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The Dissipation of Self-Government in the United States

By Alonzo T. Jones

OF what benefit is the history of nations? What good is the study of it if we shall not be taught by the lessons which it plainly inculcates? In the March SENTINEL we sketched the course of empire that has been pursued in this world from the most ancient record of empire into the most modern—that of the United States of to-day. We found that it consists of a course of direct kingships expanding into empire; then the principles of kingship repudiated, and the principle of self-government established—a government of the people, by the people, and for the people; this itself expanding into empire and falling into a ruin more terrible than any that had gone before. This as to ancient history and as to modern, the same experience repeated precisely—a series of kingships expanding into empire, then the whole principle of kingship and empire repudiated, and the principle of self-government established—a government of the people, by the people, and for the people; this also expanding into empire and—what?

In the nature of things the principle of self-government is essentially depend-

ent upon the individual—the individual man governing himself. Thus of all forms of government that there can be, the republican form is most dependent upon the integrity of the individual, upon the loyalty of the individual to the principles of self-government. Whenever in a republic a majority of the people lose, or fail to exercise, the faculty of governing themselves, the republic is gone in principle; and it remains but a mere matter of time when it will be found to be gone in practise—succeeded by a government not of the people, but at the most of the few, and presently of only one. Whatever then attacks or undermines the integrity of the individual, whatever tends to rob him of the power to govern himself, is distinctly an attack upon the republic, an undermining of government of the people.

Now is there to-day in sight in the United States, in this republic, this government of the people—is there here prevailing, popularly recognized and practised, anything the tendency and effect of which is to destroy the integrity of the individual, to rob him of the power to govern himself? A glance at

the history of the empires which have fallen, and at the plain causes of their fall, may aid in the answer to this important question.

Babylon was a mighty empire whose fall was so terrible that the earth itself was "moved, and the cry was heard among the nations." Yet what was the cause of it—the direct and palpable cause? Belshazzar's feast is the answer, that feast made to a thousand of his lords in which he "drank wine before the thousand," and to which were called in lascivious mixture princes, wives, and concubines. It was extended so completely throughout the whole city that practically the whole populace was but a drunken, lascivious crowd. And this was but the culmination of a course of things that had been followed up by those who composed the imperial or ruling class. This is certified by Cyrus, the Persian, who, when addressing his own troops to inspire in them courage for the campaign which he was then undertaking against Babylon, said: "Do you know the nature of the enemy you have to deal with? They are soft and effeminate men, already half conquered by their own luxury and voluptuousness; men unable to bear either hunger or thirst; incapable of supporting either the toil of war or the sight of danger."

Babylon was succeeded by Medo-Persia. At that time and before the Medes and Persians were an exceedingly temperate and frugal people. When Cræsus of Lydia was contemplating war with the Persians, his adviser said to him: "Thou art about, O king, to make war against men who wear leathern trousers, and have all their other garments of leather; who feed, not on what they like, but on what they can get from a soil that is sterile and unkindly; who do not indulge in wine, but drink water; who possess no figs nor

anything else that is good to eat." Herodotus declares that "before the conquests of Lydia, the Persians possessed none of the luxuries or delights of life." And Cyrus, in his speech to his troops, after describing the weakness and effeminacy of the Babylonians from excessive living, appealed to the personal experiences of the Persians themselves, saying: "Whereas you that are inured from your infancy to a strait and hard way of living; to you, I say, hunger and thirst are but the sauce, and the only sauce, to your meals; fatigues are your pleasures, dangers your delight, and the love of your country and of glory your only passion." More particulars as to this are given by Rollin: "The only food allowed either the children or the young men [of the Persians] was bread, cresses, and water, for their design was to accustom them early to temperance and sobriety. Besides, they considered that a plain, frugal diet, without any mixture of sauces or ragouts, would strengthen the body and lay such a foundation of health as would enable them to undergo the hardships and fatigues of war to a good old age."

And yet, after the Persians had destroyed Babylon, whose luxury had already brought her to the brink of destruction, in the face of these lessons which they themselves knew, and in defiance of their original principles of temperance and health, they allowed themselves to be carried away with luxurious feasts by which that empire herself had sunk to ruin. And so of the later Persians it is written: "To such a height was their luxury grown that they would expect the same magnificence and enjoy the same pleasures and delights in the army [on a campaign] as in the king's court; so that in their wars the kings marched accompanied by their wives, their concubines, and all their eunuchs.

Their silver and gold plate, all their rich furniture, were carried after them in prodigious quantities; and, in short, all the equipage and utensils so voluptuous a life requires. This luxury and extravagance rose in time to such an excess as was little better than downright madness." To this record the campaigns of Darius in his defense against Alexander the Great bear abundant witness, and that is why the little army of Alexander, consisting of but thirty to less than fifty thousand troops at the most, could so easily annihilate every force that Darius brought against him, even though at one time his force consisted of nearly half a million, and the last time of more than a million.

Alexander's troops were not the most strictly temperate by any means, even at the beginning of his campaign; yet they stood far short of the point which the Persians had reached, for it is the historical record that even after Marathon the Greek troops, as well as their commanders, were "accustomed to temperance." But by the time of Alexander, through the indulgences allowed by Philip, the Macedonians especially had gone far from temperance. And through Alexander's successes and excesses the Greeks were carried to an extreme but little short of that which had ruined the Persians. "And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors were come to the full," because of this the Greek empire fell, and there stood up the Romans, who presented themselves before the world, and who indeed really stood, as the exemplars of self-government on the earth.

Of them it has been well said that they "possessed the faculty of self-government beyond any people of whom we have historical knowledge," excepting only the Anglo-Saxons. This faculty of self-government was but the conse-

quence, or rather the manifestation, of principles inculcated upon and recognized by the individual Roman. At almost the turning point in Rome's career as truly self-governing—just before she entered upon her career of world conquest—in 136 B.C., an embassy was sent by the Roman government to the king of Egypt. This embassy was composed of Scipio Africanus, junior, Spurius Mummius, and L. Metellus. And of them at the court of the king of Egypt the story runs: "Although they were entertained with all the varieties of the most sumptuous fare, yet they would touch nothing of it other than what was useful, in the most temperate manner, for the necessary support of nature, displacing all the rest *as that which corrupted the mind as well as the body, and bred vicious humours in both.*"

Nor was this conduct peculiar to these three ambassadors. It is certified: "Such was the moderation and temperance of the Romans at this time, and hereby it was that they at length advanced their state to so great a height." But the same writer is compelled to observe that "in this height would they have still continued, could they have retained the same virtues. But when their prosperity, and the great wealth obtained thereby, became the occasion that they degenerated into luxury and corruption of manners, they drew attack and ruin as fast upon them as they had before victory and prosperity, till at length they were undone by it." Of the enormous excesses of the later republic, of the early empire and the later empire, the world thoroughly knows; and in that well knows the chief cause of the fall of the mighty empire of Rome into the most thorough ruin that ever befell a nation.

Now how stands it in the United States to-day? What is the tendency in

this nation to-day? Consider only the one item of alcoholic and malt liquors. How long can the indulgence of these things continue at the present rate before the vast majority of this whole nation will be essentially robbed of the power of governing themselves? Add to this item the no less destructive and undermining indulgence of tobacco. This, through the deadly cigarette, is sweeping even the boys of the nation into the fatal current of the systematic destruction of the faculty of self-government. How long can the indulgence in these two items be continued at the present rate before the people of this whole nation will be deprived of the

ability to govern themselves? But to these things there must be added the rapidly multiplying thousands of morphine, arsenic, and cocaine fiends, and the slaves of other drugs.

A mere mention of these undisputable facts plainly shows that America, at the moment when she has taken her first steps in a world career, is already an intemperate nation. And how far can she carry the weight of the luxury and glory that must come to her as the fruit of her world's career, before she shall reach the point at which the other empires, and especially Rome, the first great exemplar of the principles of self-government before the world, failed and fell?



Sunday Laws and the Rights of Conscience

By C. P. Bollman

SUNDAY laws are incompatible with perfect freedom of conscience because they require the observance of a religious institution. Notwithstanding all the efforts that have been made to cast such statutes in a wholly secular mold, they are religious still, and can never be otherwise, for the reason that the institution itself is religious. Were it not that Sunday is by many regarded as a sacred day, there would be no Sunday laws, at least none such as we now have. If the day were recognized at all it would be merely *dies non*, like our secular holidays.

The statutes of many of the States emphasize the religious character of the day by exempting from the penalty for ordinary labor on that day such persons as observe some other day of the week as a day of rest and worship. These exemptions are extremely interesting in

this connection. The writer has not the authorities at hand, and so cannot quote, but any one who cares to do so can easily verify the statement that these exemption clauses plainly reveal the fact that Sunday laws in general seek to secure the religious observance of one day each week, preferably Sunday, but if not Sunday, then another day in lieu thereof.

But while exemption clauses emphasize the religious character of Sunday legislation, such laws work less hardship than do the more sweeping statutes which make no exceptions, but require all alike to refrain from labor and business on the first day of the week under penalty of fine or imprisonment, or both.

The only thing that saves a weekly holiday from being utterly vicious is the religious element. People who do not rest on Sunday from religious motives would, as a general thing, be much better

off if they were employed on that day. Idleness begets vice, and there can be nothing but idleness for the man who is not religious and who is forbidden to either work or play. If they cannot work, and are forbidden to engage in out-of-door sports, very many laboring men will play cards, throw dice or engage in some other harmful and vicious pastime secretly.

And this introduces naturally a serious phase of the Sunday-law question. Take such a statute, for instance, as the Tennessee Sunday law. It exempts nobody. What then shall those parents do who have children whom they wish to train to religiously observe the seventh day of the week in obedience to the Fourth Commandment? The children are taught to reverence that day. They have their reading and other occupations in keeping with the proper observance of the day. But what of the day enjoined by the statute? The law forbids them to

be employed in any sort of labor. They soon tire of such amusements as are afforded by the ordinary home. The result is that while the younger children can be kept within bounds on Sunday the older ones soon begin to spend that day in roving about the neighborhood. It becomes for them merely a day of idleness. It cannot be said, therefore, that Sunday laws leave every man perfectly free to observe another day if he so elects. No man can train his children as he ought and allow them a day of idleness each week.

The fact is that Sunday statutes are a relic of the days when church and state were united, and when civil rulers assumed to regulate not only secular affairs but religious faith and practise as well. They are evil, and only evil continually, and ought to be blotted from our statute books so that the matter of Sabbath-keeping may rest where it belongs—in the conscience of each individual.



What is a minority? The chosen heroes of the earth have been in a minority. There is not a social, political or religious privilege that you enjoy to-day that was not bought for you by the blood and tears and patient suffering of the minority. It is the minority that have vindicated humanity in every struggle. It is a minority that have stood in the van of every moral conflict, and achieved all that is noble in the history of the world.

You will find that each generation has been always busy in gathering up the scattered ashes of the martyred heroes of the past to deposit them in the golden urn of a nation's history.

Look at Scotland, where they are erecting monuments—to whom? to the

Covenanters. They were in a minority. Read their history, if you can, without the blood tingling to the tips of your fingers. These were in the minority that through blood and tears and bootings and scourgings—dyeing the waters with their blood, and staining the heather with their gore—fought the glorious battle of religious freedom.

Minority! If a man stand up for the right, though the right be on the scaffold, while the wrong sits in the seat of government; if he stands for the right though he eat, with the right and truth, a wretched crust; if he walk with obloquy and scorn in the by-lanes and streets, while falsehood and wrong ruffle it in silken attire, let him remember that wherever the right and truth are there

are always troops of beautiful, tall angels gathered around him, and God himself stands within the dim future and keeps watch over His own.

If a man stand for the right and truth, though every man's finger be pointed at

him, though every woman's lip be curled at him in scorn, he stands in a majority; for God and good angels are with him, and greater are they that are for him than all they that be against him.—*J. B. Gough.*



The Civil Sabbath: Its Alliance With Legal Rum

By Paul P. Lyon

An address delivered in New York on April 5 at the inter-State oratorical contest of the Young People's Prohibition League.

A RUM subsidy, unwittingly bestowed by Christian men, to promote the commerce of the Devil! Such I believe is the effect of certain existing laws.

They are not in harmony with God's plan.

They have failed to accomplish the commendable end sought by them.

They are not in harmony with the principles of American freedom.

They are a most potent ally of the liquor trade.

They are a colossal subsidy by means of which the liquor trade is induced to settle down on American soil and build its steamships of destruction as cheaply and with profits more secure than on the continent of Europe.

I mean the intervention of civil law to compel men to rest on Sunday. These charges are not made through indifference to the Sabbath. It is because I esteem it so highly that I will plead so earnestly for it to-night.

God gave to the world ten fundamental laws. Christ summed them up in two—love God and love man. Love to God is embraced in the first four; love to man in the last six.

It is man's business to regulate the conduct of men so far as it relates to men *and no farther*. It is God's business to regulate the conduct of men in those things which relate to God. Christ affirmed this when he said: "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's." The master builders of American independence affirmed it in the Constitution when they said. "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Man rules between man and man. God rules between man and God.

No man ever yet presumed to tamper with that principle that he did not seriously impede the progress of Christianity, the hindrance being just in proportion to the extent of his meddling.

The Roman Church, aided by the power of the state, said: "Thou shalt worship God as I direct," and there ensued a thousand years during which Progress couldn't get a running start. We call them the Dark Ages.

The Christian men of these days have held up the train of progress. They presume to deny to you and me the right

reputable labor on the first day of the week. There has arisen a storm of discussion all over the country for and against such intervention. Men look on us for it. We have thought we saw His Sabbath in danger. We have put out our weak hand to support it, as Uzzah did the ark at the threshing-floor. Our



THE MAKING OF THE "CIVIL SABBATH"—THE "POTENT ALLY OF THE LIQUOR TRADE."

the growing disregard for Sunday with growing indifference and other men grow frantic at their indifference. God's hand is in it as it is in all our affairs. We have made a mistake. He is chastising

intention is good as Uzzah's was; our presumption is awful as Uzzah's was; our punishment is as sure as Uzzah's was.

When we violate that sacred religious

liberty we are not in harmony with God's plan. When our way runs counter to the Divine way one or the other must fail. There is just one swift end to such a conflict—just one sure victory. The Divine way wins—the civil sabbath fails.

It *has* failed. In the very nature of the case it *must* fail. The church would remove the Fourth Commandment from its foundation on Sinai and place it on man's authority, making it a civil institution. The world instantly replies: "You have no right to command my behavior in such a matter, and I will do as I please on that day." It can have no thought of respect for such an institution, for it denies its right to exist. Mr. Moody said six years ago: "Young people are out on their wheels, older people are reading the Sunday papers, the saloons are full, and throngs go to the woods for picnics." Prof. Wilkinson, of Chicago University, said of the same things: "In the face of facts like these it is perfectly plain that Sunday observance is fast coming to be practically a confessed pious fiction."

Such laws *have* failed to promote the end sought by them.

The Civil War was fought ostensibly to preserve the unity of the States. The Divine purpose was to free the slaves. That was the beginning and the end of the trouble, and it is so recognized. The Revolutionary War was fought ostensibly to right the wrongs of a tyrant king. The Divine purpose was to set apart a great nation in which a new principle of freedom should rule. That was the plan, and it is so recognized.

In these bright days of that same freedom men are arrested for the crime of planting potatoes on Sunday—they are arrested and thrown into prison, turned over to the tender mercies of the chain-gang, in company with hoboes, sneak-thieves, wife-beaters and bums. In view

of such facts it adds but little to the keen sarcasm of the word "freedom" to remember that these same men devoutly communed with their Creator on the day previous. Look at the records of Arkansas, Tennessee, Maryland, Alabama, Georgia, Illinois, Florida, Mississippi, California, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina for the last ten years and see the black blots on their fair fame—fit records to bury deep in the vaults where lie the histories of the Inquisition.

Such laws are not in harmony with the principles of American freedom.

The civil sabbath and the hallowed Sabbath are as far apart as the east is from the west.

The civil sabbath is a holiday—the hallowed Sabbath is a holy day.

I can observe my Sabbath best, I can refresh my body best, I can please my God best by associating with His people, by studying His Word, by grasping the opportunity to speak here and there for Him, by retiring to the privacy of my closet in communion with my God. No civil law under Heaven can force me to do that. What it can't do with me it can't do with any other man. I'll tell you what it *can* do. It can force me to stop my legitimate labor. It can leave me with idle time on my hands. In obedience to the law that Nature abhors a vacuum, I can seek a way to fill that time. I can find it in a multitude of ways, legal or illegal, restful or hurtful, uplifting or destructive; *and find it I must* in one way or another. If my bent is for the uplifting, restful, legitimate use of the day the motive comes from within; I need no civil law to force me to it. If the motive comes from without the proclivity is to those things which are hurtful to body, to mind, to soul; to reading the 48-page Sunday edition of the current trash, to smoking a foul pipe, seeking my fellow-idlers in the saloon, either

by the front door, side door, back door or cellar door; and coming back to my work Monday morning with a pounding headache, infinitely worse off than if I had pursued my usual labor all day the day before.

