

# THE SENTINEL OF LIBERTY

*"If any 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.

LIBERTY for a class of the people only is license; true liberty is for all alike.

"ALL men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights."

THE possession of unalienable rights is necessary to the development of character, without which there would have been no purpose in man's creation.

CIVIL governments are instituted among men to preserve their natural rights, that they may have freedom to choose between good and evil, unrestrained by anything save the admonitions of conscience.

To preserve natural rights men must be restrained from all actions that would invade such rights; hence there must be laws against murder, theft, assault, etc. But this does not contradict the statement that the Creator designs men to be free to

choose either good or evil. To restrain men from invading one another's rights does not and can not hinder them from opening their hearts to evil thoughts and desires; it can not hinder them from leading lives which the Creator condemns.

To attempt by the agencies of civil government to make men live righteously before God is to take away from men that freedom of choice which he has given them and designs them to have as a condition necessary to the development of character. But to use the power of civil government to make men respect each other's rights is to preserve their freedom of choice. When civil government gets into the sphere of religion, therefore, it does just the opposite of that which it does in the secular sphere, and defeats the very purpose of its existence.

### AN OLD DECEPTION.

It is not altogether strange that religious people in this age of the world should be seeking to fulfill the purposes of God by the use of worldly agencies, seeing it is true that so great and righteous a man as Abraham, the "father of the faithful," once committed this same mistake himself.

Abraham was a man who feared God, and was full of zeal for his cause; and God had chosen him from among men and told him that his seed was to be as the stars of heaven for number, and through him was to come the promised One in whom all families of the earth should be blessed. But Sarah, Abraham's wife, had no child, and as the years passed on and no heir appeared to point to the fulfillment of the cherished promise, the vision of the divine agency working out the high designs of God grew

dim in their troubled minds, and it seemed that the realization of the promise devolved upon themselves. So Abraham and Sarah set to work to fulfill the prophecy by the best plan they could devise, and the result of their scheme was Ishmael, the son of the Egyptian bondwoman, Hagar. Then God appeared to Abraham and told him that the promise was to be fulfilled not through any human plan or power, but only in the power and wisdom of God, through *faith*; and then, through Abraham's faith in God, came in due time the child that was the true heir, Isaac.

The purposes of God, the prophecies of his Word, are to be realized through faith; never in any other way. The agencies in their fulfillment are spiritual agencies working with the children of faith; the power is the power of God. The earth is to be purified from wickedness; the saints of the Most High are to inherit it and exercise dominion over it, and it is to be filled with righteousness and peace. Such is the promise of the Almighty. But how are men, the professed followers of God, working for its fulfillment? The outlook shows us that they have gone to work to fulfill the prophecy themselves by earthly agencies, such as human wisdom always selects—legislation, the ballot, politics and even conquest. They are going to make the world good and usher in the golden age by vote, by grasping political power, and by the forcible extension on the earth of the blessings of American "Christian civilization." In this abortive scheme we see millions of zealous Christian people engaged to-day.

Friends, leaders in this great effort, it is all a mistake. It is the same old deception—the substitution of earthly agencies and human wisdom for the divine in the fulfillment of God's high purposes. It is not of faith; it is not based on the word of God or the example of Christ. It can only fail and bring disappointment, darkness and disaster.

Let the purposes of the Most High be consummated by the superior agencies at His command, in that way which will manifest to the universe the omniscience and omnipotence of its Sovereign, and let those who long for the realization of these purposes study and believe His Word, work in faith, and exercise "the patience of the saints." s.

If the world could be saved by legislation or conquest, the sacrifice of the cross would not have been necessary.

### CHRISTIAN ENDEAVORERS AND "REVERENCE FOR LAW."

THERE is in Providence, R. I., an organization known as "the Providence Union of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor."

"Some time since," says the *Providence Journal*, this "union took up the agitation for increased respect for the law," and "the enforcement of law as law." The literature used was "leaflets of the League for Social Service, of which Dr. Josiah Strong is president."

"A special service," says the *Journal*, "was arranged for July 1 by the citizenship committee of the Providence Union, which is composed of one representative from each church society, with Rev. E. Tallmadge Root, of Elmwood Temple, as chairman. There are 43 of these societies, and the total average attendance at their meetings is about 2,000."

"In many of the churches the meeting was addressed by an attorney. The theme in each was *the divine authority of law*; the prevailing neglect of law; that this neglect is *the main cause of our moral problems*; that a strong public sentiment demanding the enforcement of the letter of every statute would prove *the solution of all these problems*; and that, therefore, the key to the whole battle for civic righteousness is *insistence upon the rigid enforcement of law*."

Letters were read in the various meetings from ex-Presidents Harrison and Cleveland.

Mr. Cleveland wrote as follows:

"PRINCETON, June 2d, 1900.

"Rev. E. Tallmadge Root.

"DEAR SIR: It is not a pleasing thing to be obliged to concede that at this period of our nation's history there should be truth and relevancy in the proposition: 'The Great Need of Our Country—Reverence for Law.'

"The difference between barbarity and civilization consists in the absence or existence of laws and their enforcement. American civilization requires that laws for the safety and protection of persons and property should be made and executed by those chosen for that purpose, by the people to be affected by such laws. This circumstance creates the demand of popular participation and consent, which increases enormously the obligation of support and obedience. These are included in 'Reverence for Law.' That this reverence is the great need of our country results from an inordinate national and individual strife to reach ends regardless of all restraint, and from the growth of the notion among our people that

ends must be gained whether the means employed are justified or not.

"That this tendency is extremely dangerous to the well-being, if not the perpetuity of our nation, there can be no doubt; and when those in control of our Government can satisfy themselves in a certain course of action by saying if there is no constitutional or legal warrant for it, there ought to be, it is a short step to a feeling among the people that if the laws made for their control and guidance do not permit them to do everything they desire, such laws may be despised and disregarded.

"In view of impending dangers confessed by the statments of our country's need, no more lofty or important work can employ the efforts of Christian workers, than the earnest revival of 'Reverence for Law.'

