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

CHRISTIANITY is not a cult; it is the life of God in the soul.

THE gospel and the gospel only "is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth."

GOD in Christ Jesus reconciles the world unto himself. Civil law has no part in the work of salvation.

RIGHTS being God-given and inherent can not be destroyed nor cease to be though their exercise may be denied.

TWO things are essential to the formation of moral character, first, moral law, and, second, freedom of choice. One who always did right simply because he could not do wrong would never develop moral character; and this is the ever and all-sufficient answer to all cavils as to the wisdom of God in permitting sin.

THE moral tone of society can be improved only by elevating the moral tone of the individuals who compose society.

THE despotism of the mob is even more hateful because more hopeless than the despotism of a single individual.

THAT government is best that guarantees the greatest possible freedom on the part of all without trenching upon the liberties of any.

## THE SPHERE OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

THE theory that civil government must have something to do with religion, and that it must in some degree at least enforce the divine law, is radically opposed to the teaching of Divine Revelation. The Scriptures plainly declare that "every one of us shall give account of himself to God," not to civil government.

Our accountability to God includes every act of our lives. It includes every relation of life. The divine law not only requires that we love God supremely, but also that each soul shall love his neighbor as himself. Hence any disregard of the rights our fellowmen is a violation not only of just civil law, but, first of all, it is violative of the divine law, and is sin. But civil law does not, or at least should not, undertake to punish sin, but only crime.

Sin pertains not only to the outward act, but has its beginning in the secret thought, in the hidden motive, deep down in the heart. And while the act affects our fellowmen, while it may be an invasion of human rights, the sin is without qualification

against God, for it is his law that is violated, and it is He who "shall bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil."

God is the only moral governor. To him, and to him alone, every soul is morally responsible. In the very nature of things this could not be otherwise, because to permit any power whatever to come between the soul and God would be to destroy individual responsibility to God.

But man is a social as well as a moral being, and as such he is endowed with "certain unalienable rights." To him God has committed the preservation of these rights by means of civil government. This truth is thus expressed in the American Declaration of Independence:

"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."

To disregard these rights or to trample upon them is to *wrong* our fellowmen and so to *sin* against God. The *sin*, if not repented of and forgiven, God will punish in his own time; the *wrong* may be dealt with by our fellows in their organized capacity as a state; and it is this fact that restrains from deeds of violence and injustice many who have not the fear of God before them. This safeguard to liberty and natural rights the God who sends his rain upon the just and upon the unjust has given to *the race*. Its benefits accrue alike to the righteous and to the wicked. The powers of civil government are exercised alike by and for Jew and Gentile, pagan and Christian. Hence civil government is not in any sense Christian, but is humanitarian—that is, it is given, like marriage, for the good of *mankind*.

Man has been made the guardian of his own civil rights, not by an arbitrary arrangement on the part of the Creator, but for wise and beneficent reasons which we can readily discover and comprehend. God committed to men, not the administration of his law, nor any part of it, but the maintenance of those rights which reason teaches that all intelligent moral beings should enjoy in common, those self-evident rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence.

Had God made civil government Christian and

commissioned men to administer his law, and to require of their fellows the discharge of duties due to the Divine Being, or even to administer the divine law as regards the duties which, as social beings, we owe to one another, it would necessarily have destroyed moral responsibility to God.

Again, it is obvious that had God not committed to men the power to regulate to some extent their social relation in order that their natural rights might be preserved, but had himself administered civil justice, either vengeance would have been so swift and certain as to defeat the very design of God in making man a free moral agent, or else punishment would have been so long delayed as to afford no protection to those in need of it. It was absolutely necessary that man should be the guardian of his own rights in this world, and for the temporary concerns of this world, but that this should in no way affect his individual moral responsibility to the Creator. Nor should men make it a pretext for assuming to exercise authority which belongs alone to God.

That the principle here stated is the correct and spiritual one is clear from the words of Christ when the Pharisees sought to entangle him in his talk. They asked him the question: "Is it lawful to give tribute unto Cæsar or not?" But he, understanding their purpose, said: "Show me the tribute money. And they brought unto him a penny. And he said unto them, Whose is this image and superscription? And they said unto him, Cæsar's. Then said he unto them, Render therefore unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." In this Christ plainly separated between civil and moral duties. The paying of tribute was simply a civil matter. They were living under Cæsar's government and it was right that they should contribute to the support of the government; and yet this was not an absolute moral duty, but rather one growing out of the surroundings, and in some cases even something to be done merely to avoid offense. It was for this reason that Christ himself paid the temple tax, as we learn from Matt. 17: 24-27.

Civil government is not Christian, neither is it anti-Christian; it simply has no religious character, and, like other men, the Christian must live under it and is privileged to enjoy its protection.

Quietness and peace are essential to the enjoyment of life and liberty, and to the pursuit of happiness, which the Declaration of Independence

enumerates as among those unalienable rights which governments are instituted to preserve. This truth is inculcated by the apostle when he exhorts that prayer be made for those who are in authority "that we may lead quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty."

It follows as a logical conclusion from the principles laid down that the Christian's true attitude toward civil government is submission in all things civil; rendering to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's. But to do this, that is, to render to God that which belongs to God, he who would render it, must, in the things rendered to God, be absolutely independent of any human authority. In those things his allegiance must be to God alone. As a matter of history, we find that this has always been the attitude of the servants of God. This was the case with Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, who, for refusing to bow before the great image in the plain of Dura, were cast into the fiery furnace. It was also the case with Daniel, who, though prime minister of the empire, disobeyed a "law" of the king. It was also the case with Peter and John, who, when commanded by the magistrates contrary to the word of the Lord, answered, "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye. For we can but speak the things which we have seen and heard."

In all these cases the civil rulers sought to usurp authority which belonged alone to God, and the servants of God refused obedience and submitted to the punishment inflicted, protesting, however, against the injustice, and maintaining their innocence while declaring boldly their purpose not to yield to Cæsar the things that belong to God.