What part of that day does God get? What sort of rest do I get? Who gets the profit?

Judge Sprague, of Massachusetts, in addressing a legislative committee, said: "It is a profound observation that the morality of no people can be maintained above the morality of their laws." The morality of the civil sabbath stands at the level of a rest from physical labor. It is intended to cater to the welfare of the body. It cannot touch the welfare of the soul—it has no right to. Logical men no longer attempt to clothe it with such right. The morality of the civil sabbath stands at that level, and so long as that is their law the morality of the people cannot rise above it.

The morality of the hallowed Sabbath stands at the level of a change from worldly matters to spiritual matters; from serving our own needs six days to working for God one day. It is not a lazy day, but rather as far from it as laziness is removed from Godliness. It proposes to interest us in divine things. It does so by drafting our energies to that business. The morality of the hallowed Sabbath stands at that level, and so long as God's command is their law the morality of the people will be rising to it. "As much higher as God's ways and thoughts are above man's, so much more potent is His law than man's to give us the Sabbath."

The civil sabbath proposes a reconstruction for the physical man—not for the spiritual. It accomplishes neither. The hallowed Sabbath proposes a reconstruction for the spiritual man and accomplishes both through the wiser plan

of the rightful Lord of the Sabbath day.

"Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do."

The saloon is the manufactory of law breakers and laws broken. Another law is simply more grist for its mill. It does not and never did respect any law ever made for its regulation. Legitimate business men submit to the Sunday law. Liquor men do not. Honest men have a day to fill with something. Liquor men have something with which to fill it. And *therein lies the rum trade's paradise—everybody idle but the bartender.*

We hear the trade clamoring for the repeal of the Sunday law so far as it applies to themselves, but whoever heard one of them asking for the repeal of the rest of it? No! No! They know that for them it is the best thing that ever happened. They know that when men are at work they will not be in the saloon. They know that when they are not at work some of them will be in the saloon. They know that so long as men are idle the saloon will do business *in spite of the law.*

They know another thing, and they get off in a corner and shake their sides with laughter at the men who spend all their energies for prohibition on Sunday and have no time left for prohibition the other six days. *They are not afraid of prohibition one day. They are afraid of prohibition all the time.* The Devil never invented a better scheme to stave off his downfall than prohibition one day in seven. The Devil never invented a better scheme to boost his business than forcing everybody else to be idle while he rakes in the shekels.

The Prohibition Party is vitally and mightily concerned in this matter. A mighty wrong is being done. Christian men are responsible for it. By the very nature of its make-up the Prohibition Party is in danger of assuming the same

responsibility, of becoming father to such laws. While that is true the success of the Prohibition Party is a menace to religious freedom. While that menace remains we are not ready for success. While that menace remains the rum trade will still grind out its broken laws and broken hearts and broken men. When the men who shape the policy of the Prohibition Party have that fact ir-

revocably burned into their souls, so that they shall forever refuse to be a party to such legislation, then shall we be ready to do battle and win, with the strongest Ally in the universe to fight with us.

Repeal the Sunday law entire and get down to the rock bottom of God's own law for God's own Sabbath. Then build a morality for the people that shall reach to Heaven—not stop at the saloon.



“Feudal America”

[Selected from an article entitled “The Next Step: A Benevolent Feudalism,” by Mr. W. J. Ghent, published in *The Independent* of April 3. Although this matter may, at first thought, seem somewhat unrelated to the general theme of this magazine, we feel that the readers of *THE SENTINEL* will be glad to have it presented here and will appreciate its importance. See editorial, “The Economic and Industrial Unrest.”—EDITOR.]

THE next distinct stage in the socio-economic evolution of America may be something entirely different from any of the forms usually predicted. Anarchist prophecies are, of course, futile; and the Tolstoyan Utopia of a return to primitive production, with its prodigal waste of effort and consequent impoverishment of the race, allures but few minds. The Kropotkinian dream of a communistic union of shop industry and agriculture is of a like type; and well-nigh as barren are the Neo-Jeffersonian visions of a general revival of small-farm and small-shop production and the dominance of a middle-class democracy. . . . Whatever the more distant future may bring to pass, there is but little evidence to prove that collectivism will be the next status of society. Rather, that coming status, of which the contributing forces are now energetically at work and of which the first phases are already plainly observable, will be something in the nature of a Benevolent Feudalism.

That the concentration of capital and

the increase of individual holdings of wealth will continue is almost unanimously conceded. . . . Only recently Prof. John B. Clark, doubtless our most distinguished representative of the orthodox economists, declared, in the pages of *The Independent*, that “the world of the near future . . . will present a condition of vast and ever-growing inequality. . . . The rich will continually grow richer, and the multi-millionaires will approach the billion-dollar standard.” It is a view that needs no particular buttressing of authority, for it is held by most of those who seriously scan the outlook.

The tendencies thus make, on the one hand, toward the centralization of vast power in the hands of a few men—the morganization of industry, as it were—and on the other, toward a vast increase in the number of those who compose the economically dependent classes. The latter number is already stupendous. The laborers and mechanics were long ago brought under the yoke through their

divorcement from the land and the application of steam to factory operation. They are economically unfree except in so far as their organizations make possible a collective bargaining for wages and hours. The growth of commerce raised up an enormous class of clerks and helpers, perhaps the most dependent class in the community. The growth and partial diffusion of wealth in America has in fifty years largely altered the character of domestic service and increased the number of servants many fold. Railroad pools and farm-implementation trusts have drawn a tightening cordon about the farmers. The professions, too, have felt the change. Behind many of our important newspapers are private commercial interests which dictate their general policy, if not, as is frequently the case, their particular attitude upon every public question; while the race for endowments made by the greater number of the churches and by all colleges, except a few State-supported ones, compels a cautious regard on the part of synod and faculty for the wishes, the views and prejudices of men of great wealth. To this growing deference of preacher, teacher and editor is added that of two yet more important classes—the makers and the interpreters of law. The record of legislation and judicial interpretation regarding slavery previous to the Civil War has been paralleled in recent years by the record of legislatures and courts in matters relating to the lives and health of manual workers, especially in such cases as employers' liability and factory inspection. Thus, with a great addition to the number of subordinate classes, with a tremendous increase of their individual components, and with a corresponding growth of power in the hands of a few score magnates, there is needed little further to make up a socio-economic status that

contains all the essentials of a renascent feudalism.

It is, at least in its beginning, less a personal than a class feudalism. History may repeat itself, as the adage runs; but not by identical forms and events. The great spirals of evolutionary progress carry us for a time back to the general direction of older journeyings, but not to the well-worn pathways themselves. The old feudalism exacted faithful service, industrial and martial, from the underling; protection and justice from the overlord. It is not likely that personal fidelity, as once known, can ever be restored; the long period of dislodgment from the land, the diffusion of learning, the exercise of the franchise, and the training in individual effort have left a seemingly unbridgeable chasm between the past and the present forms. But though personal fidelity, in the old sense, is improbable, group fidelity, founded upon the conscious dependence of a class, is already observable, and it grows apace. . . . Some of us grumble at times and ask angrily where it will all end. We talk threateningly of instituting referendums to curb excessive power; of levying income taxes, or of compelling the government to acquire the railroads and the telegraphs. We subscribe to newspapers and other publications which criticise the acts of the great corporations, and we hail as a new Gracchus the ardent reformer who occasionally comes forth for a season to do battle for the popular cause. But this revolt is, for the most part, sentimental; it is a mental attitude but rarely transmutable into terms of action. It is, moreover, sporadic and flickering; it dies out after a time, and we revert to our usual moods, concerning ourselves with our particular interests and letting the rest of the world wag as it will.

The new feudalism is thus character-

ized by a class dependence rather than by a personal dependence. But it differs in still other respects from the old. It is qualified and restricted, and by agencies hardly operative in medieval times. Democracy tends to restrain it, and ethics to moralize it. Tho' it has its birth and nurture out of the "rough and unsocialized barbarians of wealth," in Mr. Henry D. Lloyd's phrase, its youth and maturity promise a modification of character. More and more it tends to become a *benevolent* feudalism. On the ethical side it is qualified by a growing and diffusive sense of responsibility and of kinship. The principle of the "trusteeship of great wealth" having found lodgment, like a seed, in the erstwhile barren soil of mammonism, has become a flourishing growth. The enormous benefactions for social purposes, which have been common of late years, and which in 1901 reached a total of \$107,000,000, could come only from men and women who have been taught to feel an ethical duty to society. It is a duty, true enough, which is but dimly seen and imperfectly fulfilled. The greater part of these benefactions is directed to purposes which have but a slight or indirect bearing upon the relief of social distress, the restraint of injustice, or the mitigation of remediable hardships. . . .

The limitation which democracy puts upon the new feudalism is also important. For democracy will endure, in spite of the new order. . . . Something of its substance it gives back, it must be confessed; for it permits the most serious encroachments upon its rights; but of its outer forms it yields nothing, and thus it retains the potentiality of exerting its will in whatever direction it may see fit. And this fact, tho' now but feebly recognized by the feudal barons, will be better understood by them as time runs on, and they will

bear in mind the limit of popular patience. . . . Macaulay's famous dictum, that the privileged classes, when their rule is threatened, always bring about their own ruin by making further exactions, is likely, in this case, to prove untrue. A wiser forethought begins to prevail among the autocrats of to-day—a forethought destined to grow and expand and to prove of inestimable value when bequeathed to their successors. Our nobility will thus temper their exactions to an endurable limit; and they will distribute benefits to a degree that makes a tolerant, if not a satisfied people. They may even make a working principle of Bentham's maxim, and after, of course, appropriating the first and choicest fruits of industry to themselves, may seek to promote the "greatest happiness of the greatest number." For therein will lie their greater security.

Of the particular forms which this new feudalism will take there are already numerous indications which furnish grounds for more or less confident prediction. All societies evolve naturally out of their predecessors. In sociology, as in biology, there is no cell without a parent cell. The society of each generation develops a multitude of spontaneous and acquired variations, and out of these, by a blending process of natural and conscious selection, the succeeding society is evolved. The new feudalism is but an orderly outgrowth of past and present tendencies and conditions.

Unlike the old feudalism it is not confined to the country. Qualified in certain respects tho' it be, it has yet a far wider province and scope of action. The great manorial estates now being created along the banks of the Hudson, along the shores of Long Island Sound and Lake Michigan, are but its pleasure places—its Sans Soucis, its Bagatelles.

Far from being the foundation of its revenues, as were the estates of the old feudalism, these are the prodigally expensive playthings of the new. The oil wells, the mines, the grain fields, the forests and the great thoroughfares of the land are its ultimate sources of revenue; but its strongholds are in the cities. It is in these centers of activity, with their warehouses, where the harvests are hoarded; their workshops, where the metals and woods are fashioned into articles of use; their great distributing houses; their exchanges; their enormously valuable franchises to be had for the asking or the seizing, and their pressure of population, which forces an hourly increase in the exorbitant value of land, that the new feudalism finds the field best adapted for its main operations.

Bondage to the land was the basis of villeinage in the old *régime*; bondage to the job will be the basis of villeinage in the new. The wage-system will endure, for it is an incomparably simpler means of determining the baron's volume of profits than were the "boon-works," the "week-works" and the *corvées* of old. But with increasing concentration on the one hand, and the fiercer competition for employment on the other, the secured job will become the laborer's fortress, which he will hardly dare to evacuate. The hope of bettering his condition by surrendering one place in the expectation of getting another will be qualified by a restraining prudence. He will no longer trust his individual strength, but will protest against ill conditions, or, in the last resort, strike, only in company with a formidable host of his fellows. And even the collective assertion of his demands will be restrained more and more as he considers recurring failures of his efforts such as that of the recent steel strike. Moreover, concentration

gives opportunity for an almost indefinite extension of the blacklist: a person of offensive activity may be denied work in every feudal shop and on every feudal farm from one end of the country to the other. He will be a hardy and reckless industrial villein indeed who will dare incur the enmity of the Duke of the Oil Trust when he knows that his actions will be promptly communicated to the banded autocracy of dukes, earls and marquises of the steel, coal, iron, window glass, lumber and traffic industries.

Of the three under classes of the old feudalism—sub-tenants, cotters and villeins—the first two are already on the ground, and the last is in process of restoration. But the vast complexity of modern society specializes functions, and for the new feudalism still other classes are required. It is a difficult task properly to differentiate these classes. They shade off almost imperceptibly into one another; and the dynamic processes of modern industry often hurl, in one mighty convulsion, great bodies of individuals from a higher to a lower class, blurring or obscuring the lines of demarcation. Nevertheless, to take a figure from geology, these convulsions become less and less frequent as the substratum of industrial processes becomes more fixed and regular; the classes become more stable and show more distinct differences, and they will tend, under the new *régime*, to the formal institution of graded caste. At the bottom are the wastrels, at the top the barons; and the gradation, when the new *régime* shall have become fully developed, whole and perfect in its parts, will be about as follows:

- I. The barons, graded on the basis of possessions.
- II. The courtiers and court-agents.
- III. The workers in pure and applied

science, artists and physicians. The new feudalism, like most autocracies, will foster not only the arts, but also certain kinds of learning—particularly the kinds which are unlikely to disturb the minds of the multitude. A future Marsh or Cope or Le Conte will be liberally patronized and left free to discover what he will; and so, too, an Edison or a Marconi. Only they must not meddle with anything relating to social science. For obvious reasons, also, physicians will occupy a position of honor and comparative freedom under the new régime.

IV. The *entrepreneurs*, the managers of the great industries, transformed into a salaried class.

V. The foremen and superintendents. This class has heretofore been recruited largely from the skilled workers, but with the growth of technical education in schools and colleges and the development of fixed caste, it is likely to become entirely differentiated.

VI. The villeins of the cities and towns, more or less regularly employed, who do skilled work and are partially protected by organization.

VII. The villeins of the cities and towns who do unskilled work and are unprotected by organization. They will comprise the laborers, domestics and clerks.

VIII. The villeins of the manorial estates, of the great farms, the mines and the forests.

IX. The small-unit farmers (land owning), the petty tradesmen and manufacturers.

X. The sub-tenants on the manorial estates and great farms (corresponding to the class of "free tenants" in the old feudalism).

XI. The cotters, living in isolated places and on the margin of cultivation.

XII. The tramps, the occasionally

employed, the unemployed—the wastrels of city and country.

This, then, is the table of socio-industrial rank leading down from the feudatory barons. It is a classification open, of course, to amendment. But it is not possible to anticipate every detail. . . . The basis employed is not relative wealth, a test which nine out of ten persons would unhesitatingly apply in social classification; it is not comparative earning capacity, economic freedom, nor intellectual ability. Rather, it is the relative degree of comfort—material, moral and intellectual—which each class contributes to the nobility. The wastrels contribute least, and they are the lowest. The foremen, superintendents and *entrepreneurs* contribute most of the purely material comfort, and their place is correspondingly high. But higher yet is the rank of the courtiers and court agents, the legates and nuncios. This class will include the editors of "respectable" and "safe" newspapers, the pastors of "conservative" and "wealthy" churches, the professors and teachers in endowed colleges and schools, lawyers generally, and most judges and politicians. . . . They will be at once the assuagers of popular suspicion and discontent and the providers of moral and intellectual anodynes for the barons. Such of them, however, as have not the tact or fidelity to do or say what is expected of them will be promptly forced into class XI or XII, or, in extreme cases, banished from all classes, to become wretched pariahs of society.

Through all the various activities of these populous classes (except the last) our Benevolent Feudalism will carry on the nation's work. Its operations will begin with the land, whence it extracts the raw material of commerce. It is just at this stage of its workings that it will differ most from the customary forms of

the old. The cotters will be pushed further back into isolation, and the subtenants will be confined to the grubbing away at their ill-recompensed labors. It is with the eighth class, the villeins of farm and wood and mine, that we have here to deal. The ancient ceremony of "homage," the swearing of personal fidelity to the lord, is transformed into that of the beseeching of the foreman for work. The wage system, with its mechanical simplicity, continuing in force, there is an absence of the old exactions of special work from the employed villein. A mere altering of the wage scale appropriates to the great noble whatever share of the product he feels he may safely demand for himself. Thus "week-work," the three or four days' toil in each week which the villein had to give unrecompensed to the lord, and "boon-work," the several days of extra toil three or four times a year, will never be revived. Even the company store, the modern form of feudal exaction, will in time be given up, for at best it is but a clumsy and offensive makeshift, and defter and less irritating means are at hand for reaching the same result. . . .