"Yours very truly,

"GROVER CLEVELAND."

Writing under date of June 9, Mr. Harrison referred to a speech made by him at Knoxville; Tenn., April 14, 1891, in which he said:

"We live in a government of law. The compact of our organization is that a majority of our people, taking those methods which are prescribed by the Constitution and law, shall determine our public policies and choose our rulers. It is our solemn compact; it can not safely be broken. We may safely differ about policies; we may divide upon the question as to what shall be the law; but when the law is once enacted no community can safely divide on the question of implicit obedience to the law. It is the one rule of conduct for us all. I may not choose as President what laws I will enforce, and the citizen may not choose what laws he will obey. Upon this broad principle our institutions rest. If we save it, all the agitations and tumults of our campaigns, exciting though they may be, will be harmless to move our Government from its safe and abiding foundation. If we abandon it, all is gone. Therefore my appeal everywhere is to hold the law in veneration and reverence. We have no other king; public officers are your servants; but in the august and majestic presence of the law we all uncover and bow the knee."

THIS "special service" in forty-three Providence churches, simply illustrates the way in which the young people, not of a single city but of the whole country, are being trained. Instead of being instructed in the principles of justice which underlie all just-statutes, they are taught the enforcement of "law as law;" greater "reverence for law;" and to "uncover and bow the knee" "in the majestic pres-

ence of the law," simply because it is law, or rather because it is statute.

Very much is *statute* that is not *law*. *Law* exists in the very nature of things. Just statutes simply declare the law of nature. "This law of nature," says Blackstone, "being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries, and at all times. No human laws are of any validity if contrary to this; and such of them as are valid derive all their force, and all their authority, mediately or immediately, from this original."

If more were said to the young about the majesty of human rights, if they were taught that rights are God-given, that they exist in the very nature of things, that rights are everywhere equal, and to be respected as much in the humblest man as in the most exalted, there would be less need to insist upon the enforcement of "law as law."

And this is the instruction that all the people must have if popular government is to be maintained. It is just as impossible for a community to make itself law-abiding by statutes as it is for an individual to make himself moral by good resolutions. The individual will be moral only as he is genuinely attached to the principles of morality. In like manner and for exactly the same reason, a community will be law-abiding only as the individuals in that community are genuinely attached to the principles of justice. The passionate man may resolve ever so sincerely never to swear again, but unless his motive is real reverence for the name of God, his "good resolution" will be broken under the first provocation. Just so with a community; statutes will be respected only as the people are genuinely attached to the principles underlying them.

In the early history of our country, principles were emphasized. Much was said of the value of liberty and of the sacredness of human rights. As a consequence laws were founded upon justice, and human rights were respected. Now statutes are enacted with little reference to underlying principles, human rights are made light of, and as a consequence law is disregarded and rights are trampled into the dust.

B.

THE application of Christian principles to national affairs would certainly do away with war.—  
*Mayor Samuel M. Jones, Toledo, O.*

### NOT MERE LAW, BUT JUST LAW.

It is not law that the world needs to-day. There has always been law enough in the world. Despots never were without plenty of law for their subjects. The Pharisees of old fairly revelled in law; they had manufactured it almost without end. George III. supplied the colonies with plenty of law, such as it was. Our forefathers, indeed, decided they had more law than they wanted, and were willing to take up arms to get rid of some of it. The legislative harvest never fails to yield a surplus. Vastly more statutes are turned out each year than the country needs.

No great reform ever began in the world with the enactment of more law, or even with the enforcing of more rigid obedience to existing laws; while, on the contrary, reforms that have marked epochs in the world's history have led to the resisting of law, as witness the great Reformation, which sent hosts of martyrs to the stake and dungeon for disobeying the "law of the land." There would never have been an American Revolution or the United States of America if the colonies had felt bound to obey the will of King George simply because it was "the law."

No. What is needed to-day, and sadly needed, is more respect for right, for justice and for truth. It is only respect for the *right* that makes law effective anywhere outside of a military despotism. Lacking this, mere statutes are of no use. Reverence for justice is the foundation of stability in a republic. The deification of mere "law" leads only to despotism.

"THE notion that the union of religion and politics can be only evil is as morally insane as the notion that only evil can come from the union of God and man. It is not the union of religion and politics that brings tyranny, but the false unity of unspiritual religion and immoral politics."

So says Prof. George D. Herron in a recent article on "Religion and Politics." A little reflection on the professor's second proposition is sufficient to demonstrate the entire lack of anything upon which to base the first. The alliance of a purely spiritual religion with politics is not possible. A spiritual church or religion, the weapons of whose warfare are not carnal, needs and seeks no support from the state; a just civil government need not and will not

invade the realm of spiritual things in securing and perpetuating human rights. On the other hand political corruption in the state and spiritual decline in the church is a condition that has always been favorable to "the union of religion and politics;" and these things have never yet in a single instance failed to attend and follow such union. "In some instances" such union has "been seen to erect a spiritual tyranny on the ruins of civil authority; in many instances" it has "been seen upholding the thrones of political tyranny; in no instance" has it "been seen the guardian of the liberties of the people" or a preserver or promoter of the spirituality of religion. Surely the professor knows this to be the unbroken testimony of the past. Why does he expect entirely different fruits in the future? When the professor is able to point to a single instance where a "union of religion and politics" has not corrupted the civil administration and robbed the church of its spiritual power, there will be a force in his first proposition that is manifestly lacking at present.

### A TALE OF TWO NATIONS.

#### The Reign of Right.

THE nation of Israel was set in the earth by the Almighty to represent *RIGHT* in things national and governmental. The United States was ordained of God to do a similar work. Nothing can be more clear than this, and in the Declaration of Independence it is writ.

