

# THE SENTINEL OF LIBERTY

*"If a man hear my words, and believe not, I judge him not."—Jesus Christ.*

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## THE SENTINEL OF LIBERTY

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L. A. SMITH, }  
C. P. BOLLMAN, } - - - - - Editors.

IT is better to worship than to work on the Sabbath, but better to work than to spend the day in loafing.

WHEN the civil government takes care of individual rights all other interests which concern individuals will take care of themselves.

THERE can be no surer way to take away from a man the Sabbath which was "made for man," than to compel him by legislation to honor as a Sabbath a day he does not believe to be sacred.

THE civil power can not uphold any church against the power of the Spirit of God operating against that church, nor stay the progress of any church which is moving by direction of that Spirit.

CIVIL government guarantees to the individual its protection against the invasion of his rights by others. The government of God does not guarantee to any of its subjects protection of life, liberty, or property, but does guarantee to them a better character and protection from the ravages of sin.

AUTHORITY to rule over others that is claimed in the name of the Lord is always self-assumed authority.

CIVIL government has no authority to define sin, and neither the authority nor the wisdom to deal with an act as a sin. No sin can be rightly dealt with save by the universal and all-wise Sovereign. And as the transgression of the moral law is always sin, that law does not come within the scope of civil government. A sin is a blow struck at God's government, but civil government is not ordained to look after the things of God. Its purpose is to secure life, liberty, and property to individuals in society.

"ALL men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights." These rights belong only to individuals; they do not belong to the civil government nor to the church.

The reason these rights belong only to individuals is that they come from the Creator, who bestowed them upon man—the individual. God created the individual, but the existing organizations of individuals are the work of man himself.

It might seem that since individuals have these rights they must belong to the government which the individuals compose. But to make these rights inherent in the government would be to take them away from the ones on whom the Creator bestowed them. If, for example, the government had an unalienable right to existence it might, if necessary, sacrifice the lives of all the people under it merely to perpetuate itself, thus depriving the people of their own unalienable right to life, which it is the very purpose of the government to preserve. It is

often assumed, indeed, that the civil government does have the right to sacrifice any number of human lives for the sake of preserving its own life; but such an assumption reverses the truth which expresses the purpose of human governments. The government exists to serve the people, not the people to serve the government.

Nor has a church an unalienable right to existence which the civil power is bound to preserve. Individuals may and should live at peace with one another, but religions are necessarily at war with one another, and two churches, representing different religions, are necessarily opposed to each other. Christianity is opposed to paganism, Protestantism is opposed to the Papacy, and each religion would if it could exterminate all the others. Protestants would gladly convert every Catholic in the world to Protestantism, and Catholics would as gladly turn back every Protestant to the fold of Rome. Protestants would thus, if they could, destroy every Catholic church in the world, and Catholics would likewise destroy every Protestant church. And with it all the civil government could not in any way properly interfere.

If the civil government did interfere to perpetuate any church it would of necessity exercise its power *against* the church or churches which might be standing in opposition to the church thus favored. If, for example, the American Government should exercise its power to preserve the "rights" of "the church" (Catholic) in the Philippines it would necessarily uphold that church against the Protestant church, which is there, as everywhere, contending against it. The Government would necessarily set itself against the spiritual agencies by which Protestantism is seeking the overthrow of the Papacy in the Philippines, as it is in all places where the two religions come in contact. Such a thing would be utterly at variance with the ordained purpose of civil government.

Therefore the civil power can not undertake to maintain the "rights" of church. If it does it will inevitably fail to maintain the rights of individuals opposed to that church. The one thing that civil government can and should do is to maintain the rights of the individual. And when it does this it can not fail to pursue a just course with respect to the church. When the government protects the rights of every man no man will have any just cause for complaint, and when no man complains no complaint will be heard from the church. s.

## THE NATION AND THE RINCIPLES OF NATIONAL REFORM.

EVER since 1863 the National Reform Association has been at work in this country trying to undo the work of the founders of this Government. Very naturally the special objects of their attack have been the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. Touching the first of these documents, at least it would seem that their work is done, their warfare accomplished.

All these years these Reformers have denied that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. In a convention held in Sedalia, Mo., May 23 and 24, 1889, Rev. W. P. Gray, the secretary of the convention, said:

"I for one do not believe that as a political maxim governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. And so the object of this movement is to change that feature in our fundamental law. \* \* \* And I see in this reform a providence teaching us the necessity of recognizing something else besides the will of the people as the basis of government."

This doctrine was most industriously taught for years by pulpit and press, in schools and colleges; taught not only as sound political doctrine, but as Christian doctrine, until it became familiar to the ears of the men now prominent in public affairs, and proper conditions only were wanting to bring to its full fruition this evil seed-sowing.

The proper conditions came as a consequence of the Spanish-American war. Without any special design, merely as one of the incidents of war, this Government found itself in possession of the harbor of Manila, the capital of a large and rich group of Pacific islands. The natives were in revolt against their former masters, the minions of Spain. Like the American colonists of a century and a quarter ago, these people were trying to throw off a foreign yoke and establish a government of their own. The generous impulses of a free people inclined Americans to second this effort, and from the archives of state was heard a voice saying:

"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."

Never before had the Declaration of Independence spoken in vain, but now its voice falls upon ears deaf to the plea of justice. Ambition said: The young colossus of the West must be like all the nations—a great world-power. Greed pointed to the rich lands, to the undeveloped mines, to the virgin forests, to the teeming millions ready to exchange gold, and pearls, and various rare but rich materials for the products of the forge and factory of the busy West.

Other voices, too, were heard in excited and angry denial of the principle of government by the consent of the governed. The National Reform doctrine that governments do not derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, suddenly found many advocates. It was voiced by press and pulpit, by clergymen and statesmen. The clergyman pleaded the spiritual needs of the natives and the great advantage that would accrue to the church from American rule in the Philippines, and urged that it was a sacred duty to follow the "evident leading of divine Providence." The plea of the statesman was the difficulty of withdrawing from the islands, the need of coaling stations and fortified harbors in the far East, the obligation a great nation is under to civilization, and the duty of the Government to open to commerce every avenue that promises fair returns on invested capital; and last, but not least, that the possession of this Eastern empire, to be had for the taking, was "manifest destiny."