The raw materials gathered, the scene of operations shifts from the country to the cities and great towns. But many of the latter will lose, during the transition period [of society] a considerable part of their greatness, from the shutting up of needless factories and the concentration of production in the larger workshops. There will thus be large displacements of labor, and for a time a wide extension of suffering. Popular discontent will naturally follow, and it will be fomented, to some extent, by agitation; but the agitation will be guarded in expression and action, and it will be relatively barren of result. The possible danger therefrom will have been provided against, and a host of economists,

preachers and editors will be ready to show indisputably that the evolution taking place is for the best interests of all; that it follows a "natural and inevitable law;" that those who have been thrown out of work have only their own incompetency to blame; that all who really want work can get it, and that any interference with the prevailing *régime* will be sure to bring on a panic, which will only make matters worse. Hearing this, the multitude will hesitatingly acquiesce and thereupon subside; and though occasionally a radical journal or a radical agitator will counsel revolt, the mass will remain quiescent. Gradually, too, by one method or another, sometimes by the direct action of the nobility, the greater part of the displaced workers will find some means of getting bread, while those who cannot will be eliminated from the struggle and cease to be a potential factor for trouble.

In its general aspects shop industry will be carried on much as now. Only the shops will be very much larger, the individual and total output will be greater, the unit cost of production will be lessened. Wages and hours will for a time continue on something like the present level; but, despite the persistence of the unions, no considerable gains in behalf of labor are to be expected. . . .

Practically all industry will be regulated in terms of wages, and the *entrepreneurs*, who will then have become the chief salaried officers of the nobles, will calculate to a hair the needful production for each year. Waste and other losses will thus be reduced to a minimum. A vast scheme of exact systematization will have taken the place of the old free competition, and industry will be carried on as by clockwork.

Gradually a change will take place in the aspirations and conduct of the younger generations. Heretofore there has

been at least some degree of freedom of choice in determining one's occupation, however much that freedom has been curtailed by actual economic conditions. But with the settling of industrial processes comes more and more constraint. The dream of the children of the farms to escape from their drudgery by migrating to the city, and from the stepping stone of a clerical place at \$3 a week to rise to affluence, will be given over, and they will follow the footsteps of their fathers. A like fixity of condition will be observed in the cities, and the sons of clerks and of mechanics and of day laborers will tend to accept their environment of birth and training and abide by it. It is a phenomenon observable in all countries where the economic pressure is severe, and it is certain to obtain in feudal America.

The sub-tenants and the small-unit producers and distributors will be confined within smaller and smaller limits, while the foremen, the superintendents and the *entrepreneurs* of the workshops will attain to greater power and recompense. But the chief glory of the new *régime*, next to that of the nobles, will be that of the class of courtiers and court-ages. Theirs, in a sense, will be the most important function in the state—"to justify the ways of God [and the nobility] to man." Two divisions of the courtier class, however, will find life rather a burdensome travail. They are the judges and the politicians. Holding their places at once by popular election and by the grace of the barons, they will be fated to a constant see-saw of conflicting obligations. They must, in some measure, satisfy the demands of the multitude, and yet, on the other hand, they must obey the commands from above.

The outlines of the present state loom but feebly through the intricate network of the new system. The nobles will have

attained to complete power, and the motive and operation of government will have become simply the registering and administering of their collective will. And yet the state will continue very much as now, just as the form and name of the Roman Republic continued under Augustus. The present state machinery is admirably adapted for the subtle and extra-legal exertion of power by an autocracy; and while improvements to that end might unquestionably be made, the barons will hesitate to take action which will needlessly arouse popular suspicions. From petty constable to Supreme Court Justice the officials will understand, or be made to understand, the golden mean of their duties; and except for an occasional rascally Jacobin, whom it may for a time be difficult to suppress, they will be faithful and obey.

The manorial courts, with powers exercised by the local lords, will not, as a rule, be restored. Probably the "court baron," for determining tenantry and wage questions, will be revived. It may even come as a natural outgrowth of the present conciliation boards, with a successor of the Committee of Thirty-six as a sort of general court baron for the nation. But the "court leet," the manorial institution for punishing misdemeanors, wherein the baron holds his powers by special grant from the central authority of the state, we shall never know again. It is far simpler and will be less disturbing to the popular mind to leave in existence the present courts so long as the baron can dictate the general policy of justice.

Armed force will, of course, be employed to overawe the discontented and to quiet unnecessary turbulence. Unlike the armed forces of the old feudalism, the nominal control will be that of the state; the soldiery will be regular and not irregular. . . . The militia of

our Benevolent Feudalism will be recruited, as now, mostly from the clerkly class; and it will be officered largely by the sons and nephews of the barons. But its actions will be tempered by a saner policy. Governed by those who have most to fear from popular exasperation, it will show a finer restraint.

A general view of the new society will present little of startling novelty. A person leaving this planet to-day and revisiting "the pale glimpses of the moon" when the new order is in full swing will from superficial observation see but few changes. *Alter et idem*—another, yet the same—he will say. Only by closer view will he mark the deepening and widening of channels along which the powerful currents of present tendencies are borne; only so will he note the effect of the more complete development of the mighty forces now at work.

Peace will be the main desideratum, and its cultivation will be the most honored science of the age. A happy blending of generosity and firmness will characterize all dealings with open discontent; but the prevention of discontent will be the prior study, to which the intellect and the energies of the nobles and their legates will be ever bent. To that end the teachings of the schools and colleges, the sermons, the editorials, the stump orations, and even the plays at the theaters will be skilfully and persuasively molded; and the questioning heart of the poor, which perpetually seeks some an-

swer to the painful riddle of the earth, will meet with a multitude of mollifying responses. These will be: From the churches, that discontent is the fruit of atheism, and that religion alone is a solace for earthly woe; from the colleges, that discontent is ignorant and irrational, since conditions have certainly bettered in the last one hundred years; from the newspapers, that discontent is anarchy; and from the stump orators that it is unpatriotic, since this nation is the greatest and most glorious that ever the sun shone upon. As of old, these reasons will for the time suffice; and against the possibility of recurrent questionings new apologetics will be skilfully formulated, to be put forth as occasion requires. On all sides will be observed a greater respect for power; and the former tendency toward rash and bitter criticism of the upper classes will decline.

This, then, in the rough, is our Benevolent Feudalism to-be. It is not precisely a Utopia, not an "island valley of Avilion;" and yet it has its commendable, even its fascinating features. "The empire is peace," shouted the partisans of Louis Napoleon; and a like cry, with an equal ardency of enthusiasm, will be uttered by the supporters of the new *régime*. Peace and stability will be its defensive arguments, and peace and stability it will probably bring. But tranquil or unquiet, whatever it may be, its triumph is assured; and existent forces are carrying us toward it with an ever accelerating speed.



Our age is proud of its tolerance in matters of belief. But there are two kinds of tolerance. The one is the easy sort which doesn't care enough about the matter to have any feeling. It has

never looked deep enough to realize how important the differences of belief really are. That tolerance is only another name for indifference and ignorance, and the fiercest intolerance which proceeds

from passion for the truth is noble by the side of it. The other kind of tolerance approximates the large patience of God. It has looked so deep that it has realized how great the unity of belief is even in divergence. It is humble

enough to mistrust its own infallibility, and has respect for the personality and thoughts of others. It values truth profoundly, but it also values freedom as the only safe road to the truth.—*Sunday School Times.*



The Government and the Vatican Again

By the Editor

IN THE February SENTINEL we called attention to rumors which had but then recently emanated from Rome to the effect that a representative of the American Government was soon to be accredited to the Vatican, and also the emphatic denial of the same which dispatches from Washington declared had been made by Government officials. But from what now appears it is evident that those rumors were not entirely without foundation.

While the Government is not to send to the Vatican a permanent representative, it appears now that it *is* to send to Rome—"to the Sovereign Pontiff"—a special commission. For upwards of a month past this has not only been printed in the newspapers, but seems to have been taken as a certainty by those mediums of public information which are not in the habit of giving credence to news that is not pretty well substantiated, and especially not to news of this sort. Several weeks ago *The Independent* expressed itself as being glad to be able to announce that the course urged by it some months ago as the one that should be taken in the settlement of the question of the friars and their possessions in the Philippines, would be taken by the Government, though "perhaps with a little hesitation, through fear of stirring up the prejudices of some whose antipathy to Rome

is as red as a cardinal's hat." This plan was the purchase and sale by the Government of the lands of the friars, and the sending by the Government of a commission to "headquarters" to negotiate concerning the matter "with the authority which controls the friars and their possessions"—the Pope and his advisers.

That the plans for the sending of this commission have been quite thoroughly perfected is apparent from the following which we quote from *The Independent's* editorial, which, as we have said, was published several weeks ago:

We are assured that Mr. Taft, Governor-General of the Philippines, will soon return to Manila by way of Rome, and will there confer and arrange for the purchase of the friars' lands. And it is reported on authority probably correct, although we do not vouch for it, that on this mission Mr. Taft will be assisted by Bishop O'Gorman, formerly of Washington Catholic University, and now of Sioux Falls, S. Dak., and Judge Smith, of San Francisco.

After due consideration with Mr. Taft himself, the President and the Secretary of War judged this to be the wisest course to be taken by them, and, in consequence, Mr. Taft will shortly after Easter leave for Rome to present the whole matter to the Sovereign Pontiff.

But this commission does not mean, of course, any establishment of a permanent legation. That would be impossible and quite inconsistent with our definite policy of a separation of church and state. . . . In this case we have to do with a business proposition, to

buy certain lands, and some other similar matters that we are concerned with to secure peace in the Philippines. The proper way is to go to headquarters and do business there; and the headquarters in this matter is Rome, which is on good terms with the United States, and wants a good government in the Philippines, and religious peace, and desires to know what we want there, and is able to control the religious orders and require them to do what is wise. . . .

It may relieve the apprehension of certain trembling souls to remember that Mr. Taft is about the last man who would be suspected of being the tool of "Jesuit" diplomacy.

It is very kind of *The Independent* to carefully point out that which it thinks will tend to relieve the apprehension of those "trembling souls" whose "antipathy to Rome is as red as a cardinal's hat," concerning the plan for which it assumes so much responsibility, and perhaps its attitude in this whole matter is very proper and very wise. But whether it be from fear or from antipathy, we fail to discover either the propriety or the wisdom of sending this commission to the Vatican. Whether Governor Taft be the tool of Jesuit diplomacy or not, and we have no idea that he is in the sense of knowingly carrying out papal plans and policies, this affair is a distinct knuckling of the Government to Rome. So-called Protestant journals may say what they please about the propriety of going to "headquarters" and transacting business there, and may laugh as much as they like at the "trembling souls" whose apprehension is thereby aroused, but the fact remains, nevertheless, that when the American Government sends a representative or a commission to the "Sovereign Pontiff" to negotiate concerning governmental business, or the business of any of its citizens or subjects, it takes a distinctly backward step. It ceases to occupy the position that it once did and takes a long step in the direction of the position of those nations which have al-

ways bowed more or less to the Papacy, and that are always ready to "kow-tow" to the "Sovereign Pontiff."

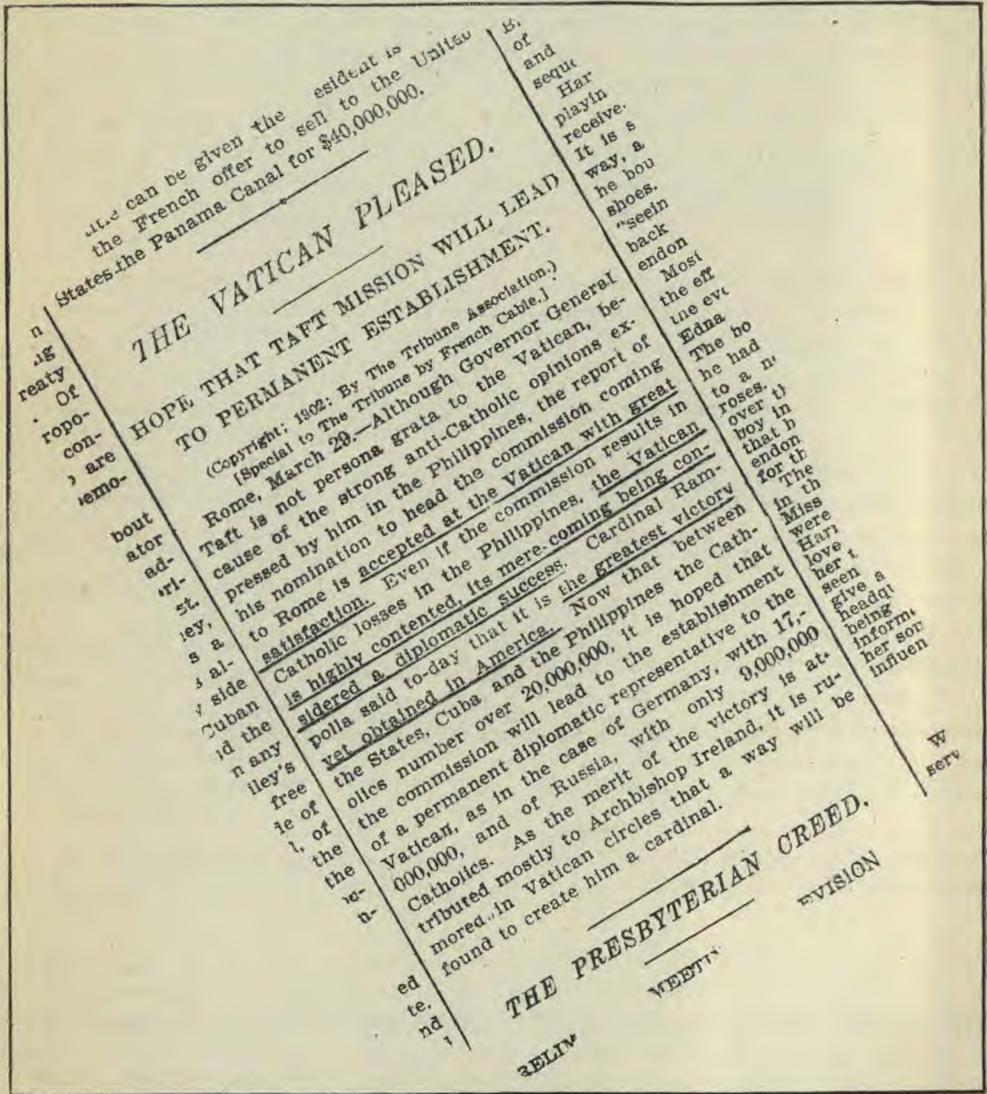
All this is thoroughly recognized by the Pope and his advisers in Rome, where the matter is looked upon as "the greatest victory yet obtained in America," as shown in the dispatch reproduced herewith from the columns of the *New York Tribune*. That this dispatch is not one of those specimens of "reckless and malicious misinformation" which Catholic journals claim are constantly coming from Rome to American newspapers, is shown by the letter from Rome of the special correspondent of the *Catholic Standard and Times*, of Philadelphia, written March 24 and published April 12. The *Standard and Times* headed the communication: "Commission Pleases Rome—Pope's Position Recognized," etc. We can only quote some of the significant statements:

The appointment of a commission to come to Rome for the discussion of a part of the Philippine question has not followed by mere chance upon all the news about the embassies and missions of congratulation and well-wishing which have been the most remarkable feature of the silver jubilee of the Pontificate. It is authoritatively stated in Rome that, coming in the course of the jubilee, the commission will offer to His Holiness the congratulations and best wishes of the American Administration for the occasion. And as no mission of any kind has ever before come from the United States to the Vatican, the fact and the very exceptional nature of the commission will make up for the shortcoming which was so glaring at the 3d of March. If the mission does not come in the full jubilee tide, it will yet, by reason of these two respects, be as if in time. Moreover, the jubilee is of a year's duration.

I have alluded to the exceptional nature of the commission. It has been well observed here that no greater compliment in this order could be paid to the Holy See than by deputation a mission composed of the Governor of the Philippines and of a Catholic bishop of the standing of Mgr. O'Gorman. . . .

Where the European press is right about this new phase of the Philippine question is in attesting the pleasure of the Roman court at the announcement of the appointment of

his policy, may be called, wherever he has intervened in a troubled country or an agitated situation. The record of his pontificate is one of settled peace given to each place as occasion



FACSIMILE OF DISPATCH ANNOUNCING THE VATICAN'S PLEASURE OVER "THE GREATEST VICTORY YET OBTAINED IN AMERICA."

the commissioners. It would be absurd to deny that the event not only comes as a sequel and crowning success of the jubilee or that it is one of the great successes of the reign of Leo XIII. He has established the "Pax Leonina," as the unvarying pacification, which is

has arisen. But in regard to the Philippines he has hitherto been obliged to carry out his pacific design against difficulties of a double order. The rational recognition of his position and his aims by the American Government, marking as it does the first relations of

the kind between Rome and Washington, is therefore as satisfactory to the Papal court as it is well inspired.