The doctrine of Europe was summed up in the words, "The divine right of kings." One author has tritely said that this was "a divine right to govern wrong." In other words, the doctrine of the nations of medieval times was that "might makes right." If a nation possessed enough arbitrary power and physical force to accomplish a certain end, no matter how criminally aggressive, no matter how tyrannical or despotic that end might be, the power to do was always supposed to prove the rightfulness of the thing done. And back of this time, in the dawn of European history, in the days of the Roman Republic, that nation had held to the doctrine of "*Vox Populi vox Dei*"—"The voice of the people is the voice of God." In other words, the Roman doctrine was that if the majority of the people approved of a thing it must be right.

But the Declaration of Independence, with one

simple yet sweeping statement, disowns, disclaims, and discards both the Roman and the mediæval theories, and substitutes in their place a principle beyond comparison with them for its lofty and holy teachings.

In the last paragraph of that immortal document it is written that these United Colonies, as free and independent States, "have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of RIGHT do."

Wrapped in these words was a new doctrine. Here was the enunciation of a principle hitherto unheard of. Heretofore sovereignty had been considered as being unlimited and illimitable. But the Declaration of Independence brought to the birth a new principle, that RIGHT IS SUPERIOR TO ALL EARTHLY POWER, whether vested in prince or potentate, or in a republican form of government. With the founders of this Government it was not a question of what the nation was *able* to do, but contrarywise, what was *right* for the nation to do. I quote from the great Sumner:

"But the great Declaration, not content with announcing certain rights as unalienable, and therefore beyond the control of any government, still further restrains the sovereignty which it asserts by simply declaring that the United States have 'full power to do all acts and things which independent States may of right do.' Here is a well-defined limitation upon the popular sovereignty. The dogma of Tory lawyers and pamphleteers—put forward to sustain the claim of parliamentary omnipotence and vehemently espoused by Dr. Johnson in his 'Taxation no Tyranny'—was taught, that sovereignty is in its nature illimitable, precisely as it is now loosely professed by Mr. Douglass for his handful of squatters. But this doctrine is distinctly discarded in the Declaration, and it is frankly proclaimed that all sovereignty is subordinate to the rule of right. Mark, now, the difference: All existing governments at that time, even the local government of the colonies, stood on power without limitation. Here was a new Government, which, taking its place among the nations, announced that it stood only on *right*, and claimed no sovereignty inconsistent with right."

In 1837 John Quincy Adams, in a Fourth-of-July oration at Newburyport, said:

"The sovereign authority conferred upon the people of the colonies by the Declaration of Independence could not dispense them, nor any individual citizen of them, from the fulfillment of their

moral obligations. The people who assumed their equal and separate station among the powers of the earth by the laws of nature's God, by that very act acknowledged themselves bound to the observance of those laws, and could neither exercise nor confer any power inconsistent with them."

Still further alluding to the self-imposed restraints upon the sovereignty which had been established, he says:

"The Declaration acknowledged the rule of right paramount to the power of independent states itself, and virtually disclaimed all power to do wrong. This was a novelty in the moral philosophy of nations, and it is the essential point of difference between the system of government announced in the Declaration of Independence and those systems which had until then prevailed among men. \* \* \* It was an experiment upon the heart of man. All the legislators of the human race until that day had laid the foundations of all government among men in power; and hence it was that in the maxims of theory, as well as in the practice of nations, sovereignty was held to be unlimited and illimitable. The Declaration of Independence proclaimed another law, \* \* \* a law of right, binding upon nations as well as individuals, upon sovereigns as well as upon subjects. \* \* \* In assuming the attributes of sovereign power, the colonists appealed to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of their intentions, and neither claimed nor conferred authority to do anything but for RIGHT."

In a speech delivered in the United States Senate January 6, 1899, Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, refers to Thackeray's comment upon the great picture in the rotunda of the Capitol. So beautifully and forcibly has he woven into his argument this incident, and another with it, that I take the liberty of giving it again in his own words, for they are far better than my own could be:

"Thackeray, no mean judge of noble art, no mean judge of noble actions, was one day crossing the rotunda of this Capitol in company with Charles Sumner. He stopped before the picture where the genius of the great artist of Connecticut has delineated on the imperishable canvass the scene when the Declaration of Independence was presented by Jefferson to the solemn sitting over which Hancock presided, and the new nation, born on the 19th of April, 1775, was baptized in the faith of our new gospel of liberty. He stood for a moment silent, and then said to Mr. Sumner: 'That's your painter.'

"Surely he was right. The foremost action of human history is fitly represented by the great work

which we fondly hope is to be as enduring as time, enduring as the Republic, enduring as liberty. It is there, in the foremost place of honor which can be found on this earth. No Parthenon, no Saint Peter's, no Palace of the Escorial, no Sans Souci, not Westminster Abbey itself, can equal, at least to our eyes, this spot, where forever a great and free people declares its constitutional will.

"Beneath the great dome, to which the pilgrim from afar first repairs when he visits the capital of his country, hangs the great picture which delineates the scene *when the nation was first baptized into immortal life*. It was not only the independence of America which was then declared, *it was the dignity of human nature itself*.

"When Samuel Rogers visited the Dominican convent at Padua an aged friar showed him the famous picture of 'The Last Supper' in the refectory of the convent. He said:

"I have sat at my meals before it for seven and forty years, and such are the changes that have taken place among us—so many have come and gone in that time—that when I look upon the company there, upon those who are sitting at that table, silent as they are, I am sometimes inclined to think that we, not they, are the shadows."

"As administrations, terms of presidential office begin and end, as senators and representatives come and go before the silent figures in that immortal picture, it seems to me that we are but the shadows, while Hancock and Jefferson and Adams and Franklin and Ellsworth and Livingston are still deliberating, still acting, still alive."