But, whatever the argument, all the advocates of the new imperial policy united in denying the doctrine of the fathers of the Republic that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. And then, after the question was fully discussed, the people spoke upon it in a general election, and by their votes sanctioned the doctrine that governments do not derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

And now what is the next step in this apostasy from the principles of republicanism? Clearly this, to deny at home and as applying to American citizens the doctrine of equal rights as it has been denied as applied to "inferior" races in distant islands. It was Lincoln who said: "This government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free." The same principle exactly is stated by Froude when he says: "If there is one lesson which history clearly teaches, it is this, that free nations can not govern subject provinces. If they are unable or unwilling

to admit their dependencies to share their own constitution, the constitution itself will fall to pieces from mere incompetence for its duties."

The spirit of arbitrary power has possessed the people. It manifests itself not alone in the dealings of the general Government with the Philippine Islands, not alone in the usurpations of the trusts, nor in both of these, but in the readiness of the people themselves to disregard the very foundation principles of free government if, perchance, such principles stand in the way of carrying out the popular will.

The National Reform attack upon the doctrine of equal, natural rights has been successful. The people have been educated *away* from the Declaration of Independence and into the doctrine that men are entitled only to such rights, or more properly, only to such privileges, as the state sees fit to grant them. This is where we as a people stand today. Are we individually ready for the issue? "Ye can discern the face of the sky: but can ye not discern the signs of the times?"

B.

#### UPHOLDING THE "RIGHTS" OF THE CHURCH.

CARDINAD RAMPOLLA, papal secretary of state, says that "the church needs in Cuba and the Philippines the coöperation of the American Government for the protection of its rights and liberties, as, indeed, the American Government needs the cooperation of the church for the pacification of those countries."

And Archbishop Ireland says: "As a plain matter of fact, the only safety which the Catholic Church at the present time has in the Philippines for the possession of her properties and for the lives of her priests is the protection afforded by the American flag; and all this is fully understood and fully recognized in Rome."

This means that the American Government is to maintain the "rights of the church," as defined by the church, in Cuba and the Philippines. But the true purpose of civil government is not to protect *churches*, but individuals, and this Government can secure the Catholic Church in the enjoyment of what she claims as her rights only by recognizing the well-known claim of that church to be superior over all other churches, and that she is divinely ordained to rule over men in both spiritual and temporal affairs. These are "rights" always unhesitatingly claimed by the church of Rome.

And as to the question whether the American Government will uphold these "rights" of the church in those countries, it is to be noted that the Pope said to Archbishop Ireland in a recent interview:

"We are well pleased with the relations of the American Government to the church in Cuba and the Philippine Islands. The American Government gives proof of good will, and exhibits in its acts a spirit of justice and of respect for the liberty and rights of the church. The reports we receive from bishops and others indicate this. \* \* \* Under the American Government there will be due respect for rights of property and of conscience.

"You will thank in my name the President of the Republic for what is being done." S.

### A SUNDAY BILL IN ARGENTINA.

A SUNDAY-REST bill has been introduced in the legislature of the province of Santa Fe, Argentina, South America, which contains the following provisions:

"ARTICLE 1. The legal working day in the province shall not exceed a maximum of twelve hours, Sunday being excluded. ["This sentence," says our correspondent, "is quite blind in the Spanish. I suppose it means that on Sunday *no* amount of work shall be done."]

"ART. 2. The townships or, in their stead, the executive power, are authorized to arrange the details of this precept and to enforce it, making the Sunday rest effective, as also the resting hours in the summer months." [The resting hours are from 11 A. M. to 2 or 3 P. M. Some townships enforced them last summer during the excessive heat.]

For a copy of this bill we are indebted to Mr. John Vuilleumier, a Protestant missionary now in Argentina, who sends us also some extracts from a speech made in favor of the bill by its author, Senor Ramon Lucero. It is interesting to note the ground taken in support of Sunday legislation in this Catholic country of South America, the province in question being, we are informed, a stronghold of the Jesuits. The senor said:

"Rest is a physical and moral necessity; where it is not granted, it must be enforced; where it is not used as a privilege, it must be enforced as a coercive measure; human solidarity commands us to defend the weak not only against the strong but also against themselves. \* \* \*

"Thus is explained the fact that from the most remote times, we find rest established in the legis-

lation of all civilized nations, either as a religious duty or, more generally, as a favor granted to slaves who in this way had a day of rest each week. [He here quoted Plato.]

"This precept is also practised in modern civilization, and it is noted that the most active, prosperous and free nations are those precisely who keep Sunday most strictly and who devote a larger part of this day to rest and *sport*. [Italics ours.]

"Nothing is so impressive as the spectacle presented on this day by the English people and the people of the United States. Nobody works; industry and commerce close their doors; theatres and concerts are empty; museums, and even international expositions, remain closed, while railroads stop their march."

The senor quoted from a speech by Macaulay in a debate in the House of Commons where an immense majority rejected a motion to open the museums on Sundays. Also, from Gladstone, to whom he attributed the statement that "it is necessary to secure for the people by all available means the benefits of a day of rest." He said further:

"In the North American Union, the mother of our own institutions, this matter has always been so considered. During the Revolutionary War, Washington gave his army the following order: 'In the future, the general leaves the troops free from duty on each and every Sunday, so that they may attend to their religious duties and take some rest.'

"Lincoln, while President, gave the army the following order on the 15th of November, 1862: 'The President, commander-in-chief of the armies of sea and land, would recommend to the officers, soldiers and marines under the flag, the observance of Sunday. Should we desecrate this day and the name of the Almighty, we might endanger the discipline and the reputation of our armies and jeopardize the cause which they defend.'

"And finally, a law of the North American Congress says: 'The sanctification of Sunday is an institution of public interest, a special means of honoring, in the house and church of God, the Creator and Providence of the Universe.' As a consequence, it is prohibited under fine to open groceries on that day or to attend any concert, ball, or theatre."

The author of the bill then talked of "rest as a physical and moral necessity," and claimed that the legislature has power to legislate in matters of "hygiene, public health, and public order."

In his quotations and statements relating to the United States the senor draws heavily on his imagination, as in general speakers in behalf of Sunday

legislation are prone to do. It is to be noted also that in Argentina it is assumed that the legislature has the same right to decree and enforce hours of rest on any day that it has to enforce rest on Sunday, and truly the one proceeding is no less arbitrary than the other. The people of Argentina accept such arbitrary measures because they have not known the liberty enjoyed by the people of North America. The idea of devoting a considerable part of Sunday to sport, as advocated by the author of this bill, is quite in keeping with Roman Catholic teaching touching the manner in which the day should be observed.

s.