So in addition to constituting a "rational recognition of his [the Pope's] position and aims by the American Government," it is expected that this "very exceptional" commission will "make up for the shortcoming which was so glaring at the 3d of March!" This "glaring" "shortcoming" we are told in another portion of the letter was "the absence of every kind of American official participation in the congratulations." The correspondent says that now all kinds of explanations are being advanced as to why this was the case, one of them being "that the jubilee came as a surprise," and another "that the administration at Washington did not know of it in time." But now this terrible shortcoming, this frightful delinquency, is all to be remedied by the sending of this commission, which "comes as a sequel and crowning success of the jubilee," and constitutes "one of the great successes of the reign of Leo XIII."

In the same communication it is observed with reference to the object for which the commissioners are going to Rome:

They are coming to negotiate about a sale of the properties of the Church. Obviously they are not coming to negotiate about robbery, violence, or fraud. Their object is very different from that of Count Ponza di San Martino, the envoy of Victor Emmanuel, in September, 1870.

Yes, undoubtedly. It does not mean the stripping of the Papacy of any of her power or any of her property. When she says that there is to be no negotiation "about robbery, violence or fraud," she feels quite sure that she is to get the best of the bargain. When she is asked to surrender anything then the matter becomes one of "robbery, violence or fraud."

Now it is of interest to know what

the Government thinks of this matter. This dispatch from Washington, under date of April 13, is no doubt reliable on this point:

In administration circles in Washington there has been some amusement over the talk raised about the so-called mission to Rome. The facts are that Governor Taft has impressed strongly upon the President and the Secretary of War that the question of getting rid of the friars was of vital consequence to peace in the Philippines, and that to accomplish this it was necessary to deal directly with Rome. After much consideration it was decided that Governor Taft should stop at Rome on his way to the Philippines to consult with the Church authorities and to see if it would not be possible to come to some agreement in behalf of the Philippine government.

It was purely a business transaction. The United States Government is neither favorable nor hostile to any particular sect. It desires to treat all alike, with exact justice. It does not wish to do injustice to the friars by taking away their lands without compensation. On the other hand, it recognizes that, although the Christian Filipinos are practically all Roman Catholics, they are nevertheless a unit in demanding that the friars leave the islands. Governor Taft, better than any other man, could explain this state of things at Rome. It is believed if an honorable and satisfactory arrangement can be reached the result will be most beneficial to the islands, and that probably no other one thing could do so much good.

This does not change the status of the matter, and adds nothing to what has already been presented, except that the administration is amused at "the talk raised about the so-called mission," and that it regards the matter as "purely a business transaction."

Now, here is the condition or circumstances out of which this commission has grown: Something over 400,000 acres of the best land in the Philippines, 121,000 acres of which is in the province in which Manila is located, is held by the Catholic religious corporations—the Dominicans, the Augustinians, and the Recollets. How they came into posses-

sion of this land and the other property which they hold it is not necessary to discuss here. It is sufficient to say that when the Filipinos revolted against the Spanish rule it was chiefly for the purpose of getting rid of the intolerable burdens which the presence of the friars had brought upon them. And when the United States began war upon the Filipinos early in 1899 they had well-nigh accomplished the primary object of their revolt. The greater number of the friars had been driven from the islands, and nearly all from the parishes which they had occupied, and their lands had been confiscated by the constitution of the Philippine Republic. But under the Treaty of Paris the United States restored the lands to the friars, and they were once more free to return to their former parishes regardless of the wishes of the people. "This," says Mr. J. G. Schurman, president of the first Philippine Commission, "was a bitter pill for the Filipinos, who had taken up arms and shed their blood primarily with the object of expelling the friars and confiscating their property. The Treaty of Paris balked them of the dearest object of their rebellion!"

It is evident to all that the Filipinos can never be content so long as the friars continue to hold these vast estates, even though they are now without the special powers and privileges which they enjoyed under Spanish rule, and which were such a fruitful source of abuse and oppression. Those who have investigated the matter have come to the conclusion that the wisest thing to do is for the Government to buy the lands, divide the estates into small holdings, and sell them to individual Filipinos. And this plan the Government evidently intends to carry out. And out of this plan has grown this commission to Rome to negotiate with the Pope with regard to

purchasing the lands and "getting rid of the friars."

Why a commission needs to be sent to Rome with regard to this matter no one has yet explained. Its object is declared to be purely a business transaction. Certainly that is what the disposition of these lands should be, and nothing more. But we fail to discover anything like business in the sending of this commission to Rome. It is about as extraneous to the business in hand as would be an excursion to the North Pole. The seat of the difficulty is in the Philippines; there are the lands; there is the government of the Philippines, or the representatives of the government which governs the Philippines; and there are the friars, the religious corporations, the reputed proprietors of the lands. What more is needed for the transacting of business and the carrying out of the plan proposed? How is it that the headquarters with regard to this business happens to be in an entirely different part of the world—in Rome? Does the Pope hold the titles to the properties involved? We have seen no intimation of any such fact. But even if he does, it does not follow that a commission should be sent to him. He should send representatives to where his interests are involved. He has been delegating representatives to Washington, Havana, and Manila in the recent past. How is it that he is suddenly so helpless in this respect? Government does not chase up with a commission the citizen who fails to appear at the receipt of custom with his taxes; it simply puts his property up at public auction and leaves him to look after his own interests at his convenience. Why should any different practise be adopted with regard to these lands in the Philippines where public necessity requires a transfer of ownership? Has the Government not done enough in restoring these proper-

ties after they had once been confiscated? If the Pope, after being notified of the situation, does not care enough about the matter to send representatives to look after his interests and to represent him where the governing authority should do business, then he should be left to suffer the consequences; the lands should be taken possession of without his assistance.

But we do not believe the Pope has any legal title whatever in this property. He comes into this matter only by virtue of the fact that he is the ecclesiastical superior of the friars—the ecclesiastical, and not the legal, head of the corporations which claim the lands. With him in this capacity the Government can properly have nothing to do. *Yet it is evident that it is exactly in this capacity and no other that the Government is to deal with him in this matter.* And to do this is simply for the American Government to recognize and treat him as *Pope*—as “the Sovereign Pontiff,” indeed. *The Independent* and other prominent journals may regard this as very proper and very businesslike, but it will be a long time before they will be able to harmonize it with the honest principle of separation of church and state.

And so it “would be impossible and quite inconsistent with our definite policy of a separation of church and state” to establish a permanent legation at the Vatican! Now, honestly, wherein would it be inconsistent and why is it impossible? There is not a particle of difference in principle between the sending of this temporary commission and the establishment of a permanent legation, and if the “impossible” and the inconsistent can be done in the one case it can be done with equally as much ease in the other. All that is needful is for the “necessity” to arise. We are learning in these days that things which are “impossible” and

are inconsistent with fundamental principles are the things that are most likely to come to pass. If the idea were less prevalent that what is being done must be done, and that what should not be done just can't be done, there would be more probability of the proper and consistent thing being done. The idea that there can be no departure from republicanism because this is a Republic, and that there can be no violation of the principle of separation of church and state because that is “our definite policy,” are two of a kind, and both of them are too silly for consideration.

Rome is no doubt “on good terms with the United States,” and she will no doubt stay on good terms with the Government so long as the present drift of things continues. She should not be on any sort of terms with the Government, however, either good or bad, for this implies relations and negotiations between the two on a common basis—the recognition of the one by the other as a proper power with which to deal. It may be that Rome wants “good government in the Philippines, and religious peace,” but it is certain that she is not putting forth now, and never has, any prodigious efforts to bring it about. If she is so anxious on this point and has so much power in the matter in which is involved one of the greatest difficulties, why is it that she so calmly and patiently waits for a commission to be sent to negotiate with her in her lair, instead of sending her representatives to the seat of the difficulty?

The confession that a commission must be sent to Rome because she “is able to control the religious orders and require them to do what is wise,” is a confession that the United States is unable to govern the Philippines without the help of Rome. It is a distinct avowal that the United States is not sovereign in the Philippines, but that the sovereignty is

shared by a power in Rome, Italy. It is as much as to say that what the United States undertook to do in spite of the resistance of the Filipinos it is unable to do, or at least will not do, without the aid and assistance of the very power which was at the head of the religious orders of the Philippines when they perpetrated the abuses which drove the Filipinos to revolt! Did not Rome control the religious orders in the days of Spanish rule? Why did she not then "require them to do what was wise?" If she ever had any right to have anything to say in the rectifying of abuses in the Philippines, she has forfeited it by centuries of negligence and indifference. And it is safe to say that it is not sins of omission only which disqualify her as a participant in the government of the Philippines.

Notice the *personnel* of this governmental commission to the Vatican. We are assured by *The Independent* that Governor-General Taft cannot be suspected of being the tool of Jesuit diplomacy. Very well; let us turn to those who are to accompany him. Who is Judge Smith, of San Francisco? He is the man who last September informed the world, in an interview published in the *San Francisco Call*, that the friars were in no wise responsible for the obliteration of "the affection which should be held for them by the natives." He held that they had been an unmixed blessing to the islands, and in the same connection lauded the Jesuits to the skies. He may be a Jesuit, and he may not; it is certain that he is a very peculiar sort of a person to figure in a commission which has to do with the removing of abuses, which, if he was rightly reported, he evidently regards as no abuses at all. He may not be a tool of Jesuit diplomacy, either, but as between the Filipinos and the friars there can be no doubt as

to where he will stand. And who is the other member of the trio?—Bishop O'Gorman, formerly of the Catholic University in Washington! It strikes us that Bishop O'Gorman would be better suited to represent Rome in this matter than to represent the United States. It is to be hoped that no one is so simple as to suppose that he will not be the representative of the Papacy, though passing as the representative of the United States. The fact is he is now representing the Papacy in the matter. On April 10 he was in Washington and had a talk with Secretary Root at the War Department "with relation to the present and future status of the Church in the insular possessions, and particularly the questions which have arisen in connection with the acquisition of the lands belonging to the religious orders." The dispatch which contained this information stated that "there is no one else to speak to the authorities here on these questions except Bishop O'Gorman and Monsignor Sbarretti, the latter fresh from the Vatican." So Bishop O'Gorman will be a thorough "representative" of all sides of the question when he departs for Rome as a commissioner of the United States! But it is said he goes because he is so "thoroughly acquainted not only with Vatican etiquette, but with all the machinery by which the Vatican rules the Catholic world." Exactly; in other words, he is a thorough representative of the power to which he is sent to represent the United States! It appears, then, that not only is the Government going so far as to send a commission to negotiate with the "Sovereign Pontiff," but it is going to make sure that while the negotiations are in progress all the etiquette of the Vatican will be observed. We wonder if this will include kneeling before "His Holiness," and the traditional kissing of the toe? Well, it is proper

that representatives and commissions should observe the etiquette of the courts to which they are sent. But still that does not sufficiently explain to us the strong papal complexion of this commission.

The information which was sent out from Washington on April 10 emphasizes what we have already said with regard to the needlessness of sending a commission to the Vatican. Here is "Monsignor" Sbaretti, "fresh from the Vatican," and with him is Bishop O'Gorman who seems to have no difficulty in representing the Papacy. Why, then, send a commission to Rome when the Pope has representatives already in Washington? If "Monsignor" Sbaretti was competent to represent the Pope at Havana when "the Church" was being straightened out in Cuba, and also to

represent him at Manila until within a few months ago, why is it that he cannot represent the Pope now? The plain fact is that the Papacy is amply able to have herself represented anywhere in the world, and she is represented whenever she wants to be; but when she can score such a victory as to have the American Government send a special commission to the Vatican assuredly she will not spoil it by deputing a commission of her own. The Papacy is exceedingly wise in her time, and when she can play the mountain to Mohammed she does not allow the opportunity to pass, especially when Mohammed happens to be the United States of America—the nation which once held aloft the Protestant and republican principles of the absolute separation of church and state and the inalienable rights of the individual.



"Stronger Government"

(John Shillady in Detroit (Mich.) Sunday News-Tribune)

HON. LESLIE M. SHAW, in a recently published article in *The Sunday News-Tribune*, has called attention to a fact which cannot have escaped the most casual student of American history. Certain it is that the tendency has been "always toward a stronger government." What is likely to escape the unwar reader is the subtle deception that lurks in the word "stronger." The occasional thinker sees his "stronger government" in a panorama surrounded by the "governments" of Great Britain, France, Germany, and Russia, and in that phrase "stronger" he sees a sweet morsel that tickles the palate and causes the flush of victory to mount to his brow. The outer splendor of a strong government, its army and navy, appeal to his imagina-

tion, and guided by his emotions, he rises on a wave of patriotic fervor, and too often never again reaches *terra firma*. In the victories of its navy, away across the sea, he feels an exultation that seems not to be dulled by the fact that he has no quarrel with the people "across the way."

The discerning person looks beyond the outward show and asks of the resplendent one—the "stronger government"—"who and what art thou, from whence thy strength, upon what food dost thou feed?"

Putting the query to History, we learn that "strong governments" are no new thing, nor peculiar to America, nor to any race or time. The old civilizations that have passed away and left only splendid ruins, built under the guidance

of "strong governments," by enslaved laborers, teach a lesson to any who care to learn.

Of old "strong governments" have not stayed the decay of peoples nor lightened the burden of the toilers. At the period of her decline and overthrow imperial Rome had spread her eagles over nearly all the civilized world, as civilization was then defined. The centralizing tendency had triumphed, but in its triumph the whole structure fell.

The citizen of a republic habitually regards government from the standpoint of a voter, thinking of himself as a part of the governing machinery. He overlooks the most important truth—that he is a subject all of the time, a ruler only part of the time, *i.e.*, when in the majority.

As strong governments are not peculiar to any country, neither is the "national trend toward a stronger government" an American phenomenon, merely. It is a universal tendency inhering in the nature of government. This never ceasing movement, strengthening, widening, deepening, centralizing of power, is a fact which no thorough-going analysis of the subject can escape or ignore. Everywhere, and at all times, in the dynasties of Babylon and Egypt, in classic Greece, autocratic Russia or "democratic" America, the ruling power, whether king, emperor or elected persons, has sought

to extend its sway. The world has yet to see any government voluntarily curtailing its authority or power over its subjects or citizens.

A written constitution is a pledge that the majority will rule in accordance with the express provisions of the instrument. In so far as it goes it is a protection of the minority against the tyranny of the majority. Self-defense must render the minority strict constructionists.

It is a significant fact that the clamor of the constitution being outworn is a cry raised by those who desire and have accomplished the extension of the power of the central authority. The success already attendant on the strengthening of the central government, in disregard of what seems the plain provisions of the constitution, as evidenced by the Porto Rican and Cuban cases, may serve as a beacon to those who can read the lesson that passing events have to teach. Power knows no law save its own limitations.

Mr. Shaw points to "that supreme court of arms from which there is no appeal," to sustain his contention that the centralizing tendency is the will of God. A condition which has for its justification the power of arms cannot prove a permanent right to be, save as it may be upheld by the same brute force that gave it birth. That this is an evidence of a higher civilization may be doubted.



Capacity for independent self-government does not necessarily mean capacity like ours to administer a commonwealth like ours, but merely capacity of some sort to maintain peace and order, to uphold law, and to fulfil international obligations.—*President J. G. Schurman.*



Theology is religious truth treated

anatomically. We never commenced to call a religious truth theology till the blood that is in it began to coagulate. Just as we never think of anatomy till it is a dead body we are handling. Theology is experience frozen over. Or, speaking chemically, theology is the precipitate from old religious passion.—*Dr. C. H. Parkhurst.*

The Course of Empire

By the Editor

CERTAIN prominent journals have formed the custom of heading certain portions of news as "The Course of Congress," "The Course of the President," etc. There is another heading modeled on this order that they might appropriately employ in connection with other news which they are constantly publishing—the heading which appears over this article. Inasmuch as we have said very little for several months regarding happenings and developments which may appropriately be included under this heading, we will devote a little attention to them in this issue, for they are important.

Just four years ago the 21st of last month the United States entered upon war with Spain, declaring to the world its intention to relieve the desperate condition which Spanish tyranny had produced in Cuba, and, disclaiming all the ambition of conquest, solemnly resolved to leave the control and government of the island to its people when peace was established thereon. Spain was defeated and driven from the island, and by the treaty formulated at Paris at the conclusion of the war she was obliged to relinquish to the United States the island of Porto Rico and the Philippine archipelago, where a vigorous revolt against the Spanish rule was in progress on the part of the more civilized Filipinos.