In the Book of books it is written that "the grass withereth, the flower fadeth; but the Word of our God shall stand forever;" and in another place that that immortal Word "liveth and abideth forever." And it is even so with the great principles of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution of the United States. These principles are coeval with time, and they will be commensurate with eternity. The government of God in the beautiful world to come will be a government of love, a government founded upon the principle of the consent of the governed, for every soul in that blest home and kingdom and in all the infinite universe will desire naught else but that God and Jesus Christ shall rule. This will be the supreme and ever-living desire of every one. Heaven's government is indeed one deriving its powers, which are only just, from the consent of the governed. Every voice in the righteous nation blends in that glad chorus: "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches,

and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory, and blessing." Says John the revelator: "Every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I saying, Blessing, and honor, and glory, and power be unto him that sitteth upon the throne and unto the Lamb forever and ever."

P. T. MAGAN.

### CHRISTIANITY AND PAGANISM.

"The conflict of Christianity with Judaism was a civil war; that with paganism, the invasion and conquest of a foreign territory. In the former case it was the declared design of the innovation to perfect the established constitution on its primary principles; to expand the yet undeveloped system, according to the original views of the divine Legislator: in the latter, it contemplated the total subversion of the existing order of things, a reconstruction of the whole moral and religious being of mankind." \* \* \* "With the foreign Jew the service of the synagogue was his religion; and the synagogue, without any violent change, was transformed into a Christian church. The same Almighty God to whom it was primarily dedicated, maintained his place; and the sole difference was that He was worshipped through the mediation of the crucified Jesus of Nazareth. With the pagan the whole of his religious observances fell under the unsparing proscription. Every one of the countless temples and shrines, and sacred groves, and hallowed fountains, were to be desecrated by the abhorrent feelings of those who looked back with shame and contempt upon their old idolatries. Every image, from the living works of Phidias or Praxiteles to the rude and shapeless Hermes or Terminus, was to become a meaningless mass of wood or stone.

### A Contest in Every Place.

"In every city, town, or even village, there was a contest to be maintained, not merely against the general system of polytheism, but against the local and tutelary deity of the place. Every public spectacle, every procession, every civil or military duty, was a religious ceremonial. \* \* \* The whole life of the heathen, whether of the philosopher who despised or the vulgar who were indifferent, to the essential part of the religion, was pervaded by the spirit of polytheism. It met him in every form, in every quarter, in every act and function of every

day's business; not merely in the graver offices of state, in the civil and military acts of public men; in the senate, which commenced its deliberations with sacrifice; in the camp, the center of which was a consecrated temple. The pagan's domestic hearth was guarded by the Penates, or by the ancestral gods of his family or tribe; by land he traveled under the protection of one tutelary divinity, by sea of another; the birth, the bridal, the funeral, had each its presiding deity; the very commonest household utensils and implements were cast in mythological forms; he could scarcely drink without being reminded of making a libation to the gods; and the language itself was impregnated with constant allusions to the popular religion." (Milman's Hist. Christ., vol. I, pp. 436-439.)

#### National Worship an Homage to Demons.

Notwithstanding all the frauds of the pagan temples it is now well known that many of the pagan priests were Spiritualist mediums, possessing great thaumaturgical power. So Gibbon says: "The Christians, who, by the interposition of the evil spirits could so readily explain every preternatural appearance, were disposed and even desirous to admit the most extravagant fictions of the pagan mythology. But the belief of the Christian was accompanied with horror. The most trifling act of respect to the national worship he considered as a direct homage yielded to the demon and as an act of rebellion against the majesty of God. \* \* \* It was the first but arduous duty of every Christian to preserve himself pure and undefiled from the practice of idolatry."

#### Idolatry All-Pervading.

"The religion of the nations was not merely a speculative doctrine professed in the schools or preached in the temples. The innumerable deities and rites of polytheism were closely interwoven with every circumstance of business or pleasure, of public or private life, and it seemed impossible to escape the observance of them without, at the same time, renouncing the commerce of mankind, and all the offices and amusements of society. The important transactions of peace and war were prepared or concluded by solemn sacrifices, in which the magistrate, the senator and the soldier were obliged to preside or participate.

"The Christian, who with pious horror avoided the abomination of the circus and the theater, found him-

self encompassed with, infernal snares in every convivial entertainment, as often as his friends invoking the hospitable deities poured out libations to each other's happiness.

"When the bride, struggling with well-affected reluctance, was forced in hymeneal pomp over the threshold of her new habitation, or when the sad procession of the dead slowly moved toward the funeral pile, the Christian, on these interesting occasions, was compelled to desert the persons who were the dearest to him rather than contract the guilt inherent in those impious ceremonies. Every art and every trade that was in the least concerned in the framing or adorning of idols was polluted by the stain of idolatry." "Even the arts of music and painting, of eloquence and poetry, flowed from the same impure origin." "Even the common language of Rome abounded with familiar but impious expressions, which the imprudent Christian might too carelessly utter or too patiently hear. \* \* \*

#### The Days of Solemn Festival.

"The dangerous temptations which on every side lurked in ambush to surprise the unguarded believer assailed him with redoubled violence on the days of solemn festival. \* \* \* Some idea may be conceived of the abhorrence of the Christian for such impious ceremonies by the scrupulous delicacy which they displayed on a much less alarming occasion. On days of general festivity it was the custom of the ancients to adorn their doors with lamps and with branches of laurel, and to crown their heads with garlands of flowers. This innocent and elegant practice might perhaps have been tolerated as a mere civil institution. But it most unluckily happened that the doors were under the protection of the household gods; that the laurels were sacred to the lovers of Daphne, and that garlands of flowers, though frequently worn as a symbol either of joy or mourning, had been dedicated in their first origin to the services of superstition. The trembling Christian, who was persuaded in this instance to comply with the fashion of his country, and with the commands of the magistrate, labored under the most gloomy apprehension from the reproaches of his own conscience and the censures of the church. \* \* \* Such was the anxious diligence which was required to guard the chastity of the gospel from the infectious breath of idolatry." (Gibbon's "Decline and Fall," chapter 15, par. 15, 16 and 17.)

Forcible as are these quotations they only partially show the conflict that Christianity had to fight with paganism in the early days.