The same course was pursued by Christians until apostasy began to corrupt the primitive simplicity of the gospel. The followers of Christ ever yielded cheerful obedience to all in authority in all civil matters, but they went to the block and the stake rather than yield an iota of their soul-liberty. So persistent were they in maintaining individual responsibility directly to God, that their teaching upon this subject so permeated the Roman Empire that by the year A. D. 319, the most perfect religious freedom that ever existed under any government except our own, was granted in Rome, and was enjoyed by all, both pagans and Christians, until apostate Christians themselves sought to establish in

Rome a man-made theocracy and denied to others the very rights which only a few years before they had claimed for themselves. And in so doing they violated not only the principles for which they had formerly contended, but they set at nought the fundamental law of Christianity itself, as laid down by its Author: "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

B.

#### ENFORCING THE SUNDAY LAW IN CHICAGO.

ON a recent Sunday two men were arrested in this city for selling horses on that day. Why the arrests were made is not clear. The selling was done in a Jewish quarter, hence it would be difficult to make it appear that the public peace was disturbed; and according to the Supreme Court of the State the Sunday statute derives what little validity it has only from the inherent right of a commonwealth to preserve the peace.

In delivering the opinion of the court in the case of William S. Eden *vs.* The People of the State of Illinois, at Springfield, May 12, 1896, Mr. Justice Craig said:

"The common law of England, as adopted in this State as a part of our jurisprudence, does not prohibit the citizen from pursuing his ordinary labor on Sunday, nor is a contract entered into between two parties in this State void because executed on Sunday. (Rex. *vs.* Brotherton, 1 Strange, 702; Drury *vs.* De-fontaine, 1 Taunt., 131; Sayles *vs.* Smith, 12 Wend., 57; Richmond *vs.* Moore, 107 Ill., 429.) On the other hand, at common law Sunday has always been regarded *dies non juridicus*—a day upon which courts could not transact other than necessary or ministerial business. In England, however, the law which permitted the transaction of business and the pursuit of one's ordinary labor was changed by statute (29 Char. II), which provides that 'no tradesman, artificer, workman, laborer, or other person whatsoever shall do or exercise any worldly business or work on the Lord's day,' works of necessity and charity being excepted.

"This statute has been substantially adopted by the legislatures of many of the States of the Union. This State has not, however, followed the other States in the adoption of the English statute, but we have legislated on this subject for ourselves in a manner thought to be for the best interests of our people. That legislation will be found in paragraph 261 of our Criminal Code as follows: 'Whoever disturbs the peace and good order of so-

ciety by labor (works of charity and necessity being excepted), or by any amusement or diversion on Sunday, shall be fined not exceeding \$25. This section shall not be construed to prevent watermen and railroad companies from landing their passengers or watermen from loading, or unloading their cargoes, or ferrymen from carrying over the water travelers and persons moving their families on the first day of the week, nor to prevent the due exercise of the rights of conscience by whomever thinks proper to keep any other day as Sabbath.' The preceding paragraph (260) provides: 'Sunday shall include the time from midnight to midnight.'

"There is a wide and well-marked distinction between the English statute and ours. The English statute prohibits labor and business on Sunday, while our statute merely prohibits labor and amusement which disturbs the peace and good order of society. In *Richmond vs. Moore*, *supra*, in speaking of the difference between the two statutes it is said (p. 433): 'A mere glance at that and our statute will show that they are materially different. That prohibits labor and business; ours only prohibits labor or amusement that disturbs the peace and good order of society. The offense by this statute is the performance of labor or amusement against the peace and good order of society. The offense by that statute is the performance of labor or business, and by ours it is the disturbance of the peace and good order of society. The British statute is much more comprehensive in its purposes and language than ours. Ours only prohibits labor that disturbs the peace and good order of society, not naming business, whilst the British statute renders the mere act of labor or business penal.'

"Under the law of this State, as it existed prior to the passage of the act in question, each and every citizen of the State was left perfectly free to labor and transact business on Sunday or refrain from labor and business, as he might choose, so long as he did not disturb the peace and good order of society."

The "act in question" was the barber law, which provided that it should "be unlawful for any person or persons to keep open any barber-shop or carry on the business of shaving, hair-cutting, or tonsorial work on Sunday."

This act the court declared unconstitutional on the ground that it affected one class of laborers only. Directly upon this point the court said:

"Is the act in question a law binding upon all the members of the community? A glance at its provisions affords a negative answer. The act affects one class of laborers and one class alone. The merchant

and his clerks, the restaurant-keeper and his employes, the clothing-house proprietor, the blacksmith, the livery stable-keeper, the owners of street-car lines, and people engaged in every other branch of business, are each and all allowed to open their respective places of business on Sunday and transact their ordinary business, if they desire; but the barber, and he alone, is required to close his place of business. The barber is thus deprived of property without due process of law, in direct violation of the Constitution of the United States and of this State."

It is somewhat difficult to understand just why the act is unconstitutional because it deprived the barber of property "without due process of law," when the implication is that had it been a general law it might have been sustained—that is, had it deprived all of property "without due process of law." In other words, had it been an act confiscating in the interest of religion one-seventh part of the time of all the people in the State it might have been sustained, but as it applied only to a class it is unconstitutional.

But be that as it may, the fact remains that the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois has held (1) that the general Sunday law leaves every citizen of the State "perfectly free to labor and transact business on Sunday" so long as he does not "disturb the peace and good order of society;" and (2) that the barber bill is unconstitutional. Then what law was violated by the Sunday horse sellers? Clearly no law whatever. But the idea that Sunday-keeping must be enforced by law obtains to that extent in the minds of some people that they can not get rid of it, and so insist upon an effort to enforce a statute that has no legal existence, or that at least does not require the observance of Sunday, or forbid either labor or business upon that day. B.

ONLY those who love liberty for humanity's sake, and who are consequently as jealous for the rights of others as for their own, really know what true liberty is and are fitted to enjoy it.



A JUST government is one in which not men, but principles rule. Not the will of the majority, but right should prevail. The despotism of one is no worse nor can it be as bad as the despotism of many. Better a single tyrant than a whole community or nation of tyrants.