### THE PAPACY AND PROGRESS.—II.

The paragraph of the Pope's encyclical "to the Americans" which has the most direct bearing on the questions suggested by the language of Mr. Malone, is as follows:

"The church among you, unopposed by the Constitution and Government of your nation, fettered by no hostile legislation, protected against violence by the common laws and the impartiality of the tribunals, is free to live and act without hindrance. Yet, though all this is true, it would be very erroneous to draw the conclusion that in America is to be sought the type of the most desirable status of the church; or that it would be universally lawful or expedient for state and church to be, as in America, dissevered and divorced. The fact that Catholicity with you is in good condition, nay, is even enjoying a prosperous growth, is by all means to be attributed to the fecundity with which God has endowed his church; in virtue of which, unless men or circumstances interfere, she spontaneously expands and propagates herself. But she would bring forth more abundant fruits if, in addition to liberty, she enjoyed the favor of the laws and the patronage of the public authority."

It would seem that this language needs no comment. Blind indeed must be the person who can not see at the first reading of this paragraph that the Catholic Church *has not* "learned the lesson of tolerance;" that she *has not* learned to "separate politics and religion;" that she *has not* learned "new ways of looking at things;" that she is perfectly ready to do now just what she did in the Middle Ages. Notice, Leo does not want the favor of the laws and the patronage of the public authority because the church is restricted in her operations, and Catholics are not allowed "to enjoy their con-

stitutional rights in their integrity." He knows nothing of the things that it is claimed give rise to Catholic federation. He sees that the church "is free to live and act without hindrance," and that she has, in the enjoyment of such liberty, "from scant and slender beginnings, grown with rapidity to be great and exceedingly flourishing." But, "though all this is true, *it would be very erroneous to draw the conclusion that in America is to be sought the type of the most desirable status of the church; or that it would be universally lawful or expedient for state and church to be, as in America, dissevered and divorced.*" "She would bring forth more abundant fruits if, in addition to liberty, she enjoyed the favor of the laws and the patronage of the public authority." Let it be noted that the position of Leo, which is the position of the Papacy, is that perfect freedom and protection to live and act without hindrance is not enough for the church to-day; she must have from the state, and from the United States at that, "in addition to liberty," favor and patronage. Favor is "an act or course of kindness or generosity, as distinguished from one that is inspired by a regard for justice, duty, or right." It is "kindness bestowed upon one to the exclusion of others; partiality; preference." Patronage is "favor, aid, protection, or care extended to a person or work by a patron; special countenance and encouragement; guardianship."

The attitude of the Catholic Church to-day, and especially her attitude with respect to the United States, is stated in the paragraph given, just as it is, and so plainly that there is no possibility of its being misunderstood. The Roman pontiffs in their palmiest days, with all their arrogance and presumption, were never more bold in their statement of the attitude of the church toward the civil power. But the encyclical from which this is taken is astounding beyond any papal document of the Middle Ages for these reasons: (1) In view of the "grand march of progress" of the last few centuries, of which Mr. Malone speaks. (2) In view of the claims of Catholics that the church has kept step with this progress. (3) Above all else in view of the fact that it was addressed to the people of a nation which has stood before the world for more than a century on principles which forever forbid to any church or any religion "the favor of the laws and the patronage of the public authority."

This encyclical allows no escape from the following conclusions: (1) The church has not changed

or advanced in the slightest degree from her position in the Middle Ages on the relation of church and state. (2) She is withheld only by lack of opportunity and power from completely dominating governments and nations as in the Middle Ages; and she stands ready to do as she did then whenever she can do so without endangering her interests. (3) She considers that the times are auspicious in this country—the classic land of liberty—to claim the favor and support of government that she was accustomed to have on demand in the Middle Ages.

If there is a tendency to look at the church from “the view-point of the Middle Ages,” the cause is not far to seek. She takes her stand on the *principles* of the Middle Ages. An investigation of her position to-day shows that the Papacy is one of the very few institutions that it is perfectly proper to judge from “the view-point of the Middle Ages.” There is a sense in which she should crave such a view-point. The principles of the Middle Ages will appear more acceptable from the view-point of the Middle Ages than from the view-point of the present age.

When Leo calls attention to the “abundant fruits” that the church would bring forth were she in her “most desirable status,” he points directly to all the fiendish atrocities of the Middle Ages that are attributable to state support of the Catholic system, for these were the fruits—the “abundant fruits”—of such a status. It might be possible to forget—at least in the sense of connecting them with the church of to-day—those deeds which blacken the Dark Ages, did not the church by her present conduct and claims force them upon our attention. The most desirable status of the church, according to Leo XIII., is the status that she enjoyed under Innocent III. and Gregory VII. It is a status that in no sense accords with the standards of the age and country in which we live. The declarations of Leo can not be reconciled with the principles of religious and civil freedom which this age is supposed to endorse.

What matters it, even if it were true, that Catholics established religious freedom first in the New World, and that “when America was as yet but a new-born babe, uttering in its cradle its first feeble cries, the church took it to her bosom and motherly embrace”? In the year 1895 Leo XIII. asserts all the powers the church has ever claimed, and says that she should hold such power in the United States.

In 1897 the Duc de Broglie, writing for the church, declares that the Pope “is far from approving the principles of the American Constitution, with its absolute separation of church and state, in matters of religion,” and that “the church can never give her approval to the principle of an absolute equality between all forms of religious thought.” At the present moment the Pope is mourning over the “painful” situation in which he finds himself because he can not *oppose* the free propaganda of Protestantism in Italy, especially in Rome. As in 1878, he sorrows that “there is no restriction on the press,” and that “here [in Rome] Protestant churches are built even in the most populous streets as if to insult us.” The Duc de Broglie says that the church is immovable on the point of freedom of conscience for the faithful, and he might have said with more truth that she is equally as immovable on the point of no freedom of conscience for those who are not of the “faithful.”