#### Philosophy and Superstition Alike Intolerant.

Those who were educated among the pagans were thorough skeptics. They had come to disbelieve, not only in the wonders and myths in their own religion, but also in the supernatural in all religion. The cardinal doctrines of Christianity were to them utterly past believing for reasoning men. Agnosticism has to-day few, if any, arguments that were not familiar at that time; and all these, Christianity had to meet. To those ancient unbelievers religion was merely a state necessity to enable them to control, through their superstitions, the ignorant masses. To its outward observances, as such a necessity, they themselves solemnly and punctiliously submitted, and they determined that the Christian should do the same. Not being troubled by any conscience of their own on such points, they were utterly unable to comprehend the conscience of the Christian. His refusal to offer incense to the gods was to them sheer obstinacy, deserving of rigorous punishment by the laws lest it lead to rebellion in others. Thus the philosophical, who tolerated all other religions, persecuted the Christians. The effort of all Christ's followers to show that the gods of heathenism were no gods, if it was not impiety to them, "it was treason against the majesty of Rome."

On the other hand, the religion of Rome, appealing as all paganism did to the sensuous nature and baser passions of man, had a strong hold of the multitude. From infancy the masses had believed unquestioningly in its myths, and as a result they were very superstitious. To them the Christians were atheists, because they everywhere denied the gods of Rome, and also because they had no visible shrines or temples. Every famine or pestilence or defeat in battle was almost sure to give rise to the terrible mob-cry of paganism, "The Christians to the lions." It was natural that this should be, for the superstitious multitude could but think that in all these evils the gods were avenging themselves upon Rome for permitting the Christians to live. In those troublous times the emperors, even, were often driven from the throne by the soldiers and populace, and, since the rulers therefore held their position by the pleasure of the multitude, they dare not deny to the multitude the gratification of their

superstitious rage. Thus the conscientious Christian brought down upon himself the persecuting wrath both of the superstitious and the philosophical.

#### The Enmity of Tradesmen, Magicians, and Emperors.

But this was not all. There were multitudes of tradesmen who earned their livelihood by building and decorating the almost innumerable temples and shrines and idols. Gibbon says these included by far the greater portion of the community who were employed in the exercise of liberal or mechanical professions. These were organized into trade-unions, and were swayed by self-interest as well as by superstition; like the makers of silver shrines for Diana, they were all actuated by uncompromising hatred for the Christians. Then, too, the jugglers and magicians felt their sham wonders outdone by the miracles of the apostles and of the early Christians, and so hated them accordingly. The very spirit of freedom and of liberty in early Christianity was uncompromisingly, though silently, opposed to imperialism. The Christian church, while taking no part in the politics of Rome, was a republic within the empire—a republic having its own laws, its own courts, and its own traditions of human rights. This republic needed only to expand far enough, and the empire of Rome was no more. These facts the philosophical emperors Marcus Aurelius and Decius Trajan clearly saw; and so, almost against their wills, they became persecutors of the Christians.

Even the unselfish love which bound the early Christians so closely together could not be understood by the pagans; so it was everywhere reported that the Christians were held in such close unity by the fear of punishment for the horrible crimes they had committed in secret.

#### The Mighty Conflict of Christianity.

Thus all classes were against the Christians—all classes, from the emperor on the throne to the lowest mountebank whose loud voice was heard in the street. The laws, too, and traditions of Rome were against them, and on the side of the multitude, making it easy for superstition and self-interest to drag the Christian before the tribunal and have him banished, burned or "butchered to make a Roman holiday." Who can not see that Christianity had a mighty conflict to fight in those days? And all know that she fought it grandly and victoriously in the power of the divine Christ, her Lord and Master, and without the aid of any earthly state. While



the Roman state was "invaded by open violence, or undermined by slow decay, a pure and humble religion gently insinuated itself into the hearts of men, grew up in silence and obscurity, derived new vigor from opposition, and finally erected the triumphant banner of the cross on the ruins of the capitol." (Gibbon's "Decline and Fall," chap. 15, par. 1.)

#### The Secret of the Wonderful Triumph.

The secret of this wonderful triumph is in part beautifully given by Draper. With its innumerable temples and shrines on which the wealth of succeeding ages had been lavished, with all its pride and philosophy and superstition, "paganism presented inherent weakness, infidelity and cheerless prospects." As in all religion save that of the blessed Master, it was cold and formal, leaving the heart hungry, "giving itself no concern for the lowly and unfortunate." "On the other side was Christianity, with its enthusiasm and burning faith; its rewards in this life and everlasting happiness in the next; its proselyting spirit; its vivid dogmas of the resurrection from the dead, the approaching end of the world, and the judgment day." "To the needy Christian the charities of the faithful were freely given; to the desolate, sympathy. In every congregation there were prayers to God that he would listen to the sighing of the prisoner and captive, and have mercy on those who were ready to die. For the slave and his master there was one law and one hope, one baptism, one Saviour, one Judge. In times of domestic bereavement the Christian slave doubtless often consoled his pagan mistress with the suggestion that our present separations are only for a little while, and revealed to her willing ear that there is another world, a land in which we rejoin our dead. How is it possible to arrest the spread of a faith which can make the broken heart leap with joy?" (Draper's "Intellectual Development," vol. 1, pp. 268, 269.)

Genuine Christianity has to-day the same truths, the same enthusiasm, the same burning faith, and deathless hope, and limitless love. Better than all else, it has the same Almighty God back of it, and the same divine Christ who has promised to be with his children always, "even unto the end of the world." The forces which are arrayed against true Christianity to-day are only the same they have ever been, manifesting themselves perhaps under

different forms; they are the forces of the world, the flesh, and the devil. Christianity is therefore able to fight its own battles without the help of any state. It should seek the power of God, and that alone, and, doing this, it is sure to triumph.

G. E. FIFIELD.

#### THE PASSING OF THE CONSTITUTION.

(Concluded.)