## DEGRADING THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM.

TUESDAY, September 18, the public schools of Lowell, Mass., were closed on account of the funeral of a Catholic priest, "Father" O'Brien. The action was taken by vote of the school board on the evening of the previous day, and pupils and teachers in many instances did not know that the public schools were to be made to do honor to one of their chief enemies until they learned the fact from the closed doors which debarred them from the buildings.

One clergyman, the Rev. S. T. Ford (Baptist), dared to speak out from his pulpit in condemnation of this un-American procedure, and, in language temperate yet forcible, presented the principles by which the school board should have been governed. The Lowell *Citizen* quotes him as saying:

"Because an ecclesiastic dies the State has no right to divert its funds to any memorial service, for that is what was done. It costs a great deal of money to run our schools. There was a diversion of the public funds in the interest of a memorial service connected with the church. We ought in our public institutions to be very careful that there shall be no intermingling of church and state.

"Another thing. I noticed in the report in the newspapers that the vote to close was unanimous, and it was said that Father O'Brien was a prominent educator. I want to ask you if you are convinced that Father O'Brien was a distinguished advocate and supporter of the public schools. There is the vital question. He had in connection with his own parish a private school. He had the right to do it. It was said in the address at his funeral that he had been zealous in this work in other cities. He then represented a movement which, if I understand it correctly, is, to speak it mildly, not in sympathy with the public schools. Now, for the public schools of a city to close to pay tribute to a man who believes that there is a better way, and who himself sought to build up schools at the sacrifice and to the detriment of the great public schools of our country, was an unjustifiable tribute."

Such action on the part of the school board of Lowell is consistent only with the idea that the public schools ought to be closed altogether and the parochial school system instituted in their place. There is no difference in principle between closing the schools one day out of deference to this priest's system of education and closing them the whole year round for the same reason. That system is just as worthy of deference at one time as at another; and

for the public schools to honor their antagonist is in itself an admission that they ought not to exist.

S.

## CATHOLIC DISSENT FROM CATHOLIC FEDERATION.

REV. THOMAS H. MALONE, member of the Colorado State Board of Charities and Corrections, is a Catholic who sees no necessity for the federation of Catholics for political purposes, and who dissents entirely from the positions taken by Bishop McFaul of Trenton in his recent articles written in justification of this movement, entitled "Catholics and American Citizenship." In the October *North American Review*, under the heading "Catholic Citizens and Constitutional Rights," Mr. Malone considers the article of Bishop McFaul, which he says "breathes a spirit hostile to this modern practice [the separation of politics and religion], and his recommendations could scarcely claim justification even on the ground that the disabilities which he alleges Catholics suffer, have undeniable existence. Even on such an extreme supposition, it is questionable if political unity, having religion as its basic principle, would not accentuate, rather than ameliorate, the disagreeable conditions."

As to the contention that Catholics are not permitted in the United States to enjoy their Constitutional rights "in their integrity," Mr. Malone says there can be but one answer, which he gives in these words:

"In America, more than in any other country in the world, Catholics are permitted to enjoy, without interference or molestation, their full Constitutional rights, while they are guaranteed the freest exercise of their religion in every State in the Union."

As to the complaint, endorsed by Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishops Ryan and Kain, at the discontinuance of the Government subsidy for Catholic Indian schools, he says that "it is difficult to understand how any one could find reason to conclude that the Government would not reverse its recognized and successful [he is quoting here the language of the complaint] policy of subsidizing these schools." He regards this conclusion as especially unwarranted because of the fact that the Government gave five years' notice of its intention to take this action. On this point of Government support, Mr. Malone well says:

"As long as Catholics are not discriminated

against in this matter, we certainly have little cause to complain. I quite agree with a distinguished Catholic author that it would be much better if both Catholics and Protestants would cease accepting money from the state for any purpose. It is a habit not calculated to strengthen the religion that makes a practice of leaning on the state for support."

In concluding his paper Mr. Malone says that whatever may be the intentions of Bishop McFaul, his efforts can result only in "a Catholic political party," and that the charge of "political unity along religious lines," which these efforts have called forth, has been justified.

#### Catholics and Catholic Principles.

This article of dissent is good, and, coming from the source it does, it affords especial pleasure. If Catholics as a general rule spoke such words and took such positions it would only be fair to agree with the statement made by Mr. Malone in his article that Catholics have kept up with the advancement of the world and are no more dangerous to free institutions than are other people. Indeed no fair-minded person would contend that a Catholic is any different "under the skin" from any other person, or that the people constituting the great body of the Catholic membership are by nature more inclined to bigotry and intolerance than people of other persuasions. But, unfortunate as it may be for many liberty-loving Catholics, every fair-minded person knows that the *principles* of the Catholic Church are more intolerant and oppressive than are the principles of any other organization, religious or political, in the world. And it follows that those who are constantly engaged in supporting and propagating these principles—the Catholic clergy—can not as a body be noted for any great fervor or affection for popular liberty. On the contrary, with very few exceptions, among which it is a pleasure to note that of Mr. Malone, they have been found in abundant instances to be the most dangerous and subtle enemies of civil and religious freedom.

#### The Real Situation.

No fair-minded person will oppose Catholics because they are Catholics, nor will he hold the present communicants of that church responsible for deeds of violence and blood in which they had no participation. But the real situation is this—the article of Bishop McFaul, and not that of Mr.

Malone, reveals the actual and consistent Catholic position. A few years since Pope Leo announced to this country that the church "would bring forth much more abundant fruits if, in addition to liberty, she enjoyed the favor of the laws and the patronage of the public authority." Now, Bishop McFaul and his associates are simply proceeding upon the boldly avowed policy of Leo as contained in his encyclical made public early in 1895. Equality before the law is not sufficient; they must have "the favor of the laws and the patronage of the public authority," in order that abundant fruits may appear. What Bishop McFaul and others mean when they say that Catholics do not enjoy their Constitutional rights "in their integrity," is that they are not allowed to have everything that they demand. When they are allowed free access to the public treasury and are in full control of legislation, they will then be enjoying their Constitutional rights "in their integrity." And this is the fruitful liberty which Leo has so long ardently wished the church might enjoy in this country.