The church may dilate upon her progress, she may loudly claim to have been the first to establish religious freedom in the New World, and to have nurtured the American Republic from its birth, but in spite of all her fair pretenses there appears across her front in bold and unmistakable characters the legend, STATE SUPPORT, SUPREMACY IN CIVIL ADMINISTRATIONS, THE FAVOR OF THE LAWS AND THE PATRONAGE OF THE PUBLIC AUTHORITY. And even while her words are most plausible and fair there comes from her throat another voice, deeper and more authoritative, saying: “The church can never give her approval to the principle of an absolute equality between all forms of religious thought.” “It would be very erroneous to conclude that in America is to be sought the most desirable status of the church.” “She would bring forth more abundant fruits if, in addition to liberty, she enjoyed the favor of the laws and the patronage of the public authority.” “What the church has done in the past for other nations she will now do for the United States.”

The same arrogance and presumption which marked the church in a day of great intellectual darkness are the very same characteristics that she manifests in this day of great intellectual light.

The Papacy has indeed made progress within recent years, but not progress that indicates that she has learned the lesson of tolerance, or that she has learned to separate politics and religion. It is the

progress mentioned by Mgr. Satolli in his letter to the *New York World* in March, 1895, following closely upon the publication of the encyclical "to the Americans." At the close of a review of the career of Leo XIII. he said:

"During the seventeen years of his rule nothing has been more remarkable than the incessant growth of his benignant moral influence. To-day his words are listened to with deference by every court, every government, every people. On every question touching universal human interests his counsel is sought eagerly and welcomed gratefully. Despite, then, all the adverse trend of mundane circumstances, despite the loss of the external symbols of its high authority, the Papacy has gained in power and splendor since the accession of the present glorious pontiff. As Macaulay says in one of his most noble essays: 'The Papacy remains, not in decay, not a mere antique, but full of life and youthful vigor.'"

The fact that the encyclical of Leo was received with scarcely a protest in this country demonstrates that the language of Satolli is too well-founded in actual conditions. When the American people listen with deference—as they have listened—to such a document as that sent them by Leo in 1895, an evil day has come for human liberty and "the grand march of progress." The American people should be the first to protest against such assumptions and encroachments upon the principles for which their nation has stood sponsor. But it appears now that they will realize only when it is too late to escape the snare, the meaning and purpose of the policy of Rome which is given with such Jesuitical adroitness in Leo's encyclical "to the Americans."

And now, in conclusion, the writer will say, as when he began, that he has had no desire to attack Catholic individuals from the Pope to the humblest peasant who contributes his "Peter's pence." The Pope is but an old man, not more dangerous or more cruel by nature than other men, and is soon to pass from the pontifical chair to the grave. The people of the Catholic communion are, as Mr. Malone says, much like other people; and they, too, come and go. But "the Papacy remains not in decay, not a mere antique, but full of life and youthful vigor," and always the same in her principles and policies; and it is with the Papacy that the writer has tried to deal.

JOHN D. BRADLEY.

## A TALE OF TWO NATIONS.

### The Fathers: The Consent of the Governed, and the "Party Spirit."

(Concluded.)

GEORGE WASHINGTON was followed by John Adams, who, in one terse paragraph, set forth his mind on the menace of political parties:

"In the midst of these pleasing ideas we should be unfaithful to ourselves if we should ever lose sight of the danger to our liberties, if anything partial or extraneous should infect the purity of our free, fair, virtuous, and independent elections. *If an election is to be determined by a majority of a single vote, and that can be procured by a party through artifice or corruption, the Government may be the choice of a party for its own ends, not of the nation for the national good.* If that solitary suffrage can be obtained by foreign nations by flattery or menaces, by fraud or violence, by terror, intrigue, or venality, the Government may not be the choice of the American people, but of foreign nations who govern us, and not we, the people, who govern ourselves; and candid men will acknowledge that in such cases choice would have little advantage to boast of over lot or chance."—*Inaugural of John Adams, Philadelphia, Pa., March 4, 1797.*

The manly honesty of the foregoing citations is touching in its simplicity. They breathe lofty ideals for the new-born Republic. Instinctively our better natures turn to them as we whisper a prayer over our present lot, and sorrow that the wishes of the Fathers have not been realized in their sons.

We think of the picture of things as Washington and Adams hoped they would be, and contrast it with events as they now are. We hear on every side the jangle of cheap political talk. We see the "spirit of revenge" natural "to party dissension." Once again it perpetrates "the most horrid enormities," and is itself a "frightful despotism." And we know only too well that all of this will lead at length "to a more formal and permanent despotism." The result can only be as it has been so many times before, that men will "seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual." Then the last sad act in the failure of self-government will be enacted: "The chief of some prevailing faction, more able or fortunate than his competitors, will turn this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation ON THE RUINS OF PUBLIC LIBERTY." And the fire of "party spirit," instead of "warming," will indeed "consume."

GOVERNMENT can not make right wrong nor wrong right.

The men who framed the Constitution thought that they had devised a scheme for the election of the chief magistrate of the Republic, which would make him Olympian in his administration, and raise him above all party faction. They adopted the device of a double election.

The Constitution directs each State to choose a number of presidential electors equal to the number of its representatives in both houses of Congress. These electors are directed to meet some weeks later in their respective States, on a day fixed by law, and give their votes in writing for President and vice-President.

It was thought that this plan would secure the choice by the best citizens of every State, in a quiet and deliberate manner, of the man whom they in their unfettered discretion should deem most fitted to be chief executive of the Union. The votes were not to be counted by States, so that the vote of each and every elector would have its full weight.

No part of the Constitution has so utterly belied the expectations of the framers as this. The President of the United States is not elected by a comparatively small body of men, the best citizens of all the States. He is not elected by such men sitting in quietude in their different States, undisturbed by party orators and popular influences. The presidential electors have become a mere cog-wheel in the machine; a mere contrivance for giving effect to the decision of the people. "Their personal qualifications are a matter of indifference. They have no discretion, but are chosen under a pledge." They are bound to vote for a particular candidate. In choosing them the people virtually chose the President.

That all of these things are not as the Fathers intended them is very evident. That the founders of the nation designed this double election in order to eliminate the influence of party is also patent. But their hopes have not been fulfilled, and in nothing does party and party machinery control to a greater extent than in the choosing of the President of the United States.

Party spirit now dominates, and party spirit, according to the thought of the Fathers, is destructive of a really free and popular form of government. But be it so. The ideals of Washington, and Adams, and Jefferson, and Madison have not been realized. The ideals of Christians, as far as the things of this world are concerned, are not realized. Nevertheless

we must labor on, pray on, and ask the great Dispenser of events to bless our rulers and those in authority.

PERCY T. MAGAN.

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### APPLYING THE GOLDEN RULE.