GOVERNMENT limited only by "the law of freedom instinct in its own being" has had already more than its day in the world, for it was carried on almost without interruption from Nimrod to the rise of the American Republic. Then was declared and instituted "a new order of things"—*Novus Ordo Seclorum*. But the old order of things is now rapidly becoming the new order of things. It is marvelous that in the last year of the nineteenth century, and in the American Republic at that, there should be any one so blind to all the lessons of history as to be advocating the administration of government subject only to "the law of freedom instinct in its own being." True, this limitation was sufficient for the governments of Charles V., Louis XIV., and Napoleon, and it may answer the purposes of the Czar and other autocrats whose "free hand" will admit of no restraint upon their authority and no constitutional protection for their subjects. But for a free people who expect to secure to themselves and their posterity the inestimable blessings of civil and religious liberty, this proposed guarantee is more than inadequate; it is insulting. They will either refuse to subscribe to this doctrine for a single day, or their liberties will perish. Let the doctrine which the *Tribune* advocates once become prevalent and paramount—and it now seems to be the paramount idea with most of the men who control the government and the great newspapers of the country—and the way is open for the repetition in this country of all the tyrannies and oppressions with which arbitrary and unlimited power has cursed the earth.

#### The Constitution the Safeguard.

So "Congress has full legislative power, 'subject only to the fundamental safeguards of liberty, justice and personal rights?'" And yet Congress is not subject to the Constitution, for that would be "to emasculate American sovereignty by constitutional limitations." This is language which the American

people can not understand. The only fundamental safeguards of liberty, justice and personal rights that they know anything about in connection with their Government and which they have appointed for the guidance of their representatives are the provisions of the CONSTITUTION. They ordained *that* in order to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare," and to secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity. The Constitution is not the fountain of liberty, nor is it the foundation of justice and personal rights, but it is the instrument by which the American Government secures those things to the people, and when that is overridden and set aside, so far as the Government is concerned, there are no "fundamental safeguards of liberty, justice and personal rights." The only sovereignty and the only fundamental safeguard of liberty, justice and personal rights pertaining to the Government and about which it can know anything is that of the Constitution. And so far as governmental affairs and purposes are concerned, the people have no sovereignty but that expressly declared in the Constitution, for the sovereignty of the people is not effective in the governmental sense until it is expressed through their supreme law.

#### A Dangerous Sort of Humanity.

Certainly a humane procedure should not be opposed. It would seem that government "by the people for the good of mankind" and "the federation of the world" should without question be given the right of way. But the world will be better off without that humanity and that government "by the people for the good of mankind" which requires the sacrifice of the Constitution and which is afraid to repeat word for word the language of freedom either as found in the Declaration or in the language which has been held by its supporters throughout the history of this country. "Government of the people, by the people, for the people," in accordance with the Declaration and the Constitution is still a good thing, and if the "federation of the world" cannot be brought about on that principle, let the federation be postponed.

One of the most striking characteristics of this movement which the *Tribune* is forwarding, and one which is quite prominent in the quotations given last week, is the use of terms which sound as nearly as possible like the genuine utterances of freedom in

the Declaration and elsewhere, but which say and mean something entirely different. And this is a characteristic that is deep with meaning.

#### More than a Political Issue.

As was said at the beginning of this article, this grave question which should now hold the attention of every friend of liberty, will not be settled by the coming elections—at least not more than it is already settled. To see this paramount issue as it is, is to see that it is a great deal more than a ground of dispute between political parties. It is more than a political issue. Political parties have been forced to take up its discussion almost in spite of themselves; and this has come that all may have the best possible opportunity to see just what it is and to learn just what it means. It is an issue between principles as different and distinct as midnight and noonday. It is a battle between liberty and despotism; a battle which can best be fought not at the polls, but in the minds and hearts of individuals, where alone is certain victory.

There is a way by which this issue may not be seen as it is, and by which all that it means may be missed. That is to make of it merely a matter of politics. There are two ways by which this can be done. One is to do as a politician can not fail to do—make of it simply political capital and an opportunity for political and partizan advantage. The other way is to declare it to be nothing but a matter of politics, and therefore nothing in which you are concerned and with which you will have nothing to do. The man who follows either of these courses is blind to an event which marks one of the greatest backward steps in the world's history.

He who sees this as it is and realizes even in a slight degree the terrible consequences with which it is fraught, will not make of it to himself a mere matter of politics, either by using it for political capital and treating it as a matter to be cured by the ballot, or by declaring it to be something with which he will have nothing to do because of its political nature. "He who in the light of Christianity has learned reverence for human liberty and rights, who has learned because of the essential equality of all men before the common Father, to respect his race and to reprobate its oppressors," will use every means that his conscience can approve in upholding the Protestant and Republican principles of the Constitution, and in staying the progress of

the principles of ecclesiastical and political despotism which are to-day more than threatening the institutions which freedom has reared.

JOHN D. BRADLEY.

### LORD'S DAY ALLIANCE WORK IN NEW BRUNSWICK.

THE following, setting forth the activity of the Lord's Day Alliance in New Brunswick, appeared recently in the *St. John Sun*. The secular authorities of the province, it will be observed, are inclined to regard the Sunday laws as dead letters, experience having no doubt shown them, as it has the authorities in this country, that such laws are not related to the problem of preserving the rights of the people, and have no proper place in the modern systems of secular government. But the clergy, with more zeal than knowledge in such matters, and having more in view the interests of religion than the ends of just government, are pushing the secular officials forward to the enforcement of these obsolete statutes, and their efforts are producing a marked effect. The *Sun* says:

"A meeting of the executive committee of the St. John Lord's Day Alliance was held in the parlor of the Y. M. C. A. on Monday afternoon.

"The secretary reported that since the last meeting efforts had been made to ascertain why the Sunday law was still apparently a dead letter, seeing that it had been sustained by the supreme court of the province.

"It was found that the responsibility rested wholly with the city authorities, and upon laying the matter before the chairman of the safety board, the recorder and the chief of police, promise had been obtained that the act would be put in force next Sunday.