It would seem to be in order, and especially so since the appearance of this excellent article of Mr. Malone's, for those Catholics who have not been *enjoying* their Constitutional rights to begin the exercise at once of this privilege in which they are fully protected and out of which they have been cheated only by their inordinate desire for *unconstitutional* privileges. Be happy, gentlemen, in the session of your liberties; do not allow the enjoyment of Constitutional rights by others to spoil your enjoyment of the same.

#### The Basis of Federation and Political Activity.

The plain truth is that the present political activity of Catholics in America and in France, as shown by Catholic federation for political purposes in this country and the organized and systematic efforts for control of elections by the Assumptionist monks of France, while on the surface appearing to be the result of local and particular conditions, has far deeper inspiration. It naturally and inevitably follows from the underlying and unchanging principles of the Catholic system, and is strictly in accord with the avowed policy of the present head of that church toward the two countries in question. In 1897, writing in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Paris) on the question, "To what extent can the Roman Catholic church accept the republican principles on

which French institutions have been based since the Revolution of 1789?" the Duc de Broglie said:

"It is evident, for example—as the least reflection is sufficient to warn us—that the church can never give her approval to the principle of an absolute equality between all forms of religious thought."

"Without ever lowering the standard of her ideals, she has always shaped her demands within the limits of what it was possible to hope for, or even of what it would be useful to obtain. On two points only has she been immovable—liberty to preach the gospel and freedom of conscience for the faithful."

"Peace can be made between modern France and the church when it pleases France to accept the conditions."

"I know of nothing more significant than the satisfaction which he [the Pope] has several times publicly expressed on learning of the growing strength of Catholicism in the United States. Assuredly he is far from approving the principles of the American Constitution, with its absolute separation of church and state in matters of religion."

The Duc de Broglie is well informed on this subject, and it is not at all likely that he misrepresented the position of the church, for he is a distinguished Royalist and in years past has made more than one attempt to force monarchical government upon France. He says, speaking with especial reference to France and the United States, that the church can never give her approval to the principle of an absolute equality between all forms of religious thought, and that her policy always has been to shape her demands only within the limits of what it was possible to hope or useful to obtain. This makes perfectly plain the outcry of Bishop McFaul and others who are pushing Catholic federation. They have been made, in a few instances, to recognize that to which their church "can never give her approval"—"the equality of all forms of religious thought"—and it grieves them terribly. They know that it will be "useful" to obtain the removal of this outrage, and no doubt believe this to be "within the limits of what it is possible to hope for." Hence federation and the shaping of their demands.

#### The One Aim of the Catholic Church.

An eminent Catholic writer has declared in the United States that religious liberty is merely endured until the opposite can be carried into effect. That church has but one aim in every country, and that is to gain supremacy. This is her fixed policy,

and she adopts any methods that promise this result. This is her plain and avowed policy to-day as it has been throughout her history. She may be inconsistent as to her means, but never as to her aim. Michelet, writing upon the conduct of the church in France, says that "in one single century, the sixteenth, Rome changed three times, throwing herself now to the right, now to the left, without either prudence or decency. First, she gives herself up to the kings, next she throws herself into the arms of the people; then again, she returns to the kings. Three lines of policy, but one aim." This aim is "the standard of her ideals" which is never lowered.

Until the Catholic Church becomes satisfied with the fruits of liberty, and approves in very word and deed "the principles of the American Constitution, with its absolute separation of church and state," it will be necessary to conclude that such men as Mr. Malone, are far, very far in advance of the organization with which they are identified, and that he is mistaken in supposing that the church has made advancement commensurate with the enlightenment which has for a time removed the world from the intellectual and moral darkness of church-and-state absolutism.

JOHN D. BRADLEY.

#### THE TRIUMPH OF TRUTH.

(Concluded.)

LAST week we sought to make plain the fact that truth triumphs in this world only through persecution and crucifixion; that it is sometimes down in the utmost apparent defeat, but that it inevitably triumphs at last, if never fully before, at least in the final day when the "hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies, and the waters overflow their hiding place." It follows from this that he who stands by the truth when it is down in the utmost apparent defeat, when the multitudes are crying "Crucify him, crucify him," he only is really a truth worshiper, and entitled to any share in the glory of the final triumph. All others are like those of old who forsook Him and fled in the hour of his crucifixion. The only hope for them is that they also, like those of old, return repentant, and stand faithfully by rejoicing even in the ignominy of the cross till it triumphs.

In the fourth century the truth of the gospel was subverted and crucified, the republican brotherhood of the early church was gradually transformed into the papal imperialism, the spirit of sacrificing, serv-

ing love was lost out of the church organization and only lingered in the hearts of the faithful, persecuted few. In the multitude of professed Christians this spirit was succeeded by the spirit of proud and arbitrary dominion. Speaking of this time Draper well says: "To the reign of Constantine the Great must be referred the commencement of those dark and dismal times which oppressed Europe for a thousand years."

#### Powerful Voices Heard in Protest.

It must not be thought, however, that all this change took place without a protest. D'Aubigne truly says: "There is always a protest in the human heart against evil."

Neander says: "It is true powerful voices were heard protesting against this confusion of political and spiritual interests, as, for example, Hilary of Poitiers, who remarked well and beautifully to the Emperor Constantius: 'It is for this purpose that you govern and watch that all may enjoy sweet liberty. The peace of the church can no otherwise be restored, its distractions can in no other way be healed than by permitting every man to live wholly according to his own convictions, free from all slavery of opinion. Even though such force should be employed for the support of the true faith, yet the bishops would come before you and say: God is the Lord of the universe; he requires not an obedience which is constrained, a profession which is forced. He does not want hypocrisy, but sincere worship.'" (Torrey's Neander, vol. II, p. 134.)

It was the council of Nicea which laid the foundation for all this superstructure of tyranny, oppression, and darkness. This council condemned Arius as the arch heretic. There is reason to believe that this man, whose history has come to us only through the hands of his bitterest enemies, whose teachings, like the teachings of Jesus, were afterward perverted by his professed followers, was not only not a heretic, but that he was the one who in that council made the mighty stand for primitive Christian truth which made the council tremble. The very fact that that council which subverted the truth condemned him as the greatest heretic is evidence that he was the one man who made the greatest and most telling protest against the iniquity of their proceeding.