No sooner had it become certain that the fortunes of war were to place the Philippines in the hands of the United States, so far as Spain was concerned, than a certain delirium swept over this country. Journals that have since professed to regard the term as little less than treason against the nation, then in

flaming headlines and enthusiastic editorials announced the coming of a great "American Empire" and descanted at length upon the glories thereof. Orators joined in the strain, and soon the nation was inoculated with the virus of imperialism. Then as never before the maxims and principles which constitute the foundation, the sheet-anchor, of American republicanism, were decried, hawked at, ridiculed, sophisticated, and openly denounced by men who owe to them the liberty they enjoy. For the first time since the days of the defenders of slavery the old threadbare arguments, doctrines and subtleties which have been the stock in trade of the oppressors of men from the dawn of history were heard throughout the length and breadth of the country. Preachers and politicians alike joined in writing the epitaph of the Declaration of Independence and the doctrine of the inalienable rights of man, and publicists employed their tongues and their pens in the ignoble task of constructing a justification for conquest and the domination of nation over nation in the name of liberty, humanity, and the progress of civilization! Every argument from that of holding aloft chunks of gold that had been found in the soil of the new possessions to that of the pious appeal to the mysterious and inscrutable ways of destiny and Providence, was used in the effort to justify the United States in forsaking her moorings of the equality and inalienable rights of men and launching upon the sea of expediency and imperialism. It is true that conspicuous and noble protests were made and are still being made, but, as a rule, these were ridiculed and brushed aside, and now the

course of the nation is far more that of empire than it is of republicanism.

In due time came the decisions of the Supreme Court maintaining the right which had already been assumed by the executive and legislative branches of the Government to rule dependencies as colonies outside of the Constitution and without regard to the wishes of the people concerned. The colonies were declared to be "appurtenant to" the United States—belonging to it but not being a part of it. Thus was established what some of the foremost organs of imperialism have not hesitated to admit—the distinction "between *subjects* of the United States and *citizens* of the United States."

These decisions applied to Porto Rico and the Philippines. With Cuba the case was different. She must have her independence, or at least the semblance of independence. The pledge that had been made to the world could not be set aside, although there were not wanting those who were perfectly willing to have that done. On the first of January, 1899, Spain evacuated Cuba, and her military forces were superseded by those of the United States, which have been in control of the island ever since. Order has been established in the mean time, and undoubtedly much good in the way of public improvements, the establishment of schools, and the eradication of disease-producing conditions has been accomplished. Now orders have been issued for the withdrawal of nearly all the United States forces on the 20th of the present month, when the government of the island is to be turned over to the administration to which it has been committed by the Cuban people.

But notwithstanding the fact that it is being declared that this marks the complete and honorable fulfilment of the pledge made by the United States, and the grateful words which have been ut-

tered in appreciation of the course of the United States by the president-elect of Cuba, the fact remains, and it cannot be disguised, that Cuba is a dependency of the United States, and will continue to be such. Cuba is not independent; her government has not been left to her people. These words of the Brooklyn *Eagle* are literally true, and are recognized as the truth by all who look at the matter impartially:

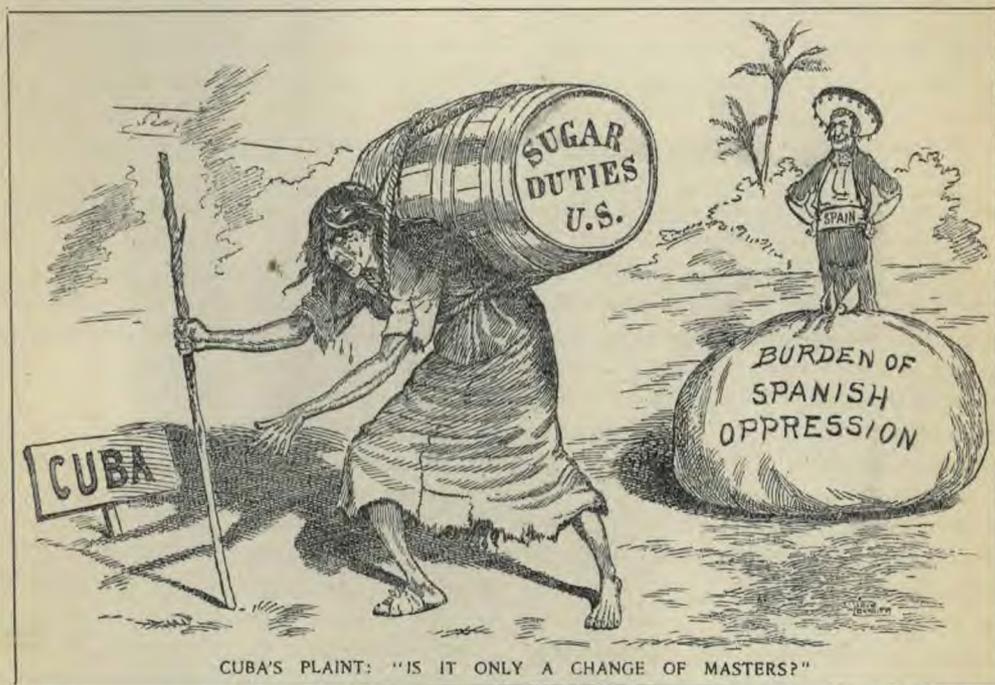
The Teller resolution disclaimed any intention to exercise jurisdiction or control, but the people of the United States know that the disclaimer has since become a comedy, if not a farce. With or without the consent of the Cubans, it has been suspended—it is not material to ask which. For more than three years the island has been in charge of the War Department. Order has been restored and contagion stamped out. . . . What has been done, as far as it goes, has been admirably done, which is a tribute to the capacity for administration. But freedom in the sense of independence has been withheld. It has neither been granted nor is it in prospect. We are not to leave the government and future of the island to its people. We have held in reserve rights usually arrogated unto themselves by sovereigns. We are retaining jurisdiction and control. We have reserved the prerogatives of a guardian.

All this is the case by virtue of the famous Platt Amendment which the United States forced the Cuban Constitutional Convention to incorporate in the organic law of the new republic. Under this act the United States retains the right to intervene in the affairs of Cuba and take possession of her government whenever it deems it necessary. This has been justified on the ground that it was necessary in order for the United States to adequately carry out its pledge to leave the government of the island to its people! This act also reserves to the United States the right to prevent the issuing of bonds and the borrowing of money beyond a certain amount, and also limits Cuba's power in the making of

treaties with foreign nations. It also reserves to the United States the right to maintain in Cuba coaling stations and naval bases with the choice of locations, and also denies to Cuba the possession of the Isle of Pines. In short, in her supreme and organic law Cuba has been made a dependency of and subject to the United States.

And circumstances have so come about that those who might be disposed to deny

tion of honor and expediency to pass commercial measures in the interest of her [Cuba's] material well-being;" when General Wood speaks of "the considerations of honor and justice toward a little nation that is virtually our ward;" and a thousand others declare the same things, it means that what we have said above is true—that Cuba is not an independent power. It is because she is not independent and her dependent state is due to the



—New York Tribune.

this fact, and in fact many who did deny it when the Platt Amendment was being discussed, are now obliged to admit it and are among the loudest in declaring the fact. For what means all this discussion about tariff concessions to Cuban sugar and other products, which has been agitating the country for months past, if not that Cuba is the ward and dependency of this country? When the President in his message to Congress last December said "we are bound by every considera-

withholding of sovereignty by the United States, that she has claims upon this nation which cannot be ignored. And thus has arisen this matter of tariff concessions which Congress has dilly-dallied over all winter in spite of the almost unanimous demand of the whole country for immediate action. And at last it proposes a reduction of only 20 per cent., when it is the unanimous verdict of all who know that anything less than a 50-per-cent. reduction of the duties on Cu-

ban products will be wholly inadequate to the needs of the situation.

Under present conditions, which, unless all signs fail, will be perpetuated by the United States, the island is worse off commercially than under Spain. Spain did treat Cuba as having some legitimate claims upon her, even if only those of a ward, but the United States insists on, at one and the same moment, holding her off as a foreign country and denying to her the powers of a sovereign state. Unless industrial relief comes it will be impossible for her to make a success politically, and she will simply be driven by the selfishness of the power which makes high-sounding boasts of being her liberator, to either rebel as she did against Spain, or else give up even the appearance of independence and intercede for admission to the Union. This is declared in plain terms to-day by those who have been declaring all along that the United States just couldn't do anything but make the Cubans and all other people free and happy. One of the great journals which argued for imperialism as strenuously as any at first, and which has by no means forsaken it now, is the *New York Tribune*, but it sees the force of the present situation with regard to Cuba, as is shown by the cartoon which we reproduce herewith. To be accurate there should be piled upon the barrel of "sugar duties" several other burdens to represent the incumbrances of the Platt Amendment, and the United States should be represented as looking on with utter unconcern.

This matter of tariffs strikes the very heart of the whole matter of imperialism. There is a great deal of truth in the saying that government is the power to tax. After all the power to levy and collect taxes is the only power to which imperialism aspires, and it is through this avenue that its sway is felt throughout

the length and breadth of its dominions. Not by the policing of the world, but by the levying and collecting of taxes, did the sovereignty of Rome extend throughout the earth. "And it came to pass in those days that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus that all the world should be taxed. And *all* went to be taxed, every-one into his own city." Thousands of people who responded to this decree probably had never seen the Roman eagles, but the Roman sovereignty was exerted upon them through this taxation, and so long as they yielded to it in this form they felt it in no other way. Oppressive government means in most cases oppressive taxation, and other forms of oppression seldom come but as accessories to this. Nations govern colonies, provinces, and dependencies, and keep them in subjection not for the pleasure there is in it, not for the glory, not for the privilege of maintaining police and armies on foreign soil, but for the sake of the money, the revenue, that there is in it. No nation on earth would go to any trouble or any expense to give "good government" to a distant people unless it expected, sooner or later, to reap, with interest, what it had sown in cold cash. And the desire to get money quick and in great quantities, both on the part of the government and the individuals who are placed by it in positions where they can rob and plunder with impunity, is the chief cause of the oppression of dependencies.

And the United States gives no promise of being unlike other nations in this respect. On this important point she has already had opportunity to show her hand both with regard to Cuba and the Philippines, and in both instances she has shown unmistakably that it is the genius of imperialism and not that of liberty and generosity that is directing

her in the governing of these dependencies. Instead of giving to the Philippines the 75-per-cent. tariff reduction that was advised and urged by Mr. J. G. Schurman and many others, and which justice evidently required, Congress gave only a 25-per-cent. reduction! The attempt was made to mollify this action by providing that the revenues collected on the Philippine imports coming into this country should be turned "into the Philippine treasury to be used by the Philippine government for the benefit of the Philippine people"—the same old dodge of George III. with regard to the American colonies. The Filipinos need help now, and it is no consolation to them to be told that twenty-five, fifty or a hundred years hence they will have public roads, buildings, etc., as a reimbursement for the snatching of bread from their mouths and clothes from their backs to-day.

The devious ways in which the Filipinos will be reimbursed for the revenues now wrung from them is suggested strongly by one of the first "improvements" contemplated by the Taft Commission. We have it on unimpeachable authority that it is proposed to build a railroad fifty-five miles in length for no other purpose, or at least there is no other necessity which warrants its construction, than to enable the American officials to go backwards and forwards from the coast to the mountains for their health, it being proposed to have a sanitarium and recuperative resort on the highlands of Benguet. Mr. J. G. Schurman well says: "I hold that the American authorities have no right to vote Philippine money or credit for this object without the consent of the representatives of the Philippine people." Of course this may be said to be an exception, but those who doubt that it indicates what will be the general tendency

of things will some day have their doubts dispelled.

We have already described the case of Cuba. It is admitted and declared on all sides that it is the bounden duty of this nation to take off the tariff on her products coming into this country. But notwithstanding the almost universal demand for this, the plain words of the President recommending immediate action in the matter, and the fact that such concessions were virtually pledged a year ago when the Cuban Constitutional Convention reluctantly yielded to the Platt Amendment, Congress has so far done nothing, and what it proposes to do at last is universally declared to be scarcely more than nothing. Only a 20-per-cent. reduction is to be made, and that is limited to only one crop! And in addition to that more conditions of the Platt Amendment variety are saddled upon this niggardly grant.

And why has not more been done, and done long ago? Ah! it might not be to our interest! It might cause us to lose a dollar or two. We are a mighty generous nation as far as talking goes; as far as blatant boasting goes there is not and never has been on earth any nation that could go further in befriending and liberating the helpless and the oppressed. But then when it comes down to practical affairs we want it understood that our own interests are first and foremost. We'll not surrender an iota of sovereignty nor give up a dollar, but nevertheless we are the most magnanimous nation that ever the sun shown upon! We should prefer to quote this language, but inasmuch as it represents actions as well as words, we must leave it as it is.

This matter of the Cuban tariff demonstrates that it is a great deal easier to talk about being the friend and liberator of the oppressed than to *be* it. It shows that boasting of doing things and doing

them are two separate things entirely. Nations may work themselves into a frenzy of rapture over their boundless generosity, benevolence and love of liberty, humanity, etc., while they are conquering and extending their sovereignty over another people, but when it comes to relinquishing any of that sovereignty or releasing the people from the heavy burdens of taxation, a change comes over the spirit of their dream, and they are astonished that anybody should think they are going to deny themselves for anybody else. The most insignificant of "home" interests will always outweigh the most far-reaching and vital interests of the dependent people. And this fact, which embodies exactly what imperialism is, the American people have for several months had ample opportunity to see demonstrated in the conspicuous object-lesson that has been before them. The way to avoid the tyranny of "home" interests over the home interests of other peoples is to quit trying to subject one nation to the rule of another, for so long as this is attempted the interests of the dependent people will be sacrificed always. The demand of the most obscure fraction of *citizens* will always be hearkened to in preference to the pleas of millions of *subjects*. The only cure is to quit the *subject* business.

We had meant to consider in this article the case of the Philippines, regarding which there is a great deal that might be said, but we shall have to be brief. Regarding the brutal barbarities which the country now *knows* have been long practised by the American soldiers in the Philippines, we will speak later.

The war in the Philippines, which has now been going on for more than three years, and which is a war of criminal aggression if there can be such a thing in the sense in which President McKinley once used the term (and there can be),

is not over, notwithstanding the periodical declarations to the contrary, except that it is over *in* the Philippines and it is likely to remain over *in* them for some time to come. General Chaffee has declared with reference to the people of Luzon, the Visayas, and Mindanao that they "are all traitors to American sovereignty," which means that they refuse to give up the hope of national independence. Mr. J. G. Schurman, who ought to know, declares that the sentiment of nationality and independence is ineradicable in the Filipinos, and that these three years of war has only developed and strengthened it. He says there cannot be found "in all the islands a single Filipino who favors colonial dependence upon the United States." They want independence or admission into the Union, and unless they have one or the other the policy of forcible subjugation can never be discontinued. But they will not be allowed to come into the Union, and the Government of the United States continues now, as it has from the beginning, to refuse to give them any encouragement whatever for independence, unless that rather ambiguous passage in the President's message which expresses the hope of making "them fit for self-government after the fashion of really free nations," is something of that sort. In the light of Dr. Lyman Abbott's exposition of this expression, and his expositions have coincided quite thoroughly with the course of the Government so far, it will take about nine hundred and ninety-nine years for the Filipinos to reach the place where they will be granted their independence, for the Doctor goes back to the time of William the Conqueror to find the beginning of the "fitting" process which made America "fit" for independence.

But certain it is that the Government

still insists upon the unconditional submission of the Filipinos. A bill is being drafted in Congress for the establishment of civil government over the Philippines, and so far as the Filipinos or anybody else can learn of the intentions and purposes of those who will establish and control this government, it may be intended to continue it forever. Mr. Charles Denby, who is no anti-imperialist himself, recently said: "No man who knows anything about the Philippines doubts that if Congress were to declare to-day that the Philippines shall be independent as soon as their people are fit to maintain and carry on an independent government, the troubles in that distracted region would cease to-morrow." If this be true, and there is no reason to doubt it, then it is impossible to escape the conclusion that the Government of the United States intends nothing else but the permanent subjection of the Filipinos to its authority. And this not only makes the United States responsible for all the war and devastation in the Philippines during the past three years, but leaves it absolutely without excuse.

Already there has commenced with regard to the government of the Philippines what strongly suggests the experience of England in her first half century or more of the government of India. Abuses and entanglements in the administration have arisen, and the inevitable, and what will prove the everlasting, unless corruption, injustice, and outrages are allowed to go on without them, inquiries and investigations into the conduct of the administration have begun. And some of the revelations already brought out by this Senatorial investigation have aroused the country. So long as the United States attempts to govern the Philippines as she now proposes to govern them there will be abuses to investigate. Not only is this special

inquiry going on, but the greater portion of the time of Congress during the present session has been consumed in considering not the business of the United States, but the business of other peoples which the United States has assumed. This will not work well very long.