"The Rev. J. G. Shearer, field secretary of the Dominion L. D. Alliance, who is now in Nova Scotia, is expected to occupy pulpits in St. John on Sunday, September 9th, and to speak at a public convention which is to be held on the Monday evening following for the purpose of organizing a provincial alliance. The arrangements will be made public as soon as the use of the required buildings has been secured.

"Interviewed by the *Sun* last evening with reference to the action of the Lord's Day Alliance toward the more rigid enforcement of the Sunday law, Alderman Seaton, chairman of the safety board, stated that officially he had no jurisdiction in the matter, and that he had referred the committee from

the alliance which had waited upon him to the recorder and the chief of police, in whose hands the matter now rests.

"A *Sun* reporter saw Recorder Skinner last night with reference to the matter. Mr. Skinner said the supreme court of New Brunswick sustained the law. Last spring Chief of Police Clark consulted him as to what course he should pursue, and he advised the chief that the law should be enforced. But then word came to the effect that an appeal had been carried to Ottawa. It was intimated about the same time that it would be well to await the decision of the supreme court of Canada. He told Chief Clark that if these appeals were *bona fide* it would be just as well to wait till the court gave their decision. He was then waited upon by representatives of the Lord's Day Alliance, who maintained that the chief was not doing his duty. He assured these gentlemen that the chief was not to blame, as he was always ready and willing to do all he could for the enforcement of all laws. The recorder advised this delegation to see the attorney-general. On Tuesday Revs. Dr. Wilson and T. F. Fotheringham waited upon him with a letter from Attorney-General Emerson, which set forth that the local government was not doing anything to prevent the enforcement of the law. The letter stated that the matter of enforcing the law lay with the civic authorities in St. John. The recorder then advised the chief of police to see that the law is enforced. The *Sun* man was unable to get any further information from the recorder, except that the chief things complained of were the desecration of the Sabbath by the sale of soda water and cigars.

"Chief of Police Clark was not willing to talk to the *Sun*. He said he was always ready to do what he considered his duty. In this matter he acted upon the advice of the recorder, and as they were at present in consultation he had no statements to make for publication."

The same paper also mentions the formation of a local Lord's Day Alliance at Charlottetown, N. B., of which the clergy of the city were made vice-presidents. The field secretary of the general organization, Rev. J. G. Shearer, has been actively at work organizing branches of the alliance throughout Canada, and this activity will certainly not be without results.

ONE man's rights do not end where another man's rights begin, as some have said. The rights of all begin at the same point, namely, at birth, and continue throughout life.

## News, Notes . . . and Comment

THE question of allowing Sunday opening of stores has become an issue between Jews and Christians in Boston, says the *Boston Globe*. The Jews, on the strength of permission they claim to have received from the city government, have their stores wide open on Sunday, and the "Christians" are complaining that this gives their Hebrew rivals an undue share of the profits of trade, notwithstanding the Hebrew stores are closed on Saturday. The police department has announced that it will enforce Sunday closing on Jews and Christians alike.

It appears from this that the "Christian" store-keepers concerned in this agitation are desirous of observing the day they believe to be the Sabbath, provided it does not involve a sacrifice on their part. But that is not Christianity at all; for there is no worship and service of God acceptable to him without sacrifice. He that regardeth the kingdom of God as dear at any price, will never get into it.

ANOTHER Sunday-closing campaign in Chicago has been organized by the Butchers and Grocery Clerks' Association of this city. "A report was received from the Employer's Association," says the *Daily News*, "recommending that the clerks and employers work together in the effort to close all retail stores in Chicago Sundays. Statistics were introduced showing that the merchants who have kept open Sundays have, as a rule, lost by it." It is further stated that "work will be started among the laboring classes to secure an endorsement of Sunday closing."

The statement that "merchants who have kept open Sundays have, as a rule, lost by it" is worthy of note. If it is not profitable to keep one's store open on Sunday surely there is no force in the oft-heard plea that Sunday trading is unfair to the conscientious shop-keeper who wants to observe Sunday as the Sabbath.

Is denial of the doctrine of government by consent of the governed, exemplified in the conquest of foreign territory, already reacting at home in these

United States, in cheapening the estimation in which black men are held by Anglo-Saxons? Do the race riots in such cities as New York, and Akron, Ohio, signify anything of this kind? The supposition is not a far-fetched one. And a contempt for the colored race is not a profitable acquisition for America at this time. There is material on hand, if that feeling holds sway, for unlimited rioting North as well as South.

THE Michigan *Christian Advocate* calls attention to the fact that so far as the army is concerned the United States are behind France in the matter of temperance. The French canteen, instead of selling wine and beer, supplies the soldiers with tea, coffee and cocoa.

### MR. WU'S PERTINENT QUESTION.

From the New York Tribune.

SENATOR EUGENE HALE, of Maine, told recently with amused chagrin of a passage at arms he had with Mr. Wu, the Chinese minister. The treatment of the missionaries in the far East was under discussion, and the senator had trotted out a number of instances of maltreatment, and even worse, that the missionaries had met with at the hands of their Eastern brethren. The senator then pointed out to the minister that this was hardly the way in which the missionary should be received, and that a liberty of faith should be accorded their subjects by Eastern rulers. All through this homily the Chinese minister had grinned sympathetically, but a trifle derisively.

"Liberty of religious thought, eh?" Wu inquired tentatively, when his chance came. "You not always give liberty of religious thought in this country; you sometimes persecute the missionary in these great United States, I think?" To this, needless to say, the junior senator from the Pine Tree State interposed a vigorous denial.

"No, you never do such things here, never! You never persecute the poor missionary! You are too high-minded. You have too much freedom of thought for that!" And here Wu's derisive smile grew diabolical. "How about that Levantine affair?"

"Levantine affair?" was the puzzled inquiry.

"Yes; Levantine affair; affair at Levant. What did you do there?"

And then the senator suddenly remembered the fate of a Mormon missionary at Levant, Me. The keen Celestial eye of the Chinese minister saw the look of understanding in Senator Hale's eye, and he drove the nail home.