There were other warning voices besides those of Arius and Hilary, but Neander says: "These isolated

voices could accomplish nothing in opposition to the great mass, and they proceeded mainly from those who had been made sore by oppression."

#### The Protest Continues.

THE SENTINEL to-day has to make just such an apparently hopeless protest. It is said also to-day that those who make this protest are only the few "sore heads," who, being in the minority, are oppressed by the enforced will of the triumphant majority. It is easy to see that, should the system of intolerance now forming in this country control history for a thousand years, as it might if Christ did not come to cut it short, those who are making this protest would go down in such history as the greatest heretics of the age. But still the worshiper of truth and right must not flinch or draw back. He knows, too, that his honest protest against the evil will not be lost, but that it will be made powerful by the divine Spirit to the salvation of the honest in heart. The protest in the fourth century was not lost. It was that faithful protest, that noble standing by the crucified truth, that kept the truth alive in the hearts of the honest, faithful ones through all those centuries of darkness and oppression, awaiting the time when it again found expression in the fearless, burning words of Luther, who said: "Christians fight not with sword and musket, but with sufferings and the cross." "If truth was of the nature to triumph by force God would never have committed it to fishermen." The fact is no honest word spoken for the truth is ever lost, no life crucified with the crucified truth is without its glorious victory.

#### Truth Triumphs in Apparent Defeat.

No life in all earth's history ever went out in more utter and hopeless apparent defeat than did the life of Jesus. After all his speaking "as never man spake," only a few fishermen believed on him, and these all forsook him and fled in the hour of his trial. It was the very people for whom he had labored most who mocked him at the foot of the cross. Yet that life was a victory which is to prove the salvation of the world. It is not always a disgrace to die on the scaffold or in jail. In Mt. Auburn cemetery, near Boston, lies buried a young man on whose simple tombstone is recorded the fact that "He died in jail." At first the writer wondered at this inscription. Could not hatred or vengeance be satisfied without following their victim thus openly be-



yond this life? So I sought the facts, and found that he was a Boston boy who, in the ante-bellum days, having weak lungs, went to live in Maryland to escape the severe winters of the North. He found a poor colored man, a slave, struggling for that liberty which was his by divine right. He assisted him to liberty, and for so doing was cast into jail. He was kept there until his health failed and he was about to die of tuberculosis. His parents and friends in the North made every effort to secure his release. They said: "If he has done wrong he has already suffered enough for it; let him come home and die with his loved ones; he is only a boy." But the governor of Maryland said, "No, let him die in jail." So there he died, and the fact was recorded on his tombstone, not as a disgrace, but as an honor. No such life is wasted if the purpose was sincere and honest. God makes the death more potent than the life could have been to bring about the triumph of truth and right.

#### The "Abolition" Truth.

In those old days when the "abolition" truth was persecuted and crucified, a young minister of the gospel left the State of Maine and went to Illinois, securing a charge there in one of the growing towns. He had somehow been trained that it is the duty of the minister of Christ to speak the plain truth, and to cry out against oppression and wrong sanctioned by the church. So he spoke of the terrible wrong of slavery, and presented the truth that all men by divine right should be free. He was waited on by a committee who told him that if he persisted in saying such things he would surely be killed, and they besought him, for his life's sake, to be silent. The noble answer of Lovejoy, for this was his name, was, "I can die, but I can not refuse to speak the truth for my Master." So, as he continued to speak the truth, one night they murdered him, and he was buried in an unmarked grave on the silent hillside above the town. The unbeliever may say, "Another wasted life. What had he accomplished? Who had believed on him?" But wait. When the news of his murder and dishonorable burial reached Boston the citizens of Boston assembled in Faneuil Hall to enter their protest against such crimes and such methods of silencing the voice of truth. The mayor of Boston sent a protest against that meeting, and requested that they quietly disperse, saying that it would not do to hold such a meeting as that even in Boston, for it might lead to mob violence. In that

hall, listening to that protest and request from the mayor and city council of Boston, was a young man till then unknown. He had just graduated from college. He was talented, educated, refined, and cultured. His soul was full of noble purposes and lofty, holy ambitions. He was just looking around to find a life work worthy of him and of his Master. As he heard that protest of the mayor, and knew the truth of this murder in Illinois, his soul was stirred within him. He reflected that here was a truth that was being crucified as had been his Master, a truth in the success or failure of which was wrapped up the destiny of a race. He said in his heart, "Here is a work worthy of the consecration of my life." He arose to speak, and so that night the people heard for the first time the wonderful eloquence of Wendell Phillips, the "silver-tongued orator" of abolition. Who says now that Lovejoy died in vain when his death secured the consecration of such a life to so holy a cause? The world well knows now how well and nobly Wendell Phillips gave his life to that cause. At first he was persecuted and hooted at and rotten-egged whenever he attempted to speak, and then the world listened, and finally the truth to which he had given his life was triumphant, and through a terrible baptism of blood the slaves were freed.

When Phillips died his body lay in state in Faneuil Hall for days, and multitudes thronged to do honor even to the lifeless clay of the fallen hero. Such is the way of the world to crucify the dawning truth of its own age, and at the same time glorify the now triumphant truth of the age before. Yet, grand as Phillips always was, he was never so noble and heroic as when, in the early days, he was giving his life for the crucified truth. The world needs men to-day who dare to consecrate their lives to the crucified truth. God grant these simple but truthful words may be an inspiration to such lives, teaching them that no such sacrifice is ever in vain.

G. E. FIFIELD.

What shall it profit a republic to gain the whole world and lose its devotion to liberty and justice for all men in all climes?—*Farm, Stock and Home.*

THE true patriot is the man who loves his fellow-men and does by others as he would have others do by him.

### EDMUND BURKE ON THE DOCTRINE OF ARBITRARY POWER.

(Concluded.)

MEN, professing to be the representatives of republican government, are astounded to-day when told that they can not succeed to arbitrary power by treaty, purchase and conquest *without the consent of those whom they are to rule*. How much greater would be their astonishment should they hear such words as these of Mr. Burke:

"The title of conquest makes no difference at all. No conquest can give such a right; for conquest—that is, force—can not convert its own injustice into a just title by which it may rule others at its pleasure.