One of the worst features of this whole drift away from American principles in the last few years has been the intolerance of those who endorsed it toward those who did not. The idea seems to have gained considerable currency that the time is past when a man can freely hold and utter his opinion in this country. He who dares to differ from those who have thrown the Declaration of Independence to the winds is freely termed a traitor and accused of disloyalty to the Government. The idea seems to prevail that eternal principles are nothing, and that some expedient make-shift that violates them is everything. A prominent general of the army has gone about over this country declaring in so many words that those who denied the justice of what was being done in the Philippines ought to be hung, and another prominent general has declared that if Mr. J. G. Schurman had been in the Philippines when he made his recent very judicial and statesman-like address on Philippine affairs, that he would have been court-martialed, and probably shot! We are glad to present in this connection some words from Mr. Schurman with reference to this abominable and despotic spirit which assumes that men are not to be allowed to speak their convictions. Mr. Schurman was the president of the first Philippine Commission and he is by no means a rabid anti-imperialist. But the delirium of imperialism which has swept over the country has not blinded him to the ideas and principles which are the bulwark alike of order and of liberty. In a recent magazine article he says:

The Philippine question is one of the most difficult, and in its consequences far-reaching, that has ever come before the American people. In gravity and political pregnancy it yields, I suppose, among all our national issues, to slavery alone. It is of supreme importance, therefore, that the American people should ascertain the facts, understand the material considerations and the moral and political principles involved, weigh the consequences both to ourselves and the Filipinos of the different lines of policy proposed, and endeavor to reach some conclusion in regard to what it is right and expedient for us to do in the premises. But for this all-important function of education we are dependent almost entirely upon agitation and discussion.

When, therefore, I hear men in these opening years of the new century reprobate discussion of the greatest of public affairs, when even civil and military officials, in spite of the assurance of the Government that the pacification of the Philippines is now practically complete, conjure their fellow-citizens to hold their tongues and swallow a Philippine policy of us and silence, I feel that, however brave and patriotic these spokesmen may be, they are champions of a new faith which is treason to democracy, and which, if it ever prevailed, would be death to the American Republic. Even if free speech and unlimited discussion in the United States had the effect throughout all the Philippine archipelago of rendering the natives dissatisfied with our present military and semi-military government, and inspired them with the love and hope of liberty and independence, so that larger armies would be needed to keep them in colonial subjection—that, aye and more than that, would be preferable, and infinitely preferable to our renunciation of the principle of free speech, of the sovereignty of public opinion, of government of the people, for the people, and by the people, which is the soul and glory of our Republic.

To attack or belittle popular government, to decry free speech and discussion by which it lives and acts, is to plunge the sword into our mother's bosom because the outgoings of her heart of charity render some remote ward too hopeful and independent to suit our temporary convenience. We can live without the Philippines, but the Republic cannot endure without free discussion. The people have a right to talk and will talk, whatever their servants, civil or military, may choose to say about it. Had these servants of the sovereign people, who

now pose as masters, more wisdom and sagacity, they would perceive that in a free republic it is only a policy of despair which would hide behind a conspiracy of silence.

In this connection we must mention the "sedition" law which went into effect in the Philippines last November. It forbids under heavy penalties of fines and imprisonment every word and act in favor of Philippine independence, and we are not sure but every thought, for a fine of \$2,000 or imprisonment not exceeding two years is the penalty incurred by any one who knows of any of the "unlawful" things forbidden and fails to make them known. Here is a section of this law which leads the *New York Evening Post* to the very natural and suggestive interrogatories: "In what way does this Philippine policy differ from the oppression of Russia in Finland, or that of Turkey in Armenia? was there any law of King George III. as arbitrary or as hard upon his American colonists when they revolted as this?":

Sec. 10. Until it has been officially proclaimed that a state of war or insurrection against the authority or sovereignty of the United States no longer exists in the Philippine Islands, it shall be unlawful for any person to advocate orally or by writing or printing, or like methods, the independence of the Philippine Islands or their separation from the United States, whether by *peaceable* or forcible means, or to print, publish, or circulate any handbill, newspaper, or other publication, advocating such independence or separation. Any person violating the provisions of this section shall be punished by a fine of not exceeding \$2,000 and imprisonment not exceeding one year.

At this writing editors of prominent newspapers in Manila are under arrest, charged with sedition, because they have published things displeasing to the authorities. The *Chicago Record-Herald* says that "the liberty of the press, with accountability for its abuse, is ruthlessly violated by the military authorities in the

Philippines in wanton defiance of the first principle of American law."

Notwithstanding the fact that during the last presidential campaign the idea was strenuously and assiduously inculcated in this country that the Filipinos were about the same sort of savages as the Apache Indians and their leaders about the same sort of bloodthirsty wretches as Geronimo himself when he was on the warpath, it is safe to say that now no one who cares anything for the truth would make any such representations. Evidently there are some desperate and bloodthirsty characters in the Philippines, and there are no doubt some savages, but the great body of the people on the islands where the insurrection has been carried on longest and strongest are not savages by any means. The weight of evidence goes to show that if there is any difference they are intellectually in advance of the Cubans. "They have a high appreciation of education and a strong desire to have their children instructed." Peculiar Apaches, these. And among them they have many highly educated men, who, says Mr. J. G. Schurman, "are the equals of the men one meets in similar vocations—law, medicine, business, etc.—in Europe or America." The educated Filipinos, he says, "though constituting a minority, are far more numerous than is generally supposed, and are scattered all over the archipelago," and he bears the strongest testimony "to the high range of their in-

telligence, and not only to their intellectual training, but also to their social refinement, as well as to the grace and charm of their personal character." And in concluding this article here it may be appropriate to quote some verses written for his countrymen in his last hours by the young Filipino poet, Jose Rizal, who was shot by the Spaniards on the 30th of December, 1896, on the false charge of inciting an insurrection in Manila. It will be noticed that the language is very good and the sentiments quite high for a savage:

Farewell, adored Fatherland; our Eden lost,
farewell;
Farewell, O sun's loved region, pearl of the
eastern sea;
Gladly I die for thy dear sake; yea, thou
knowest well,
Were my sad life more radiant far than mortal
tongue could tell,
Yet would I give it gladly, joyously for thee!
Pray for those who died alone, betrayed in
wretchedness;
For those who suffered for thy sake torments
and misery;
For broken hearts of mothers, who weep in
bitterness;
For widows, tortured captives, orphans in deep
distress;
And pray for thy dear self, that thou may'st
finally be free!

And the hope of these last words is evidently the hope that will never die in the hearts of the countrymen of Rizal, notwithstanding the fact that it is now the United States instead of Spain which seeks to crush it.



The American Federation of Catholic Societies has established permanent headquarters at Cincinnati, Ohio, where the national executive committee will have its office and conduct its work. The purpose of this organization is to influence legislation in behalf of Catholic claims

and demands, to bring to bear upon legislators, both State and national, the combined influence of the Catholic population. It has been so stated by the founders of the organization, though not in so many words. In this way, from one central office, the whole weight of Cath-

olicism in this country can be thrown for or against any measure which they may demand or denounce. With Protestantism forsaking its principles, and practically apologizing for the very things against which its founders protested, it is not difficult to see the tremendous possibilities before the Catholic Federation. The things which it demands of the legislators will be granted, and continue to be granted, until every Protestant and republican principle has been plucked out of the Government. This is no dream. Those principles are already being plucked up at a rate that must astonish even the ones who do the plucking. The establishment of the American Government was a revolt against the papal idea as well as against the monarchical idea. The great trend now is back again to-

ward those very ideas. The principles upon which that Government was founded are jeered out of court, and are openly attacked on every hand. The Declaration of Independence is now labeled "the old Philadelphia lie;" and the people do not protest. The principle of the separation of church and state is being fought more insidiously, if less openly; and thus is the ground cleared for the rapid and effective work of the federated Catholic societies. America was instrumental in giving to the papal power its "deadly wound." When that wound has been "healed," as it will be, it will be found that America has been a powerful influence in the healing. And Catholic federation and an allied apostate Protestantism will be the right and left arms of the influence that brings it about.—*Signs of the Times.*



“Christian?”

By Arthur Bates

“Christian?” No, no, not Christian!

How dare you that name give
To a nation vile and bloody,
Where only self does live?

“Christian?” No, no, not Christian,

While blood is in her hand;
Although she gained some islands,
Hers is not a Christian land.

“Gained them for to civilize;

Civilize by war,” you say.
Did she select Satan’s method?
Christ works another way.

Civilize is to make civil;

Can sword and shell and shot
Serve to make the living civil,
While the dead are left to rot?

Yes, it’s true she needs expansion;

To extend good deeds some;
But to all deeds bad and bloody,
Let swift extinction come.

“Christian?” Silence, lest the heathen,

From their sandy islands there,
Rebuke us with the living words
Of the Christ we *claim* to hear.



If the Filipinos are to learn to govern themselves in the manner of the really free nations, the sooner they get at it, the better.—*President J. G. Schurman.*

The more the people yield to oppression the more severely will they be dealt with for their cowardice by their oppressors.—*Saturday Evening Post.*

The Sentinel

OF CHRISTIAN LIBERTY

Set for the defense of human rights from the standpoint of Christianity. The only periodical in the United States wholly devoted to exposing and opposing the increasing movements and tendencies of the present time which either directly aim at or logically tend to the employment of the power of law in the domain of conscience, in subversion of the Christian and American principle of complete separation of church and state.

JOHN D. BRADLEY, Editor.

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L. A. SMITH, C. P. BOLLMAN.

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DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

We believe in the religion taught by Jesus Christ.

We believe in temperance, and regard the liquor traffic as a curse to society.

We believe in supporting civil government, and submitting to its authority.

We deny the right of any civil government to legislate on religious questions.

We believe it is the right and should be the privilege of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, or not to worship at all if he so chooses.

We also believe it to be our duty to use every lawful and honorable means to oppose and prevent religious legislation, to the end that every individual may enjoy the inestimable blessings of liberty.

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MAY, 1902.

No. 6

The patriot governs himself; the despot governs other people.

"The 'civil sabbath' is a holiday; the hallowed Sabbath is a holy day."

In the temple of liberty the rights of the weak are represented at the top, not at the bottom.

That cannot be Christian which ignores and denies human rights.

"Man rules between man and man; God rules between man and God."

The true foundation of a free government is not its laws, but the character of its citizens.

The world does not need men who can conquer nations, but men who can conquer themselves.

Governmental "business transactions" at the Vatican will prove very profitable for the Papacy.

"Leisure demanded by religious conviction is a blessing; idleness enforced by law is a curse which fosters all the lower vices."

The Sabbath is a day for spiritual exercise, not for physical rest. Neither of these things can be secured by compulsion.

There is no inconsistency in rising to imperial heights and bowing low before the "Sovereign Pontiff" at the same time. Imperialism and popery work hand in hand.

A "superior" race which attempts to lift an "inferior" race to its own level by subjugation and conquest is apt to reduce itself to the level of the "inferior" race during the process.

Without individual self-government neither individual nor national freedom can endure. Of all forms of government the republican form is most dependent upon the integrity of the individual.

The statement elsewhere that in 1898 the nation was inoculated with the virus of imperialism is not strictly correct. It was then that circumstances revealed and brought to the surface what had evidently been quietly at work for some time. Men would not repudiate the Declaration of Independence in a day; it required long preparation.



We are obliged to omit from this number the third instalment of "The Papal Theory of the Relation Between Church and State." It will appear in the next issue. When you have carefully read this number of THE SENTINEL you will realize more than ever the importance of the publication at this time of the matter being presented under that heading.



John Stuart Mill once said: "I am not aware that any community has a right to force another to be civilized." This observation is very pertinent to some present conditions. We are told that "barbarism has no rights that civilization is bound to respect." Well, civilization has some rights that "civilization" is bound to respect, and among those rights is the right not to be brutally forced anywhere or upon anything. There can be no barbarism greater than that "civilization" which forwards itself by means of the most barbaric of all forces—that of brute force.



Why is it that nations after becoming great and powerful lose their prestige and fall in irretrievable ruin? This question should profoundly interest every one who wishes to be a patriot, or to be a *man* or a *woman*. It is plainly answered elsewhere in this number in the article on "The Dissipation of Self-Government in the United States." The prime cause of national ruin, the real

cause of the fall of the great empires of the past—Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece and Rome—is something which should not be ignored by any human being, for it is first the cause of individual, personal ruin. The principle set forth in this valuable article, and others just as good that are to follow it, applies equally to the life of the most obscure individual and the career of the most extensive and powerful state. The question as to how stands it with the United States to-day in this matter—whether or not self-government, and therefore national virility, is being conserved or dissipated by the people—is to be thoroughly considered. Read these articles yourself, and get others to read them.



Sunday Enforcement Suspended by Mayor Low

The mayor of Greater New York did a very commendable, considerate and manly thing on April 18, although it will doubtless be regarded in some quarters as a lawless and anarchistic act. A few weeks ago the patrolmen in certain sections of the city suddenly became very active in making arrests for violation of the Sunday excise law, and notwithstanding the fact that the agitation in this city is in regard to the closing of *saloons* on Sunday, their operations were soon extended by fair means or foul to the small vendors and tradesmen. And, as if to emphasize the inevitable tendency of the attempt to enforce Sunday observance, the police and "plain-clothes men" were most active in that portion of the city inhabited by those who observe another day of the week. On Sunday, April 13, fifty-seven arrests were made of pedlers and shopkeepers on the East Side, most of whom were Hebrews. All were fined for violating the Sunday law, and the indications were

that this strict enforcement would be continued against them by the police. At this point Mayor Low, under date of April 18, sent to Police Commissioner Partridge the following communication:

SIR—I am reminded that the Jewish Passover festival begins this year on Monday next and lasts until and including Tuesday, April 29. The Monday and Tuesday of both weeks with the Jews are holy days, as well as the Saturdays, and upon these days the devout among them keep their shops closed. In the mean while, it is a requirement of their religion that they secure meat, specially prepared, which under the circumstances can only be had upon two Sundays for use upon these days; thus compelling the devout Jew to choose between obeying the dictates of his conscience and the letter of the statute of the State.

I am of the opinion that the spirit of the Penal Code, rather than its letter, should govern on these two Sundays. Section 263 prohibits all labor on Sunday "excepting the works of necessity or charity." Section 266 provides that all trades are prohibited, "except that when the same are works of necessity they may be performed on that day in their usual and orderly manner, so as not to interfere with the repose and religious liberty of the community." It should also be borne in mind that it is made by Section 264 of the Penal Code a sufficient defence "to a prosecution of labor on the first day of the week that the defendant uniformly keeps another day of the week as holy time." The selling of meat on these two Sunday mornings by Jewish butchers to Jews would seem to me to fall within the spirit of all these exceptions.

Certainly the situation does not call for the enforcement of this law on those Sundays by the use of plain-clothes men; and I want to say in general, that the enforcement of such a law by this method at any time seems to me obnoxious to the sense of justice. A breach of such a law that can only be discovered by solicitation on the part of the police to break it is not such a breach of it as to disturb "the repose and religious liberty of the community," to quote the object of this law as stated in section 259 of the Penal Code.

This letter practically instructed the head of the police department to have the enforcement of the Sunday law upon the Jews completely stopped for two Sun-

days, and that at the very time when the police were bent on stringent enforcement. As we have said this act is praiseworthy, and with no intention of making any reflections upon it, we will make some observations which are pertinent in this connection.

While it is true that during this Passover season the enforcement of the Sunday law would have been an especial hardship for the Hebrews, yet it is just as true that enforcement of the Sunday law at other times virtually compels "the devout Jew to choose between obeying the dictates of his conscience and the letter of the statute of the State." His religion requires him to observe the seventh day of the week, while the State requires him to observe the first day of the week. He is thus obliged to suspend business two days every week or else violate his conscience. The mayor strongly intimates that the spirit of the Penal Code is against the enforcement of the Sunday law upon the Hebrews, and it would seem that if it were proper for the spirit rather than the letter to govern on these two Sundays of the Passover season, that it would be proper at all other times.

But if the Sunday law were a legitimate statute it would not be proper to suspend it even upon these two Sundays. It is a well-established legal principle that the dictates of conscience cannot be allowed to excuse or justify acts that are criminal. Laws which are proper for the peace and welfare of society cannot be suspended because they conflict with the dictates of conscience. The fact that it is proper to suspend the Sunday law in deference to the conscientious convictions of those who desire to properly observe the Passover festival demonstrates that it has no rightful place upon the statute books of the State.