A WRITER on the solution of a certain question recently said, "We have committed the Golden Rule to heart: now let us commit it to life." Some may think this does not mean very much, but if once considered in all of its force and power it will be found to be the very best solution of every difficulty.

Let us get this rule before us that we may study it: "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." MATT. 7: 12. This command has been usually called the Saviour's Golden Rule, a name given to it on account of its great value.

All that you *expect* or *desire* of others under similar circumstances, do to them. Act not from selfishness or injustice, but put yourself in the place of the other, and ask what you would expect of him then. This brings the living principle of the rule into the life and causes one to respect the rights, the privileges, and the honor of every other one.

The Golden Rule committed to life makes one impartial and just in all things. It destroys envy, false conduct, unkindness, slander, theft, adultery, and murder. It has been well said that this law is what the balance wheel is to machinery. It would prevent all irregularity of movement in the moral world, as that does in a steam-engine.

Its application is easy, and its justice is seen by all men, and when inwrought in the heart and reduced to deeds, all will acknowledge its force and value.

While reasoning together upon the quoted words above, an ancient rabbi said to a man: "Whatever is hateful to you, do not do to another." All existing difficulties could be settled by this rule, and obedience to it would prevent further difficulties.

The application of this rule, committed to life, would enlarge the sphere of justice for all men; but the principles must be applied in Christ's way. The Golden Rule must be applied in the individual life before it can be applied in the collective life. Its power must be the Spirit of God received by faith. Politics, human science, and man-made theories are all powerless, but the Golden Rule is all powerful in all men who commit it to life. Does any man wish



to be deprived of his right to worship God according to his own conscience? Does he wish to be compelled to serve God as some one else may dictate? Then will he in any way lend his influence to deprive others of this right or compel them to adopt certain forms of worship? Certainly not! Committing this rule to life, then, guarantees perfect liberty, perfect freedom, and perfect equality. In this rule we find persuasion, not compulsion; freedom, not servitude; love, not hatred.

Jesus of Nazareth is the Saviour of the human race. In his principles of justice, in his principles of brotherhood we find the solution of every difficulty, the settling of every question, for a question is never settled until it is settled right, according to truth. "Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts."

"If any one knock at the door of my heart," said Luther, "and ask, 'Does Martian Luther live here?' I would answer, 'No; he has moved out to make room for Christ to move in.'" Committing the Golden Rule to life is Christ moving in, and the Golden Rule *committed* to life is God working in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure.

It is one thing to study a lesson to *recite* it, but it is quite an other thing to study a lesson to *know* it. Committing the Golden Rule to mind is of little value to any one, but committing it to life is of great value to the individual and to all who have to do with him. It makes home happy, communities peaceful, churches Christ-like, and, finally, gains an entrance through the gates into the city of God.

W. H. THURSTON.

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### GOVERNMENT PROTECTION OF MISSIONS.

By Rev. J. T. Gracey, D.D., President of the International Missionary Union, in the *Missionary Review of the World*.

THE utterances of Lord Salisbury about the triumphs of missionaries in early church history, without government protection, may be a diplomatic hint of a change of policy in government patronage of the modern missionary. But Lord Salisbury needed not to go back so far to find illustrations of the success of non-combative evangelism, and there is little ground for his intimation that Protestant missionaries rely unduly on the arm of flesh.

Rev. J. Hudson Taylor, of the China Inland Mission, has under his leadership missionary subjects of several of the western powers. Does anybody sup-

pose he would like to see a syndicate of these powers combined for their protection? Members of that mission tell of riotous persecution, involving imminent peril to their own lives, without a hint to government about redress, which advertised the mission and provoked investigation of Chinese hitherto indifferent to it, and this resulted in conversions, and from among these specific converts came some of the most efficient evangelists and leaders of the native church. Bishop Ridley, of Caledonia, tells of his being spat upon, knocked down, and kicked about by savage ruffians, without any thought of appealing to his own British government to keep the peace in British Columbia. The brute who abused him afterward clasped his feet and begged his pardon, and at last died a triumphant Christian. The inherent might of this non-combative love has won victory for hundreds of modern Christian converts from heathendom. It is the native Christians that have to bear the brunt of persecution without redress from civil or political source.

Bishop Ridley tells of a heathen band who entered the church of Indian Christians and forbade their reading the Bible to the people. Because they would not promise to comply with this demand the savages tore down the edifice with axes and bars, and because it was too great a task to pull down the tower, set fire to it and burned it up. One young Christian said, "Shall we not fight for the house of God?" An older Christian replied, "No; Jesus never fought, he died. We will rather die than fight." There was no appeal to government for redress; no requisition for punishment of the criminals. They bore it all meekly and lovingly, declining to "put up a good fight in the name of the Prince of Peace," and the result was the conversion of the tribe to which the men of the mob belonged—the strongest tribe on the Pacific coast. "From that night onward," said one of the rioters, "I dreaded the Spirit of God. \* \* \* When I hunted among the mountains the Spirit of God hunted me, and I was afraid." Another man was one day holding the tape measure while the bishop was measuring out the best site in the town to begin a new church, when he said, "Bishop, do you know that that hand set fire to the church? It did; and until I heard the native preacher say that the blood of Jesus Christ cleanses from all sin, I never had peace in my heart, but when I heard that my fear went away."

### Triumphs of Grace.

All mission lands have furnished such illustrations of the triumphs of grace. Chinese Christians are eminent in these ranks. The case of Ling Ching Ting is well known. Persecuted, falsely accused, and sentenced to two thousand bamboo stripes, which left him almost lifeless and his back a jelly, his first words on being able to speak were, "Teacher, this poor body is in great pain just now. \* \* \* Jesus is with me. I think perhaps he is going to take me to heaven, and I will be glad to go. But *if I get up from this you will let me go back to Hok-chiang, won't you?*" Back to the men who had falsely incriminated him and beaten him almost to death, without any civil protection or other assurance of his safety, his Christian zeal carried him, and he won these enemies to Christ.