"No, my lords, this arbitrary power is not to be had by conquest. Nor can any sovereign have it by succession, for no man can succeed to fraud, rapine, and violence, neither by compact, covenant, or submission, for men can not covenant themselves out of their rights and their duties, nor by any other means can arbitrary power be conveyed to any man. Those who give to others such rights perform acts that are void as they are given, good indeed and valid only as tending to subject themselves and those who act with them to the divine displeasure, because morally there can be no such power. Those who give and those who receive arbitrary power are alike criminal, and there is no man but is bound to resist it to the best of his power wherever it shall show its face in the world. It is a crime to bear it when it can be rationally shaken off. Nothing but absolute impotence can justify men in not resisting it to the utmost of their ability.

"Law and arbitrary power are in eternal enmity. Name me a magistrate and I will name property; name me power and I will name protection. It is a contradiction in terms, it is blasphemy in religion, it is wickedness in politics to say that any man can have arbitrary power. In every patent of office the duty is included. For what else does a magistrate exist? To suppose for power is an absurdity in idea. Judges are guided and governed by the eternal laws of justice to which we are all subject. We may bite our chains if we will, but we shall be made to know ourselves, and be taught that man is born to be governed by law, and he that will substitute will in the place of it is an enemy of God.

"Despotism does not in the smallest degree abrogate, alter, or lessen any one duty of any relation of life or weaken the force or obligation of any one engagement or contract whatever. Despotism, if it means anything that is at all defensible, means a mode of government bound by no written rules

and coerced by no controlling magistracies or well-settled orders in the state. But if it has no written law, it neither does nor can cancel the primeval, indefeasible, unalterable law of nature and of nations, and if no magistracies control its exertions, those exertions must derive their limitation and direction either from the equity or moderation of the ruler, or from downright revolt on the part of the subject by rebellion, divested of all its criminal qualities. The moment a sovereign removes the idea of security and protection from his subjects, and declares that he is everything and they nothing, when he declares that no contract he makes with them can or ought to bind him, he then declares war upon them. He is no longer sovereign; they are no longer subjects.

"No man, therefore, has a right to arbitrary power."

"Arbitrary power never did in any case, nor ever will in any case, produce any one of the ends of just government."

As to the value of precedent in this matter, which was set up in justification then as now, Mr. Burke said:

"My lords, we all know that there has been arbitrary power in India; that tyrants have usurped it, and that, in some instances, princes otherwise meritorious have violated the liberties of the people, and have been lawfully deposed for such violation. I do not deny that there are robberies on Hounslow Heath; that there are such things as forgeries, burglaries, and murders, but I say that these acts are against law, and that whoever commit them commit illegal acts. When a man is to defend himself against a charge of crime it is not instances of similar violation of law that is to be the standard of his defense. A man may as well say I robbed upon Hounslow Heath, but hundreds robbed there before me. To which I answer, the law has forbidden you to rob there, and I will hang you for having violated the law, notwithstanding the long list of similar violations which you have produced as precedents. No doubt princes have violated the law of this country; they have suffered for it. Nobles have violated the law; their privileges have not protected them from punishment. Common people have violated the law; they have been hanged for it. I know no human being exempt from the law. The law is the security of the people of England; it is the security of the people of India; it is the security of every person that is governed and of every person that governs. There is but one law for all, namely, that law which governs all law, the law of our Creator, the law of humanity, justice, equity, the law of nature and of nations. So far as any laws fortify this primeval law and give it more precision, more energy, more

effect by their declarations, such laws enter into the sanctuary and participate in the sacredness of its character. But the man who quotes as precedents the abuses of tyrants and robbers pollutes the very fountain of justice, destroys the foundations of all law, and thereby removes the only safeguard against evil men, whether governors or governed—the guard which prevents governors from becoming tyrants and the governed from becoming rebels.”

What may be learned from the words of Mr. Burke aside from the truth that “it is a contradiction in terms, it is blasphemy in religion, it is wickedness in politics to say that any man can have arbitrary power”? Comparing them with the utterances of those who sneer at the Declaration of Independence, this may now be seen: That in the closing year of the nineteenth century the claims and arguments of men, speaking for a republic and from the standpoint of republicanism, are such as were arraigned in a monarchy more than a century ago by statesmen, claiming to speak only from the standpoint of just monarchical government, as beyond the rightful claim of any earthly authority. That is to say that the English monarchy was more republican in its fundamental principles and laws a century ago than is the American Republic to-day according to the utterances and claims of those who profess to speak for it.

By way of illustration: Mr. Burke said that no man or any number of men could rightfully govern others according to their will and pleasure. Within the present year it has been declared in the Congress of the United States by men speaking of people for whom they were at the time framing a government in disregard of the protests of that people, “We will govern them *as we please*.”

Mr. Burke declared that not only was it impossible to receive or obtain arbitrary power by conquest or compact, but, taking his stand squarely upon the doctrine of *inalienable* rights, said that such power could not be had over a people *even though they themselves were perfectly willing that it be exercised*, for “men can not covenant themselves out of their rights.” For simply going so far as to say that it was unjust and tyrannical to receive or claim such power as the result of compact and conquest United States senators have been denounced as “traitors in law and traitors for whom no sentimental sympathizers would go bail,” and with others as “rebels” and “fomenters of armed rebellion.” Had they

gone the length that Mr. Burke went, and the length that the Declaration goes, their conduct would no doubt have been deemed flagitious beyond the power of language to describe.

From the fact that the true principles of the English monarchy in the closing years of the eighteenth century were more liberal and tolerant of the rights of men than are the principles avowed for the American Government as it starts on the eve of the twentieth century on its career as a “world-power,” it is perfectly plain that as far as republican principles are concerned in this country a time of retreat and repudiation, has arrived. To-day in the Republic of the United States the principles of Protestant, republican, and constitutional government are of far less value in the estimation of the avowed friends of republicanism than were those principles more than a century ago in the estimation of the citizens of a monarchy.

J. D. B.

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#### THERE ARE NO MORE SELF-MADE MEN.