All lovers of justice and fairness will

be glad to read the last paragraph in the mayor's letter. The despicable practise of soliciting violations of the law seems to be a very prominent characteristic of Sunday enforcement. The two things go well together, however. Sunday enforcement would end up with the Inquisition if its logic were pursued far enough, and the victims of the Inquisition were convicted by being subjected to horrible tortures until they confessed their guilt. The man who goes about as a detective on Sunday seeking to entrap people into violation of the law may not be a Torquemada, but the difference is one only of degree and not of principle.

And the idea that the religious liberty of the community requires a Sunday law is of the same stuff as was the idea that the "religious liberty" of Spain required the Inquisition. It rests upon the assumption that a man is not protected in his religious liberty unless the religious practises to which he holds are enforced upon the entire population, and in the New York Sunday law is equivalent to saying that every person in the State of New York who is not a Sunday observer is not protected in his religious liberty. We are glad that the principle has obtained some standing in this country that the *individual* and not a class is to be protected in his religious liberty, and we hope that this principle may finally come to control throughout the length and breadth of the United States. This commendable action of Mayor Low's tends in that direction.



The public schools in New York City were closed during "Holy Week." The *Times* says this was no evidence of any "plot to turn the schools into sectarian institutions, but merely of that love for a holiday, of avoiding work, which is so deeply implanted in every human heart." The *Times* may be right, but it is singu-

lar that this deep-seated principle in the human heart should bring about the closing of the schools at the very time of a religious festival or observance. To us it indicates a little too close connection between the schools and church affairs.



The Economic and Industrial Unrest

If we judge by the number of persons interested and the depth of interest manifested, there is no more important question in the civilized world to-day than, "What has the future in store for society industrially and economically?" So important have these closely connected phases of society now become that they are commonly regarded, and not without strong reason, as embracing and determining all other phases. The age of commerce, of the making and the selling of things, and the accumulation of wealth, has arrived as perhaps never before in the world's history, and certainly nothing approaching it has been seen since the days of Roman commerce and prosperity. The population of the world has greatly increased, and though there may be more persons becoming wealthy than ever before, never have there been so many, nor anything like so many, who are dependent upon what they can earn in wages for a livelihood. What is now known as the dependent class of society has grown enormously with the increase of population.

The condition of affairs has drawn the attention of men to the industrial and economic condition and constitution of society, and as a result the demand has arisen, and becomes greater all the time, for more and better economic security for the dependent classes than the present system affords. Many have become prophets and are predicting for the future a new society of perfect economic independence and freedom, when all the

wealth of the world will be shared in common and all the material necessities of life will be unfailingly insured to every individual. And this beautiful ideal has been taken up and is being proclaimed by those who are not themselves especially concerned with industrial and economic matters, but who see in this a continued working out and a crowning culmination of the theory, which they so fondly hold, of the ever upward progress and final perfection of human society.

Thus there is much being said and much being written with regard to the economic and industrial phases of society past, present and future. The question is, What does it signify? Does it mean all that it is said to mean? There can be no doubt that the subject is an important one, and that it is becoming more so all the time. And there can be no doubt that much that is said and predicted is true. Great changes are needed; something should be done, and something will be done. But will the perfect society come? No such thing ever has been known, except in the books, and there is nothing more to-day than there ever has been to transfer it from the books into actual practise. But the cry of those who proclaim this is, "Have faith! Believe! So that the impossible may be made possible!" And they boldly declare that the thing that never has been done is what humanity is always most ready and most able to do, and because a thing never has been done is the very reason why nothing else but it should be done! This is certainly not an ignoble attitude, but neither is it a new attitude among men. It is no doubt due to this attitude that men have accomplished whatever they have in the betterment of their condition both individually and collectively. As to what might yet be accomplished by more endeavor we cannot say. Certainly where-

ever hardship, injustice, and oppression exist there is a call for something to be done, and it is the duty of those who believe that there is a way within reach by which the evils can be lessened or abolished to do their utmost in that direction.

But in this whole matter of economic discussion and unrest, or rather in that which gives rise to it—the rapid accumulation of great wealth by the few and the economic insecurity and unrest of the many—we see something else. There is a certain old Book, not studied much in these times, or if studied, not regarded as meaning anything in particular, and certainly not supposed to have any reference or application to social developments in these times so far removed from the times of its writing, that has a great deal to say of a mighty event that is sometime to cut short all the affairs of the world. It is spoken of in one place as "the great and dreadful day of the Lord," and in many places as "the end of the world," when "the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat."

This book is, of course, the Bible, and perhaps there is no one subject on which it has more to say than this very event just mentioned. It points out many signs and speaks of what shall be "in the last days"—the time just preceding this event. And one of the things which it makes especially prominent as being characteristic of that time is the economic inequality among men. It speaks of the "rich men," and of their accumulated treasures of gold and silver which they have heaped together "for the last days." It tells of the pleasure and wantonness in which they have dwelt on the earth. And right beside this the other portion of the picture is presented. There are the laborers who have reaped and wrought for the owners of the soil, and who have been defrauded of their just

recompense. And because of their condition they cry out, and the cry, "entered into the ears of the Lord of sabaoth." And the injunction is, "Be patient, therefore, brethren, unto the coming of the Lord."

Justice, judgment and equity is indeed to be the issue of the present industrial and economic disquietude in the world, but in a far different manner than is supposed. Instead of an evolution from present conditions into a perfect society, there is to come, when the unrest and discontent is at its height, a sudden and a terrible arrest of all human affairs. It will be "the day of the Lord's vengeance, the year of recompenses." Then "a King shall reign in righteousness," "He shall judge the poor of the people, He shall save the children of the needy, and shall break in pieces the oppressor." Then the perfect society will indeed be realized, for the "people shall dwell in a peaceable habitation, and in *sure* dwellings, and in quiet resting places," and the assurance is that peace shall be abundant "so long as the sun and moon endure."

We were led into writing the preceding because of a remarkable article that has been published recently, the principal part of which we present elsewhere under the heading, "Feudal America." When the Bible is left out of the consideration, and the matter is looked at simply in the light of history and reason, we have no hesitancy in saying that of all the forecasts that have been made of the future of society industrially and economically that made by Mr. Ghent is by far the most real, true, accurate and reliable. It may be colored somewhat by his evident sympathy with the great class that is to be submerged in the lower castes of the new *régime*, and the effort to make the parallel too exact between the old and the new feudalism. But these are slight defects in connection with so

bold and masterly a portrayal of what is and shall be in this matter. For such a view is a bold one in these times. Wealth refuses to believe that it has in it any portent of evil; labor refuses to believe that it shall not eventually obtain all that it demands; and they who write and prophesy refuse to see anything but more and more progress, greater and greater liberty, and in the end perfect justice and equality.

But, imitating in some degree the inexorable march of history itself, Mr. Ghent has not become the victim of any of these delusions; he has not suffered his hopes and his desires to delude his reason; he has looked intently at things as they are and as present tendencies declare they shall be. And then he has calmly made his report. He "has looked at the structure and has watched the development of our industrial society. He has hoped to see in this development the progress of democracy. He has hoped to discover unmistakable tendencies toward a practicable and enduring Collectivism, which should guarantee opportunity, economic justice and moral liberty to all men. Such tendencies, ardently looked for, Mr. Ghent has not discovered. Instead, he has seemed to see a mighty, resistless transformation of the old economic individualism into a vast industrial feudalism."

And so true and so striking is the picture that he has drawn of what he sees, that all can see its undeniable and startling reality, even they who when viewing it still cling to the hope of "the emancipation of man from every bondage." For after declaring in its editorial review of Mr. Ghent's article that what he has reported is "but the most obvious, the most undeniable realities of our present industrial society," and that now "wealth is the one great object of worship, and the man of wealth is he to

whom all ranks bow," thus going even farther than Mr. Ghent in that it places in the present what he says will be in the future. *The Independent* still finds room for its characteristic "optimism," by laying stress upon the "benevolent spirit" of the new feudalism, and the honor and large measure of freedom that will be accorded to "the fearless intelligence of that truth-searching, scientific mind which was the supreme product of the nineteenth century, and which in the twentieth century will join with democracy in the emancipation of man from every bondage, whether of ignorance and superstition or of political and industrial despotism." If in the very presence of this "truth-searching, scientific mind" society degenerates, or develops, if it sounds better, into a condition of practical feudalism, we fail to see where-in much is to be hoped from it in the direction of the genuine emancipation of mankind. This "scientific mind" will be about as powerless then as it is now to direct and control the destinies of society.

Mr. Ghent has pointed out the true direction in which society is tending. What he says appeals to the reason, it is consistent with history, and it corresponds with prophecy, except, of course, in the ultimate outcome, for instead of a long reign of an empire of peace and stability, the word of prophecy is that "when they shall say, peace and safety, then sudden destruction cometh upon them."



On certain occasions labor and its representatives are very enthusiastic over the doctrine of equality and very emphatic in declaring the rights of man as man, regardless of color, race or previous condition, but it is evident from their attitude toward the Chinaman that several hundred millions of the human race are

not included in their reckoning. Laboring men are not exempt from that frailty to which most others are subject—that of thinking only of their own rights when declaring the rights of *all* men. The brotherhood of man may be preached as a doctrine, but it will be a long time before the world is ready to put it into practise.



Is History a Myth and the Dark Ages a Delusion?

While Protestants are hastening to adopt papal customs and observances and to repudiate the position they once held with regard to Romanism, the Papacy is doing what she can to assist in the transformation by assuring them that she has never been what they have believed her to be and what history shows her to have been. The Pope's jubilee encyclical was read in the principal Catholic churches in the United States on April 20, and from the *New York Tribune's* report of the reading of the encyclical at St. Patrick's Cathedral in this city, we take the following, which was a part of the document:

The more the Catholic Church devotes itself to extend its zeal for the moral and material advancement of the peoples, the more the children of darkness arise in hatred against it. Among their most perfidious devices is that which consists in repeating to the ignorant masses and to suspicious governments that the Church is opposed to the progress of science; that it is hostile to liberty; that the rights of the state are usurped by it, and that politics is a field which it is constantly invading.

The Church the enemy of knowledge and instruction! It is to the Catholic Church that we must ascribe the merit of having propagated and defended Christian philosophy, without which the world would still be buried in the darkness of pagan superstitions and in the most abject barbarism. It has preserved and transmitted to all generations the precious treasure of literature and of the ancient sciences. It has opened the first schools for

the people and crowded the universities which still exist.

The Church the enemy of liberty! In every age it has defended the feeble and the oppressed against the arrogant dominion of the strong. It has demanded liberty of Christian conscience while pouring out in torrents the blood of its martyrs. It has largely contributed both to introduce and maintain civil and political liberty in the heart of the nations.

The Church the usurper of the rights of the state! Why, the Church knows and teaches that her Divine Founder has commanded us to give to Cæsar what is Cæsar's and to God what is God's, and that He has thus sanctioned the immutable principle of an enduring distinction between those two powers which are sovereign in their respective spheres, a distinction which is most pregnant in its consequences and eminently conducive to the development of Christian civilization.

Yes, of course, everybody knows that "the Church" has always been the ardent champion of "the immutable principle of an enduring distinction between" church and state! She has always laid so much stress upon the commandment, "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's"!

All the above will do very well for assertion, but it will assume a different complexion when the facts are examined. It may be that Catholics believe all this, and that even the Pope believes it, as it is his and their privilege to believe if they want to, but no one can believe it who has regard for the indisputable facts of history. The "Church" has always professed to be on the side of advancement, knowledge, liberty, etc., and never was she more vehemently sure of it than when she was doing most to retard advancement, destroy knowledge, throttle liberty and usurp political dominion. We are told that "the Church never changes," and if this be true why should any one assume and assert that she is fundamentally different now from what she was when the Waldenses were harried to

death by the papal dragoons, when the Huguenots were butchered, when the Jews were terribly persecuted, and when the "Holy" Inquisition was in full swing?

It is very true that in this age the Papacy has to present herself in a different aspect; she has to put forth such preposterous claims as we have quoted above, but it does not argue that she has changed at all. It rather shows that she is the same wily power and pursues the same crafty policy as in the times that are past. "It is part of her policy to assume the character which will best accomplish her purpose; but beneath the variable appearance of the chameleon she conceals the invariable venom of the serpent." It has not been forty years yet since the head of the Roman system, in an encyclical perhaps as important as the one from which we have quoted, declared that "the absurd and erroneous doctrines or ravings in defense of liberty of conscience, are a most pestilential error—a pest, of all others, most to be dreaded in a state." In a *state*, mind you, not in a church. And in the same year he anathematized "those who assert the liberty of conscience and of religious worship," also "all such as maintain that the Church may not employ force." And yet we are told that in every age "the Church" has been the great champion of liberty!

According to this jubilee encyclical those who look at "the Church" in the light of history and the logic of her own declarations and fundamental doctrines, are "children of darkness." It may be so. If it is, then we are living in an age of great darkness, and what has been commonly supposed to have been the Dark Ages was really the age of the children of light.



The *Christian Work* sees "no occasion for such a commission" as that to be sent

by the Government to the Vatican. It believes that whatever negotiations are necessary should be held in Washington, and observes: "Besides, the sending of a special envoy to Rome would not be a courteous act to the United States." We do know what is meant by this statement. Those who are engineering this scheme are not thinking about courtesies for the United States, but victories for the Papacy.



"The Vatican's Disappointment"

The Papacy is leaving no stone unturned in her efforts to get the United States meekly in line with the other powers which are ready on occasion with their special embassies, congratulations, and gifts for the "Holy See." It is almost amusing to observe the tactics which she so artfully employs. She pouts, she chides, she scolds, she argues, persuades, and shows how easily what she wants could be done.

A good specimen of papal handicraft is the following, which one of the writers on the Hearst newspapers contributed to those journals early in April:

Profound is the disappointment which prevails at the Vatican in consequence of the failure of President Roosevelt to take any notice whatsoever of the Pope's Pontifical Jubilee. All of the rulers of the great powers of the world have sent special embassies to the Holy See for the purpose of presenting congratulations and good wishes to the one ruler who, while universally acknowledged and recognized as a sovereign, has no dominions.

Even nations that are not, strictly speaking, in diplomatic relations with the Papacy, and which do not maintain embassies or legations at the Vatican, such as for instances Great Britain and the Netherlands, have sent special missions, the Earl of Denbigh, with a large suite, having been dispatched to Rome by King Edward, while Queen Wilhelmina has sent General Count Henry du Monceau, one of the principal dignitaries of her court and household. The Prince of Montenegro, who is the

father-in-law of the King of Italy, has delegated Louis Voinovich, while all the South American republics have commissioned special embassies for the occasion. Turkey and Japan actually are represented, and the only two powers, the one coming under the denomination of "great," and the other of minor importance, that have taken no notice of Leo XIII.'s Pontifical Jubilee, are the United States and Mexico.

This is all the more surprising, as there has been friendly intercourse in the past between the White House and the Vatican, and valuable gifts have been exchanged between former American Presidents and the present Pontiff. Some years ago Leo XIII. sent a superb volume containing reproductions and photographs of the newly restored Borghese galleries at the Vatican to the President—I think it was President McKinley—the work being identical with that which the Pope was presenting to the other rulers of the great powers of the world. Some beautiful mosaics accompanied the gift. The President responded in kind, so that there is a precedent for amicable intercourse.

The Italian Government does not take any offence at these special embassies. . . .

Of course it would not do for President Roosevelt to send any Roman Catholic prelate, since that would be contrary to etiquette, and give an altogether wrong idea with regard to the mission. All of the special envoys are laymen, and if President Roosevelt sends anybody, he should dispatch some prominent layman commissioned to express his good wishes, precisely in the same way that he is sending Doctor Curry to Madrid, with the identical object in view in connection with the coming of age of the King of Spain, and Mr. White-law Reid to London, on the occasion of the coronation of King Edward.

It would constitute a recognition, not of the Pope's claims to temporal sovereignty, but merely of his efforts throughout the entire terms of his pontificate to maintain peace between nations, to promote the respect of the masses for the duly constituted authorities, and to act in every dispute as a mediator. No one did more than Leo XIII. to induce Spain to yield to the demands of the United States in 1898, and to avert the conflict which subsequently ensued between the two countries.

And of the same tenor is the following from the letter concerning the jubilee celebration written from Rome by the cor-

respondent of the *Catholic Standard and Times*:

The only governments of civilized countries which have had no share in these literally universal demonstrations have been Italy and the United States; that of the first named country for obvious reasons; the second for no reasons which are known. Not for want of precedent, since in the jubilee of 1888 the Archbishop of Philadelphia was the medium of presenting to the Pope a copy of the American Constitution, sent as a gift to the Pope by President Cleveland. Nor for want of later precedent, as the share of His Holiness first in the sympathy and then in the mourning for President McKinley, which was reported on official authority in these columns, attests in the fullest manner. The omission is, indeed, unless it is to be repaired, inexplicable. Even the King of Roumania, who did not send an embassy, commissioned the Archbishop of Bucharest to present an autograph letter of congratulation, and as the staff at the San Silvestro telegraph office has been increased for the occasion, a message sent by cable would have reached the Vatican with the thousands of similar ones and prevented the appearance of a regrettable omission.