No; Lord Salisbury needed not to go back so far to point the moral of the triumph of the principles of Christianity without government patronage. Nor will he be likely to have to wait long for similar illustrations. The most perplexing problem likely to confront missionary boards in China is not how to procure indemnity, nor how to secure civil and political guardianship for missionaries, but how to deter missionaries from re-entering fields where the danger is most imminent. If the missionary societies were to make the call for volunteers to enter the most perilous place in China a score of men and women would proffer their services to one that they could send, men who would spurn the suggestion that they must have government guaranty for their safety. Lone missionary women have not been regardful of the restrictions of consuls from re-entering isolated stations near the locality of the massacres of the Foochow provinces. Missionaries in Uganda have not asked the powers to avenge their personal injury, and elsewhere they have braved the dangers which the governments have superadded to those of the heathen conditions. The missionaries were not responsible for the Indian mutiny. It was the "hut tax" innovation in Sierra Leone that resulted in the massacre of missionaries. It is the abominations of the "concessions" that create peril for missionaries in other African colonies. The South African war is not a "missionary" war. Missionaries did not suggest "treaties" with North American Indians nor with Chinese. Hon. William B. Reed, as minister plenipotentiary, put the missionary clause into the treaties with China. Missionaries

did not solicit it. Even French Roman Catholic missionaries did not take the initiative in this compact. They come under "the most favored nation" clause.

It was not missionaries, but United States Plenipotentiary Hon. Anson Burlingame, who put into a treaty with China the axiom that one of the fundamental rights of mankind was the privilege to change one's residence. If that was a fallacy the United States was the first to override it by Congressional act; the Chinese government did not dispute the proposition then, nor has it since done so. It is not missionaries, but John Barrett, ex-minister of our Government to Siam, and who, it is rumored, is a possible successor to Mr. Conger, who says: "We can not recall our missionaries unless we are ready to recall our merchants."

### Indemnities for Missionaries.

Of what use has the treaty with Turkey been to restore values destroyed in the Armenian massacres? Has the American Board ceased its operations while waiting for a paltry hundred thousand dollars, for the collection of which a "naval demonstration," costing far more than that sum, is reported as imminent?

Missionary indemnity for damage done American missions in this present uprising in China would not figure at all, except in name or principle—it would scarcely, at the utmost, reach one three-hundredth part of the money indemnity which has been mentioned as a probable sum to be requisitioned by the United States from China. If money indemnity is to be demanded from China it must be too long-coming to be of avail for missionary rehabilitation.

China cares nothing for demand of blood; life is too cheap. Somebody dies when this is insisted on, but generally not the person who committed the crime. The punishment of officials by degrading them is a temporary farce; the deposed officers being reappointed to some other office, and presently advanced higher than ever. Chinese are amenable to but two kinds of punishment—loss of territory and cash indemnity. But any considerable cash indemnity, such as the two hundred million dollars to Japan in the late war, means outrages of "squeezing," and corruption, and oppression, against which, when pressed too far, the ordinary Chinese rebels, and the native Christian seeks protection of the missionary patronage.

To appeal for "indemnity" is, therefore, a course which complicates the missionary situation, and it is probable the boards in America may forego their technical claims in the case of China. The United States is not likely to take a territorial indemnity, and she may have to administer some form of Chinese imperial revenue, if ever she gets a cash equivalent. The whole situation is so complicated that missionary societies and missionaries may pause before reaching any conclusions as to the course they should pursue.

But what governments are to do is quite another question. It was, perhaps is, "in the air," that Lord Salisbury's speech was a manifesto, indicating that the allied powers might withdraw all government protection from missionaries hereafter. But France is not likely to consent to that. She has always extended her protection over Roman Catholic missions as a matter of state policy. With a million of adherents in China, and her "chief priests" advanced to mandarins she is not likely now to retreat from her precedents, and especially when precedents are pretexts for her meddling with politics through missions for five hundred years in the far East. The Russian Empire is inseparable from the Greek Church, and it is not likely she will attempt the impossible, and tell her bishops and other ecclesiastical functionaries in her missions in Peking that she will not protect them. Great Britain's policy of colonization includes the missionary as advance courier of commerce, and she is not likely to begin a differentiation against the missionary as a "subject," when she spent two millions in Egypt to defend a "subject" who was a Jew. The United States would brook no discrimination between classes of her "citizens."

But government patronage and protection is not a missionary question; it is distinctly a government matter. Missionaries would differ among themselves as widely as any other citizens would, as to how the government's action would affect missionary or political interests. The writer asked an experienced missionary of Constantinople what would be the effect on missions if the government withdrew from them their protection in their civil capacity, and he replied, "I would not like to see it tried in Turkey." Another missionary from the interior of China replied to the same question, "The only effect on the Chinese mind would be that they would attribute it to weakness."

That the protection of missionaries as subjects or citizens has its own perplexities is conceded, but it is not a missionary problem, it is a state question. They would find that Lord Salisbury's appeal to return to primitive practice would not afford them any relief. There are men who would face the antagonism of their own governments as quickly as they would that of a heathen one to preach Christ in the regions beyond. The Moravian missionaries to the Iroquois were imprisoned in the city of New York because they would not desist. When Dr. Schaufler was told by the Russian minister at Constantinople, "My master, the Czar, will not let you put foot on that territory," Schaufler's immortalized reply was, "My Master, the Lord Jesus Christ, will not ask the Czar of all the Russias where he shall put his foot."

#### “REPRESENTATION WITHOUT TAXATION.”

THE present is a time of the heaping together of vast treasures, and a time when the just dues of those who reap—the common people whose labor makes wealth of the raw materials of nature—are kept back by fraud. Many are the ways in which this is done and new ways are continually being devised. One of these methods of fraud was quite thoroughly exposed at a mass-meeting held in Central Music Hall, this city, October 29. The meeting was called by the Chicago Teachers' Federation, and the following facts were brought to its attention.

The State Board of Tax Equalization of this State has for years, contrary to law and to the decision of the State and United States Supreme Court, allowed the franchises and capital stock of a great number of large corporations located in Chicago to go untaxed. According to the arrangement of the board the county of Cook must pay a certain proportion of the State tax, so that the escape from taxation of so much property held by these large corporations has greatly increased the burden of taxation on the property of the ordinary people. This increase has been from twenty to fifty per cent. For twenty-three years no railroad in this State has been assessed on its franchises. In 1875 the franchises of the railroads were assessed at twenty-two millions of dollars. In 1899, as for many years previous, no value was given to their franchises. In 1874 two small street-car lines in Chicago were paying taxes on franchises valued at over a million

dollars. In 1899 seven hundred miles of electric and cable car lines paid no tax whatever on their franchises. In 1874, three years after the Chicago fire, the board of equalization assessed the franchises of two gas companies in Chicago at a half million dollars. In 1899, when the gas trust had almost exclusive occupancy of hundreds of miles of streets in Chicago, there was no franchise tax, though the company had informed its stockholders that its franchise was worth fifty million dollars.