At Least They Must Conceal the Fact if They Are and Claim High Descent.

“FROM the highest home to the lowest in America this idea of caste has entered, destroying our old, high ideals and making us pretentious and vulgar,” writes “An American Mother,” of “How We Can Lead a Simple Life,” in the October *Ladies' Home Journal*. “The idle rich man covets high social place with a hunger that is both ridiculous and tragic. If he has money enough he buys a titled husband for his daughter. He tries to establish a precedence for himself over his neighbors by claims of high descent. Nor is this appreciation of rank confined to the leisured class in this country. It is universal. No candidate for office finds it necessary now to pose as a self-made man or to put his respectable ancestors out of sight. The self-made man is no longer the popular hero. On the contrary, noble ancestors are in such demand that if we do not have them we invent them as we do air-brakes or motors, or anything else necessary to our well-being and comfort. The rich American finds it as easy to have a coat-of-arms and a pedigree as to have a dress-coat. He seldom goes to Burke or the Herald's College for these things. He plants and grows his own family tree as does his maple at the front door.”

## News, Notes . . . and Comment

RECENT elections in England show large gains for the Conservatives or war party.



THE *Ladies' Home Journal* for October has an excellent article upon the educational question that ought to be read by parents everywhere. The article is entitled "The First Blow." It alone is well worth the price of the journal.



It is stated upon good authority that among the grievances of the striking Pennsylvania miners is that of being compelled to pay \$2.75 per keg for powder when it could be bought in the open market for less than \$1 per keg.



IN the Rock River Methodist Conference, sitting in this city October 5, Bishop Hartzell said that President McKinley should place the young emperor of China upon the throne and keep him there. Possibly the bishop did not take into consideration the size of the army that would probably be necessary to discharge what to him appears to be "only our plain duty."



It is said to cost \$25,000,000 to elect a President in the United States. Most of the money is provided by protected interests and office-holders, or by those who, in event of a change of administration, hope to become office-holders or dispensers of official patronage. Much of the money is, of course, used in a perfectly legitimate way in paying speakers, printing and distributing literature, etc.



FORCED out of the colleges and universities endowed by the rich, as they express it, several leaders of Socialistic thought in the United States and England have determined to organize educational institutions of their own, and in connection with them settlements are to be established where the believers in the ideas of Socialism may make their homes. Plans were disclosed a few days since for such a school in Yorkville County, Michigan. The settle-

ment is to be known as Golden Rule Park. The educational institution is under the direction of Prof. George D. Herron, formerly of Iowa College at Grinnell, Ia. The college is to be called "A School of Applied Christianity." Behind the movement and working in conjunction with the National Christian Citizenship League, with headquarters in this city, are Mayor Samuel Jones, of Toledo, Ohio; N. O. Nelson, the St. Louis manufacturer; Mrs. E. D. Rand, who endowed the chair formerly filled by Professor Herron at Iowa College, and A. M. Todd, "the peppermint king" of Kalamazoo, Michigan. Leaders of Socialistic ideas from all parts of the world will be invited to attend the opening session of this school.

While Professor Herron doubtless means well enough, his applied Christianity is only applied paganism. It is a fit companion of "Christian citizenship."



A ROMAN Catholic paper charges that the new king of Italy, Victor Emmanuel III., if not an out-and-out atheist is at least an agnostic or freethinker. It is also said that the queen has no real sympathy for the Catholic Church. "But, then," suggests an exchange, "anybody is an 'atheist' or 'freethinker,' from a zealous Catholic's standpoint, who does not concede the right of the Pope to temporal power."



A PROMINENT paper asks: "Why doesn't Italy protest to England against the 'excessive liberty' accorded to anarchists? The most flamboyant 'red' may enjoy the freedom of Hyde park of a Sunday and talk anarchy till he is black in the face under a red flag and the protection of the police. The same apostle caught spouting in New York or Chicago or Paterson, N. J., would be locked up before he could declare war against a single monarch."



L. S. HALL of Hartford, Conn., died some time since leaving a will, which, after making some minor bequests to the amount of about, \$3,000, left the residue of his estate, about \$10,000, to the Advent Christian Publication Society of Boston, for the purpose of combating the doctrine of natural immortality of the soul. The heirs ask that the will be set aside on the ground that it "would be contrary to public policy to allow a bequest to stand which is

made for the purpose of attacking a doctrine universally believed by Christian peoples, and which is a cornerstone in civilization." This is the same ground upon which the will of Stephen Girard was attacked in Pennsylvania seventy years ago, but without avail. The result in the present case will be awaited with interest by lovers of religious liberty everywhere.

Besides the principle involved in this Hartford case, it is a mistake to assume that the belief in natural immortality is universal among Christians. Besides individuals in nearly all denominations who do not believe this doctrine, it is rejected not only by the Advent Christians who number about 25,000 in this country, but by other bodies of Adventists numbering all told probably in the neighborhood of 100,000 souls.



In an article in the October *Century*, Bishop Potter expresses the opinion that there could not be a more stupid or shameless policy than the partitioning of China among the great Powers. A nation, like a man, the bishop says, has a right to *be* until she has demonstrated her incompetence to administer her own affairs with equal justice to all; and this China has not yet done, in spite of the stained record of her dishonored and corrupted officials.



It is stated that "over ten thousand persons visited the French Catholic Church of St. John the Baptist in New York in a single day to view what purports to be a bone from the arm of St. Anne." Most of these persons were there seeking relief from ills of various sorts and of course there were many so-called wonderful "cures." Commenting upon these facts the *Christian Advocate* says:

"But a great many Protestants are unable to point the finger of scorn at this performance. There is Simpson, a past master in this kind of quackery, and Dowie, the difference between the two being that the former has magnetic persuasiveness and the latter overwhelming bumptious domination; and Schlatter, with his head, hair, and face resembling the traditional portraits of Christ, and Sanford, of Maine, and the Mormons, all curing diseases and all having the same limitations and relapses, and all their performances perfectly explicable upon natural principles. And there are the Christian Scientists, the most superstitious of all. That God may heal

diseases in answer to prayer can not be successfully disproved by any one, but to reject the use of means is an insult to the God who established the relation of cause and effect."