"What did you do with that Mormon missionary at Levant, eh? You gave him what is called the tar and feathers; is it not so?" But the senator had no response at hand.

### THE DRAGON SPIRIT OF "CHRISTIAN" CIVILIZATION.

In more ways than one does the Chinese situation serve to reveal the fact that the world was never before so far from universal peace and so close to universal war. The outlook for peace and civilization is certainly dark enough when a ruler of one of the great "Christian" nations of the world speaks as did the emperor of Germany at the embarkation of his soldiers for China. But the outlook is infinitely worse when those who profess to be followers of the Prince of Peace, and to hold commissions from him who said, "Blessed are the peacemakers," are possessed by such feelings as are revealed by the following language which we take from a first page editorial in the Michigan *Christian Advocate* of August 25:

"View him as you may, the yellow man of the East appears to be inviting his own fate. \* \* \* The world cannot afford longer to tolerate the existence of a people who make themselves a terror and a nuisance. China must open up or be opened up, and she is now taking the steps which are leading to the opening up process. \* \* \* It is said that the Chinese nation is rich. She will need to be rich when she comes to settle the present war bills with the other powers. And she will have to be yielding, too. If the United States has a leading hand, as now seems likely, in laying down the conditions of peace, she will have to make guarantees of the future rights and safety of foreigners that no amount of prejudice or treachery can imperil. She is rapidly having this truth rubbed through her thick skull, too. Recent diplomacy, though largely hidden from the public eye, is bringing her to her senses. The knock of the allied armies at the gate of her capitol, having passed her strongholds of defense, is alarming her. If these movements meant only the payment of heavy indemnities and the execution of a few political culprits, she would not mind those so much, but subjection to foreign dictation and the overthrow of sacred traditions will

cut her to the quick. And these are the things now coming. The nations are aroused. Their armies and fleets are up to the yellow men, although they be 500 million strong. Before these representative military and naval forces retire, the vast empire of the East will have been brought to terms in a manner to stay. The struggle has already been practically decided. \* \* \* The Chinese must submit." The representative forces of Christian civilization are still able to demonstrate their superiority over the sluggish, stunted and fanatical hordes of paganism."

In the same issue of the *Advocate* is this editorial note: "Great news from Peking! 'Our God is marching on.'" From all of which the conclusion is inevitable that the *Advocate* thoroughly agrees with Napoleon that God is on the side of the heaviest battalions, according to the belief of all the men and nations throughout history who have forgotten God in their desire for revenge and their glorification of the might and power of earthly conquest.

"If the salt have lost his savor, wherewith shall it be salted?" If those who are supposed to stand for peace and good will to men, and who claim to be looking for the millennium, are foremost in advocating vengeance, how can the world have anything else but war?

J. D. B.

"It is only since 1894 that foreign ambassadors were allowed in the most sacred part of Peking," says the *Daily News* of this city. "That the allies have now seized this 'purple' city, and that American soldiers had the honor of planting the first foreign flag over the imperial palace, greeted by English, German, Russian and Japanese cheers, is a significant fact." This occurrence is indeed fraught with significance—a significance that should cause Washington and Monroe to turn in their graves. The fact that America is in Asia, cheered on by the great powers of the world, has in it a significance that can scarcely be realized now, but which will be realized more and more keenly as time goes on.

PRESTIGE—how many mean tricks, what enormities are performed in thy name! The white man's prestige in China begins where justice, truth and logic end.—*Count Leo Tolstoi*.

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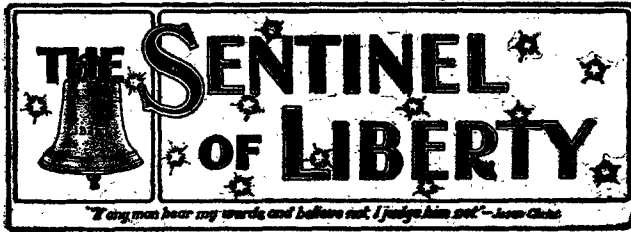
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CHICAGO, SEPTEMBER 6, 1900.

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ANARCHY is against government; and as the object of government is to preserve that liberty of the people which is their unalienable right, it follows that anarchy and liberty are opposites. Anarchy is not a form of liberty, but the worst form of despotism.

THE United States is now figuring in the "concerts" of the Old World Powers, having joined with Russia in opposing the policy of others of the Powers in the matter of treating with the Chinese government through Li Hung Chang.

SENATOR DAVIS, in a speech made a few days ago in Chicago, said this country would insist that the "open door" in China shall remain open "under any and all conditions of sovereignty, cession or foreign ascendancy." This nation will have to plant its foot firmly in the Chinese doorway if that is done.

Ho Yow, Chinese consul-general at San Francisco, said in a recent address delivered there that he feared the spread of Christianity in China, because his countrymen, being quick to learn, "will be able to manufacture guns and all the engines of warfare," and precipitate a terrible conflict. Ho Yow, like many people in this country, fails to distinguish between Christianity and civilization.

A FORCIBLE illustration is at present before the country of the affinity that seems to exist between politics and insincerity. One of the two leading parties is posing before the country as the champions of government by consent of the governed, declaring this to be the most important issue before the people. They have much to say about the in-

justice done to the Filipinos and others by foreign conquest. Yet in the South, where this party is in the ascendancy, some of these same men and others who are adherents of this party are boldly denying the privilege of self-government to people already recognized as American citizens by the Constitution. It is not to such sources of hypocrisy that the country may look for deliverance from impending perils.

THE American Bar Association held its twenty-third annual meeting at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., last week. In his opening address President Charles F. Manderson "spoke of the failure of the peace congress at the Hague. The promise of that conference, he said, had proved utterly futile. Within the present year France had increased her army 5,000 men, Germany 33,000, Austria-Hungary 10,000 and Great Britain 240,000." "War is in the air," said Mr. Manderson. "Africa and Asia are witnesses of bloody conflicts, and Europe, trembling with anxiety, fears that her domestic peace may be disturbed and Moloch reign."

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