The Teachers' Federation finds that twenty-three corporations alone in the city of Chicago are escaping taxation on franchises and stocks to the amount of \$235,829,000. Only one street-car line in Chicago pays taxes on its franchise, and it is only two or three blocks in length. The other companies owning hundreds of miles of street railways pay no tax whatever on their franchises.

These corporations are required to fill out blanks and submit them to the board of equalization. In the places where the value of stocks and franchises are required by law to be given they write "Unknown," and this is accepted by the board. In a number of instances it has been found that companies making such report have within a few weeks of the time of making the report given to their stockholders the exact statement of the value of such properties.

Speeches were made on this matter by prominent men. One speaker said that "no taxation without representation was the principle of the Revolutionary fathers, but now the tendency seems to be representation without taxation." It was pointed out that those who own the most valuable and paying properties, on which there is scarcely any taxation, are the very ones who have most influence with boards of equalizers and legislatures.

The closing speech was made by John L. Spalding, Roman Catholic bishop of Peoria, whose words are always marked by deep thought, and seem in this case to be inspired by the highest considerations of justice and morality. His speech dealt not so much with the particular matter under consideration, but with the state of affairs from which it springs and of which it is a symptom. He declared that notwithstanding the fact that the people of to-day are accustomed to congratulate themselves that the world is getting better than it used to be, and that they can bring statistics to prove it, the power of moral indignation seems to be gradually creeping

away from men. They stand silent in the presence of great wrongs. This he declared to be the sure forerunner of moral death. Greed seems to be in complete control. It is the dominating motive in almost everything. It seems to be more important to have great commercial interests than to sustain manhood and womanhood. Gold is thought to supply every human need. The things that men make are considered of more value than the men themselves. The truth that happiness and virtue have their springs within and not without, seems to be passing from the minds of men in the mad accumulation of material things. Greed and commercialism are dominating all the organized institutions of society.

Speaking directly of trusts, he said: "Corporations which use franchises given them by the people to defraud the people are worse than highway robbers. By their oppressions they make the conditions of human existence almost unendurable to great numbers of people, and drive poor men and poor women into crime. The trusts urge that they act in self-defense. Competition is fierce and their existence depends upon their supremacy. Well, men may fight in self-defense, they may go so far as to kill men in self-defense, but they must not corrupt and debase men in self-defense; and the self-defense of the trust must stop when it comes to corrupting and debasing society. It is said that a corporation has no soul. Well, a trust has a soul; it has the soul of a devil, and it goes about seeking whom it may devour. The organized powers of society seem to be gradually developing into government of the trust, by the trust, and for the trust more than one of the people, by the people, and for the people. If things continue as they are at present, within fifty or one hundred years there will be a few great corporations, and most of the people will be servants and slaves."

The bishop declared that one of the most erroneous and dangerous ideas that seemed to have at the present time the strong endorsement of public opinion was that legality is justice. "All the great crimes of history," he declared, "have been legal. The Christian martyrs were executed and the horrors of the Inquisition were carried on according to law."

J. D. B.

"Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you."—St. James.

## News, Notes . . . and Comment

THE SENTINEL OF LIBERTY is not an organ of any political party, and consequently is not affected one way or the other by the outcome of the political election. It has the same truths to present, the same principles of justice to advocate now that it had before.



THE principles of just government are as eternal as the government of God, and are binding in all countries always, whatever may be the fate of the political parties that may champion them.



THE *Defender*, a paper devoted to the advocacy of the legal enforcement of Sunday, notes with evident approval that "most of the Jews who have kept their stores open on Sunday," "in the Jewish section of Boston" "have been fined by the lower court." "One man has appealed to the higher court."



THE president of the League for Social Service, Dr. Josiah Strong, has written a book dealing with the subject of "expansion," in which he says that new conditions have rendered necessary a revision of Washington's Farewell Address. "Reduced to its simplest terms," Doctor Strong says, "Washington's advice amounts to this, 'Let us mind our own business.' Admirable advice for that age and equally good for this. Then our business was confined to this continent; now it is in the ends of the earth. By all means let us mind it."

In this Doctor Strong voices the sentiment of most of the modern "reform" leagues and societies.



SPEAKING of the proposed Catholic federation the *Catholic Mirror* says it is essential to "remove politics from the contemplated sphere of action," and then shows how this expression is to be taken by referring to Windthorst, the noted leader of the Catholic party in the German Reichstag, as "a statesman and political leader," who "is to be admired," and "to be commended as an example to every Catholic youth." Herr Windthorst and his party

held the balance of power in the Reichstag, and the government could pass its cherished measures through that body only by making great concessions to the Catholic Church.

With this federation standing behind it and holding the balance of political power in this country the Catholic Church says: "We want and demand the removal of all disability arising from sectarian bigotry and hate, whether in the minds of the leaders of one party or the bosses of another."



A WRITER in "Arnold's Practical Sunday School Lessons" says that there are in the United States "about 225,000 liquor dealers and 1,200,000 bartenders." "More liquor is sold in one year than there is pork, wheat, and corn combined." "The drink bill of this Republic is \$1,025,000,000." "The physical and moral results of this condition of affairs are shown by the fact that in the State of Ohio alone, out of 9,430 insane people, 5,186 cases were traced to liquor; of 16,335 criminals, 12,596 were drunk when they broke the law." Nevertheless it is a matter of record in the Supreme Court of the United States that "this is a Christian nation."



THE *Catholic Mirror* reports that "the Catholic societies of Peoria, Ill., are forming a federation, the movement having been started by the German Catholic Bund. All the societies in the city are interested in the movement, and a prosperous organization is expected."



OF the States which at the late election gave an increased plurality for the dominant party over their vote in 1896, the foremost is Utah, with an increase of 41,000 votes.



GENERAL THOMAS M. ANDERSON, who commanded the first expedition of soldiers sent to the Philippines, denies the charge made recently by Bishop McFaul in the *North American Review* that Catholic churches were desecrated by American soldiers. The general says: "While our American soldiers are not altogether saintly, it is not true that they have looted and desecrated churches."



RIGHTS exist independently of government; despotic power may invade them, but justice still confirms them.