### THE HAND OF ARCHBISHOP CHAPELLE IN THE PHILIPPINES.

From the Michigan Christian Advocate.

THE Philippine Commission has been giving a final hearing to the Filipino Catholics, on the one hand, and Archbishops Nogaleta and Chapelle and the Catholic friars, on the other, on the vexed question of title to properties held by the friars and their future status in the islands. The findings of the commission have not at this writing been given out.

Harold Martin, the representative of the Associated Press at Manila, gives some valuable testimony in a letter to the *Independent*. Twelve months' residence and touring in the islands has not brought him in contact with a single native who does not wish the friars expelled. "They do not ask for the curtailment of the friars' power, nor for their regulation, but always emphatically for their expulsion," he says. Yet Mr. Martin admits that under the treaty of Paris, which he says Archbishop Chapelle claims that he shaped, the United States can not bodily expel the friars; but he claims that it can prevent their return to their former parishes and limit their work to the larger cities of the islands. He reports that the natives, though as loyal Catholics as ever, look upon Archbishop Chapelle as "one friar more," so ardent an advocate of the friars' claims has he become.

In this connection an extract from a letter in the New York *Evening Post* is valuable, as showing the spirit and course of Archbishop Chapelle. Says the correspondent: "Archbishop Chapelle is taking an active hand in affairs, and now claims that he secured the recall of Otis. He has warmly championed the side of the friars, but church matters have not progressed except for several decrees from Otis depriving the priests of immunities and privileges they had enjoyed under Spanish laws. He and Chapelle had an animated correspondence, Chapelle reminding Otis that it was most important to President McKinley that matters be adjusted satisfactorily to the Catholics before election, and Otis replying (the best thing he ever did): 'You are a priest and I am a soldier. I did not know that it was the busi-

ness of either to concern himself about elections.'"  
If this be true, it should raise Gen. Otis measurably  
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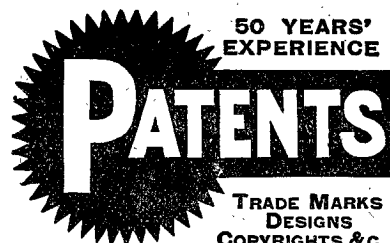
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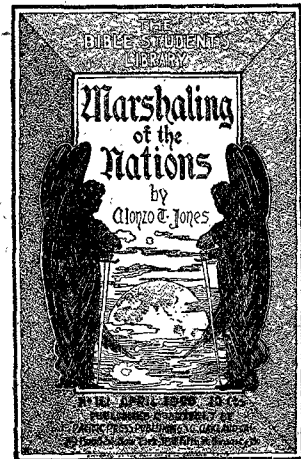
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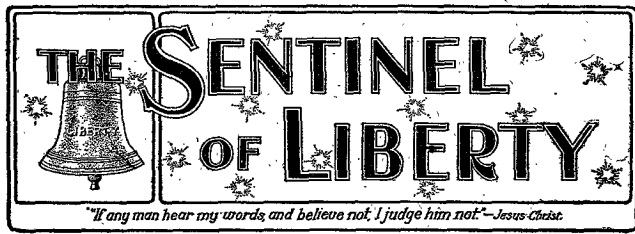


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### EXAMINE THE LABEL.

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A RECENT Methodist conference in the State of New York passed a resolution in favor of closing the Pan-American Exposition on Sunday. There is sure to be a strong effort made in this direction in due season. The agitation of the matter will afford an excellent opportunity to place the truth concerning the principles involved before tens of thousands of interested people.

"BISHOP POTTER," it is said, "aided and backed by many others, has opened a campaign against the bribe-taking of the New York City police, which is said to cover \$5,000,000 a year." Certainly the bishop has undertaken a large task. If bribe taking should cease in New York, how would the political machines be supported? Why, the political "boss" would have to retire from business, not only in New York, but in a good many other cities also.

WRITING for the *Saturday Evening Post*, Leonidas Hubbard, Jr., while commending the teaching of patriotism in the public schools, makes this excellent suggestion:

"Care must be taken that the right sort of patriotism be taught. The young American must not come to believe that patriotism consists solely in the risking of life to repel invaders. He must be taught that it consists no less in guarding the interests of the state in time of peace. That it consists not so much in physical courage as in unselfishness and honesty."

It is clear that government can not become the judge of men's consciences, and that the plea of conscientious conviction can not be accepted as a final and sufficient defense in all cases of violation of law. What rule, then, can be adopted which will preserve the authority of the state and yet not trench upon the rights of conscience?

The question thus raised is well answered by a clause in the constitution of the State of Maryland: "No person ought by any law to be molested in his person or estate on account of his religious persuasion or profession, or for his religious practice, unless under color of religion, he shall disturb the good order, peace, or safety of the state, . . . or injure others in their natural, civil, or religious rights." In this the line is drawn just where it should be, namely, *at the equal rights of others*. Under this provision the courts are not called upon to judge any man's conscience, but only to judge whether or not his conscience leads him to infringe the equal rights of his fellowmen. That a man's conscience is just what he says it is no man has either right or occasion to deny.

A man's statement of his conscience is an end of controversy; but it does not follow that one has a right to do whatever his conscience tells him is right for him to do. There is a difference between conscience and the *rights* of conscience. No man, however conscientious, has any right to infringe the equal right of another; and at this point civil government has a right to take cognizance, not of any man's conscience, but of the relation of the act to the rights of others.

The principle briefly stated is this: No man should be either required or forbidden to do any act contrary to conscience, however erroneous that conscience may be, *unless the doing or forbearing to do that act trenches on the equal rights of others*. This rule would (1) abrogate all civil laws requiring the observance of Sunday or of any other day; and (2) it would leave the courts free, not to judge men's consciences, but to protect all men against wrong in the name of conscience. But this is only saying, in other words, that which we have said many times before, namely, that civil governments are instituted not to create or to "grant" *rights*, but to guarantee the free and untrammled exercise of equal, natural, God-given, inalienable rights, and that of these the highest and most sacred is perfect freedom in matters of religious belief and practice.