. When every possible hypothesis as to the origin, the method, or the destiny of the universe will be received with equal hospitality, except the one intolerable hypothesis which all have agreed to exclude that Jehovah has created the world and governs it in righteousness, and that he has sent His Son to redeem it, and will send him to judge it.

President Woolsey in his great work "Political Science." Vol. ii. pp. 408 and 414 says: "What right has the State to permit a man to teach a doctrine of the earth or of the solar system which rests on atheism if theism and revelation must be banished from the scholastic halls. Why permit evolution to be publicly professed more than predestination?"

"Shall it come to this that not even the existence of the Supreme One is to be assumed in the schools, nor any book introduced which expresses any definite faith in regard to providence and final causes? Or if this should be the course of opinion growing out of personal and family rights, will not one of these two things happen?—that all the churches will become disaffected towards the common school system, as the Catholics now are while the schools will be left to the *fax infima populi*; or that some kind of compromise will be made between the sects and the State,"—e. g. sacrifice of uniformity, division of the schools among the denominations.

5. The consummation of this scheme as above indicated, embracing a complete system of State schools of all grades, culminating in a National University, and providing a complete literature and method of instruction, including all histories and all sciences, from which every trace of God and His word and works is to be expurgated, would be the vilest tyranny, the most consummate engine for the accomplishment of the ends of Satan, the chiefest of all the many anti-Christ.

I hold that every loyal Christian should at once decide that *this* is absolutely the worst of all the possible alternatives. The one thing to be instantly and unconditionally rejected. Far better Roman Catholicism with all its terrible evils. Far better the Fetich worship of the Hottentot with all its degradation. Let it be accepted as an axiom, that if the State has no religion, the State cannot educate. It is highly desirable, but not absolutely necessary, that our children should have a school education, but if they do have it, it is absolutely necessary that it be an education maintained in all its natural relations to theism and to Christianity.

VI. *What is the immediate practical duty of the loyal subjects of the Lord Jesus under present circumstances?*

1. In presence of a foe threatening to sweep away the foundations on which all alike rest, Christians should abate their subordinate contests among themselves, however important, and unite their forces to resist a common destruction. Conceive the madness of two farmers in the Netherlands, holding each other by the throat, in vindication of their respective rights to fractions of the fields, while the ocean is breaking through the dikes, and engulfing the whole province in the Zuyder Zee.

2. They should all unite in maintaining the essentially religious character of the State in all its functions.

3. They should especially seek to establish the conviction of the people, that the religious element cannot be eliminated from any department of education without rendering it positively immoral and atheistic.

4. They should all strive to limit the system of State education to its original and legitimate purpose of providing simply a primary education for all the people, leaving the higher education to voluntary sources of supply and methods of administration.

5. They should firmly resist all tendency to centralization in the administration of the system, maintain the principle of local control, and the liberty of each special community to choose their own books, and adjust their methods of instruction to their own religious sentiments, and necessities.

NOTE.—Immediately after its delivery, the foregoing address was sought and obtained for publication in the *CHRISTIAN STATESMAN*, from whose columns it is now reprinted by the NATIONAL REFORM ASSOCIATION. Its appropriateness to the occasion on which it was made is sufficiently vindicated by the author in his opening sentences, but the theme of which it treats is of equal importance to all American citizens, and it receives, in these pages, a thorough and convincing discussion. The NATIONAL REFORM ASSOCIATION was organized several years ago to diffuse throughout the nation the convictions which are here expressed. Its aim may be stated in the words of this address: "To preserve through all coming time, and consistently to carry out in all departments of law, the undeniable historical fact that Christianity is a part of the common law of the land." (See page 11.) As the only organization which directly antagonizes the secular theory of government and its manifestations in the United States, this Association invites the sympathy and co-operation of all Christians.

This tract can be obtained, post-paid, at the following rates: Single copies, four cents; eight copies, twenty-five cents; twenty copies, fifty cents; fifty copies, one dollar.

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