### "THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES."

Most of our readers are doubtless familiar with the *Signs of the Times*, published in Oakland, Cal., but probably all have not seen the "Outlook" number, bearing date of November 28, and now ready. This is a double number filled with most interesting and timely articles. The paper is most handsomely illustrated with original drawings. The following are among the important articles in the "Outlook" number of the *Signs*: "The Gospel Outlook," "A Nineteenth Century Review," "The European Outlook," "The Church and State Outlook," "The Papal Outlook," "The American Outlook," "The Protestant Outlook," "The Mission's Outlook," "The Christian's Outlook," etc. There are also two excellent original poems, "Columbia, Where Leadest Thou?" and "The Bridegroom Cometh." This latter is set to appropriate music. The *Signs* is always good, but this number is especially so, and ought to have a wide circulation.

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and our lives full of little things that are not worth the while. We have bent the knee to show, to display, and we have lowered ourselves in doing it; surrounded ourselves with the trivial and the useless, and filling our lives with the poison of artificiality and the unnatural we have pushed the real, the natural, the simple, the beautiful—the best, and most lasting things—out of our lives."

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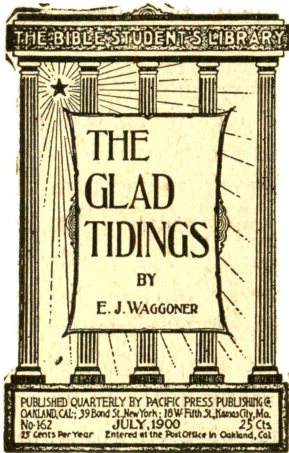
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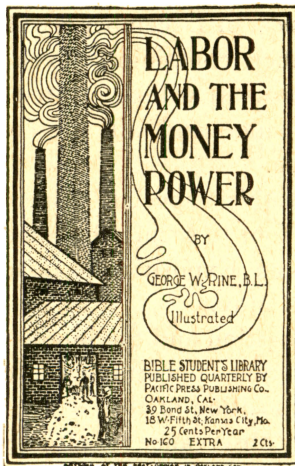
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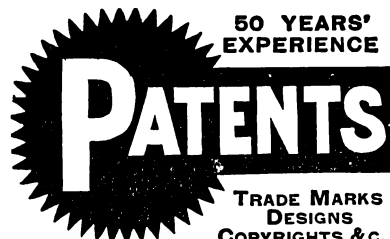
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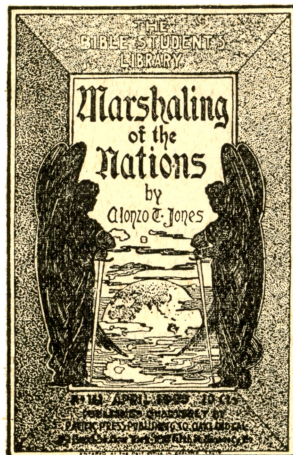
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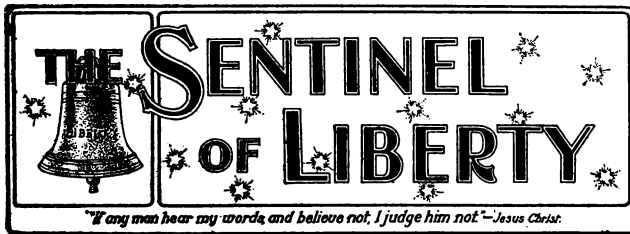


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CHICAGO, NOVEMBER 15, 1900.

Any one receiving The Sentinel of Liberty without having ordered it, may know that it is sent by some friend. Those who have not ordered The Sentinel need have no fears that they will be asked to pay for it.

"WASHINGTON leaders," we are now informed, "are preparing a most imposing celebration" for the next presidential inaugural. "We should strive," says one member of the inaugural committee, "to excel in the glory of that day the splendor of the jubilee of England's queen."

These words are suggestive, but not of republican government.



THE chief of the navigation bureau, admiral Crowninshield, now tells us that the United States navy must be made four times as strong as it is, in order to be in condition "to fight a first-class European power;" and Senator Proctor, of the senate committee on military affairs, says that the regular army we have heretofore maintained is "absurdly small," and that no doubt Congress will at its next session increase it 55,000 or 60,000 men, and authorize the President to increase it to 100,000 if he thinks best.



A CORRESPONDENT in Argentina, from whom we quote elsewhere in this issue, writes that "most of the provincial constitutions, as also the federal constitution, here in Argentina make definite provisions in favor of liberty of conscience, but at the same time they state that the Roman Catholic religion is the religion of the state, to be by it devoutly sustained and protected."

You may smile at the inconsistency of this; but is it any more so than for a North American State to assure liberty of conscience to its citizens and at the same time to require all of them to do honor to a day it designates as the "Christian Sabbath"?



"OH, for a good Christian politician!" exclaims the Rev. Charles M. Sheldon, as quoted in a recent

sermon delivered in New York City. "The average politician," Dr. Sheldon says, "reminds me of the Pharisees, whom Christ likened to whited sepulchers."

If Dr. Sheldon will note what history has to say on the subject of "Christian politicians," we think candor will force him to admit that such persons were never of any great benefit to their own or to later generations, but quite the contrary. The men who have tried to administer Christianity through civil government have succeeded only in discounting both civil government and Christianity, and this not because they were lacking in skill, but because the two are fundamentally different in character. Of course the official of civil government should be an honest man; but it takes more than mere honesty to make an individual a Christian.

#### A "SPECIAL" SENTINEL.

THE SENTINEL OF LIBERTY of December 6 will be a special illustrated number, containing seven or eight half-tone illustrations. It will be printed on an extra fine quality of paper, and will present a very attractive appearance.

The general subject of this "special" issue will be the movement now on foot to secure the Sunday closing of the Pan-American Exposition to be held at Buffalo, beginning next May.

The agitation of this question and the interest in it will be second only to that concerning the closing of the Columbian Exposition in 1893. The advocates of enforced Sunday observance are already at work, and as this matter will be settled long before the exposition opens, there is no time to lose.

Literature treating upon the principles involved in compulsory Sunday observance should be scattered broadcast now while the minds of the people are directed to this subject.

Though it will cost much more than usual to produce this copy of THE SENTINEL, we will supply it at the usual rate of one cent per copy, or \$8.00 per thousand.

We will send a limited number at the rate of one and a quarter cents per copy in single wraps to lists of names furnished to us. Please write names and addresses very plainly.

Orders for this number should be sent in as soon as possible so that we shall know how many to print.