So the papal spokesmen would cultivate the impression and have it prevail throughout the earth that it is an inexcusable thing, a gross discourtesy to the Pope and the Papacy, for the American Government to go ahead and attend strictly to its business instead of getting in line with the other powers that were tumbling over themselves in their eagerness to pay their respects to and lay their gifts before the head of the Roman Catholic Church!

It would have been a happy circumstance if the Vatican and its spokesmen had been left in this same state of mind permanently, but now they are rejoicing that the "inexplicable," the "regrettable omission" is to be more than repaired by the coming to the Vatican of a governmental commission, which, "it is authoritatively stated in Rome," "will offer to His Holiness the congratulations and best wishes of the American administra-

tion." And thus by "the rational recognition of his position and aims by the American Government, marking as it does the first relations of the kind between Rome and Washington," the "shortcoming which was so glaring at the 3rd of March" will be abundantly remedied. And thus will come to pass "one of the greatest successes of the reign of Leo XIII."



The Southern New England Methodist Conference, in session at Rockville, Conn., on April 7, took cognizance of two things in which church-and-state union is still perpetuated in this country—legal regulation of "Sabbath" observance and governmental chaplaincies. But, in harmony with the present tendency in the great denominations, this cognizance was taken not for the purpose of presenting the true principle and asking that it be adhered to, but for the purpose of securing more concessions and a greater violation of the principle, as is shown by these resolutions adopted by the conference:

Whereas, The practise in the United States navy of having inspection on Sunday morning, it is believed, operates greatly against the interest of the religious service held afterward by the chaplain, and

Whereas, The chaplains are placed at much disadvantage and are brought into disrespect by the character of the uniforms they are required to wear and by the lower remuneration which they receive as compared with that of other officers of the same grade.

Therefore, be it resolved: First, that we respectfully memorialize Congress to enact at this session such legislation as will require a better observance of the Sabbath on the vessels of the navy; and second, that such legislation be enacted as will require that chaplains of that branch of the service shall be so uniformed and otherwise provided for that they may better command the respect of those under their oversight and spiritual care.

It is in the nature of things that men who dispense religion by governmental

appointment and on a salary paid from the treasury of the nation, should come to measure their ability to command respect by the uniform they wear and the size of the salary they receive. The chaplaincies should be abolished, and the work which the incumbents of such places are supposed to do should be left to those who are moved by other considerations than those by which most of the Government's "ministers" are moved. There are some things that are never satisfied, and among them are the religious organizations or persons who have tasted and learned to love governmental patronage and support. "More, more, more! More power and more money," is their cry always.



Ireland, O'Gorman and the Government

The master hand of the Papacy is very plainly revealed in the matter of a governmental commission to the Vatican. In the newspapers of April 18 appeared this item:

Archbishop Ireland and Bishop O'Gorman probably will leave this country for Rome in time to be at the Vatican when Governor Taft reaches there on his way to Manila. The prelates are well advised of the intentions of this government respecting not only the friars' land question, but other matters of importance concerning the relations of church and state in the Philippines.

Undoubtedly these papal representatives are well advised in regard to this whole matter, and of course Archbishop Ireland must be on hand at Rome when Governor Taft arrives at the Vatican to see and to chuckle over the climax in the great papal triumph which he has evidently been largely instrumental in bringing about.

The Archbishop has been doing entirely too much courting of the American Government in behalf of the Papacy in

recent years, and this commission is one of the results of it. It is said that as a result of this latest outcome of his endeavors he is to be rewarded by being made a cardinal by the "Holy See." It would seem that it was about time the American people were getting their eyes open to this papal game. Why is it that these two prelates have been kept so well advised with regard to the Government's intentions in this matter? If it is the "Sovereign Pontiff" that must be conferred with, why is it that the business and intentions of the Government in the matter have been laid before these men? If they cut such an important figure in the matter, why is it that the Government does not deal with them right here in America instead of sending a commission to Rome? It would seem that a very pertinent inquiry for the American people to raise just now would be as to why Ireland and O'Gorman have been well advised in regard to matters in which they themselves have received precious little information. And another pertinent inquiry that should be raised is as to why it is that the Government, while preparing to dispatch a commission to a foreign potentate for the "transaction of business," informs the agents and the underlings of that potentate of its whole intentions in the matter in advance? Does it suppose that this will contribute to its interests in the matter, or facilitate the proper transaction of the "business"?

The transaction of business does not usually include dickering with third parties. Either the Government has no business to be sending a commission to the Vatican, or else it has had no business to be keeping Ireland and O'Gorman well-advised in the matter. In the light of common sense one of the things is totally inconsistent with the other. But the whole thing is consistent in the light of papal manipulation. Instead of the

close relationship between the Government and papal prelates in this country rendering unnecessary a commission to Rome, even if it had been necessary without that, it is simply because of this close relationship that this commission has come about.

It may be true, as *The Independent* declares, that Governor Taft is not the tool of Jesuit diplomacy, but it is not more true than the fact that Jesuit diplomacy has not been and will not be lacking in connection with this commission to the Vatican.



The word "Christian," which occurs in the State constitution, has recently occasioned some discussion in the Connecticut Constitutional Convention, in session at Hartford, as was the case in the Virginia Convention. It was proposed to substitute the word "religious" for the word "Christian" in the constitution, but the words were finally allowed to remain: "Every society or denomination of Christians or other religious faith." When the matter was under discussion, one member declared that the elimination of the word "Christian" from the constitution would be "an open avowal that Connecticut was not a Christian state," and would be regarded "by thousands of Christians as an attack on the Christian religion." It is strange with what persistence people, and professed Christians, will cling to such a hollow thing as state "Christianity." It is probably because real Christianity, which has its manifestation in the individual, is at a very low ebb.



At a recent convention at Tours the Socialists of France put forth quite a lengthy platform, demanding among other things the restriction of labor to a day of eight hours and "one day of rest in seven." *The Outlook* observes with

reference to this last demand that it means "an enforcement of familiar Sunday laws." There is no reason to believe, however, that the Socialists meant anything else than what they said—one day of rest in seven—and it is pretty certain that they would never endorse "the familiar Sunday laws" of this country. The "protection" of a day or the maintenance of a religious observance is the thought that is farthest from their minds.



With its usual clarity of vision the *Springfield Republican* at once perceives the point in the sending of a governmental commission to the Vatican. At the head of its editorial page on April 18 appeared the following note: "If Governor Taft visits Rome to confer with the Vatican concerning the question of the friars, it will be a feather in the cap of Vatican diplomacy. The more often prominent Americans visit Rome for conference, the better the Vatican will like it."



"Cats and dogs have rights as well as men and women," says *The Independent*. If we remember correctly *The Independent* has declared several times in the last few years that there are no such things as inalienable human rights; that the so-called natural rights of individuals were created and granted by society—were mere social conventions. We wonder if cats and dogs come by their rights in the same manner.



The *Chicago News* thinks that in view of the news from the island of Samar "it is nearly time for Spain to interfere in the interests of humanity." This is no doubt meant to be rather jocular, but we will venture to say that it will not cause many smiles. It is too nearly the solemn truth.

SUNDAY ENFORCEMENT

This department is designed to record what is being done throughout the United States and elsewhere in the way of Sunday enforcement. Necessarily the items in most instances must be a bare recital of the facts. The principles involved are discussed in the general articles and the editorial department.

Enforced Sunday closing of stores and saloons is reported from Elizabeth, Minn.



A petition was recently circulated in Mt. Vernon, Ohio, asking that the city authorities allow Sunday ball playing.



The ministers of West Duluth, Minn., have been asked by the local W. C. T. U. to "speak on Sabbath desecration and in favor of better Sunday observance."



An agitation for Sunday enforcement is reported from Franklin, Ky. Dr. H. H. George, of the National Reform Association, is leading in the movement.



Two barbers in the D. S. Morgan building in Buffalo were before the police justice on March 25 "charged with doing business on Sunday." They were allowed to go on suspended sentence.



On April 13 a union meeting of all the German-Protestant churches on the west side of Milwaukee, Wis., was reported to have been held "in the interests of a more rigid observance of the Sabbath day."



A dispatch from Little Rock, Ark., under date of April 9, announced that Attorney-General Murphy had "handed down an opinion to the effect that it was unlawful for grocery stores to remain open on Sunday."

The "question of closing up the Sunday stores" was discussed at length at a meeting of the Police Committee of Montreal, Canada, on April 9. No definite decision was arrived at, there seeming to be a disposition not to interfere with the small tradesmen.



What began with Sunday enforcement ended in homicide at Maysville, Ky., on April 9. A barber and a bartender had each had the other arrested under the Sunday-closing law. The ill feeling engendered thereby resulted in a desperate fight with revolvers in which the bartender was killed.



Clarence Hawley, an old resident of Centralia, Ill., was arrested on April 10, charged with "operating a merry-go-round in contravention of the Sunday law." The prosecuting witness "admitted on the stand that she had filed the complaint at the request of other parties, and not of her own motion." The justice dismissed the defendant, "taxing the costs to the prosecuting witness."



A measure was recently introduced in the general assembly of Missouri for the purpose of leaving to the decision of the municipal authorities of each city and village the matter of Sunday baseball. The cities of Cleveland and Youngstown are especially desirous of securing the passage of the measure, but the *Sturgeon Leader* says that "the consensus of opinion seems to be that it will prove a difficult task to pass it."

On April 9 the New York Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church adopted a report "denouncing Sunday newspapers, Sunday excursions, and Sunday saloons, and recommending co-operation with the American Sabbath Union and other organizations for the proper observance of the American Sabbath."



The Sioux Falls (S. Dak.) *Leader* reports that it has been learned through Mr. D. M. Walker, excursion agent of the Milwaukee Railroad, that "Sioux Falls will get no Sunday excursions the coming summer." He announced that this was due to a protest filed with the railroad officials by the Ministerial Association of the city.



On March 28 a hearing was held by a committee of the Massachusetts legislature on the bill "to allow the retail sale of ice-cream, soda water and confectionery on Sunday." Ex-City Solicitor McKechnie, of Springfield, and several others strongly urged the passage of the bill. In opposition appeared Rev. Martin D. Kneeland, of the New England Sabbath (Sunday) Protective League, who "argued at length against any further encroachment on the present Sunday laws."



Four young men were arrested for playing ball at Ambrose Park in Brooklyn on April 6, but were discharged by the police magistrate, who thought that notwithstanding the law men who work all week should not be punished for engaging in such recreation on Sunday. On the same day a game of ball in progress at the grounds at Ridgewood and Railroad avenues was stopped by a detachment of police. According to report a general order stopping Sunday baseball

had been issued at the Liberty Avenue police station.



It is reported from Fort Dodge, Iowa, that "organized opposition to Sunday baseball is developing in this city." On Sunday, April 6, resolutions endorsing the Nagle anti-Sunday baseball bill, and demanding its passage by the legislature, were adopted at the Presbyterian and Baptist churches. A meeting of the ministers of the city was held to consider the matter a few days later, and a telegram was sent to the senator representing the district, urging him to do all he could to secure the immediate passage of the bill in the upper house.



At the recent annual meeting of the Christian Endeavor societies of Springfield, Mass., a petition was adopted and directed to the committee of the State legislature having in charge the bill for permitting the sale of ice-cream, soda and confectionery on Sunday, protesting against the passage of the measure. It was objected to on these grounds:

First, it is unnecessary legislation; second, it is special legislation; third, if it becomes a law it will open the doors to a large amount of Sunday trade and business; fourth, it will require an increased amount of Sunday work upon the part of dealers and their clerks; fifth, it will prepare the way for future efforts to break down the Lord's day laws, thus secularizing the Sabbath and demoralizing the commonwealth."



The Stratford (Ont.) *Beacon*, of April 3, contained this interesting item, which shows that the "Sabbath" is well protected in that part of Edward VII.'s dominions:

For working on the Sabbath the proprietor of the *Bruce Herald*, Walkerton, Ont., and his foreman have been fined one dollar and costs by the police magistrate. The proprietor explains they were pressed by work, and inadvertently continued working after twelve

o'clock on Saturday night, and adds: "The staff of every daily paper in Toronto work on Sunday, and they are under the same Sabbath law as the *Bruce Herald*, yet we never hear of Police Magistrate Denison either fining or allowing his constable to lodge vexatious complaints against them."



On March 20 the lower house of the Iowa legislature, by a vote of fifty-nine to sixteen, passed a bill prohibiting baseball and football on Sunday. Each person offending is to be punished by a fine of not less than \$1 and not more than \$5. One member moved to amend the bill so that the penalty would be "hanging by the neck until dead." An unsuccessful effort was made to include golf in the bill. It was also proposed that the prohibition apply to Memorial Day as well as Sunday, but "it was discovered that all business would be prohibited on that day if it were included, and the vote was reconsidered." There is no more reason why all business should not be prohibited on Memorial Day than on Sunday. The first would be far more appropriate for legislative action than the second.



According to a dispatch, "the Labor Commission of Paris has petitioned Parliament to pass a bill making legal one day of rest in every week." It is stated that "Sunday has not been legally observed in France since the Revolution," and that many laborers work seven days in the week. "In order not to arouse the opposition of those who object to the observance of Sunday, the commission recommends that every employer be given the right to select the day most convenient to his special line of business for closing." It is further recommended that any employer found trying to evade the law shall be fined \$10 for every employee whom he thereby deprives of a day of rest. Such a law would probably not create much enthusiasm among those in this

country who seem most concerned about "securing a day of rest for the poor workingman." With them everything is involved in the particular day upon which the workingman shall rest.



From Chicago comes the report that "merchants who have refused to discontinue trade on Sundays are to be invited to permit the Retail Clerks' Association to install telephones and megaphones or phonographs in the open stores, the hope of the association officials being that by the transmission of sermons and prayers over the wires or the instruments to within the hearing of the busy merchants a change of heart may be experienced by managers and proprietors and the stores shut down on the Sabbath day throughout the city."

Mr. William Ruppert, a shoe dealer in the McVicker theater building, who keeps open on Sundays, has already been requested by the clerks to permit them to connect his desk by telephone and megaphone with Rev. Frank Crane's pulpit, which is in the same building, so that "you and your clerks while at work Sabbath mornings may have an opportunity to hear the church services and the sermon." It is stated that this request is made "in the hope that prayer and preaching will cause you to experience a change of heart on the subject of Sunday trading." This certainly indicates persistence and earnestness of purpose, and it is much more commendable than that zeal which applies to the police and the legislature in such matters.



"Consternation in the ranks of baseball enthusiasts" is reported from Duluth, Minn., as a result of the publication of a notice on April 17 to the effect that "all persons who engage in Sunday baseball playing will be arrested and prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law."

The notice was issued by a committee of the West End Civic Federation, made up of one Methodist, one Presbyterian and one Episcopal clergyman. The notice says that "not only the ball players, but any official standing in with them, contrary to his oath of office, or refusing to enforce the statute against this sort of nuisance, will be prosecuted," and declares at its close that "the men who stand for or against the moral welfare of Christian America should be publicly pilloried or approved," and that "we propose to let in the light on this bold attempt to corrupt our youth and desecrate our Sabbath, contrary to the laws of God and State." The Rev. H. W. Knowles, the Methodist minister, is the leading spirit in the matter, and has been working up a sentiment for several weeks against Sunday ball playing.

The enforcement of the Sunday law against candy selling in Dorchester, Mass., a suburb of Boston, has stirred up some of the inhabitants, who claim that that portion of the city has been discriminated against in the enforcement of the Sunday law. On April 11 Mr. Chas. P. Anderson, on behalf of the United Improvement Council, sent to the chairman of the Boston police board a communication in which it was declared that a thorough personal inspection was to be made by representatives of the council, and that if it was found that confectionery could be purchased in any other portion of Boston and not in Dorchester, that the matter would be immediately called to the attention of the governor of the State, with the request that he take measures to have the law impartially enforced. The result has been that Boston has had unusually strict Sunday enforcement since. The report was that on April 13 every druggist in the city was notified that he would not be allowed to

sell candy. On the 20th the same order was continued, the police board giving orders that no selling of meats, fruits or confections of any kind, barbering in hotels, nor open bakery shops after 10 in the morning, should be allowed, and instructed police captains to have all offenders arrested.

After having been once voted down and again reconsidered and passed by the lower house of the New York legislature, the bill introduced by Assemblyman Adler to permit the sale of uncooked flesh foods before 10 o'clock on Sunday mornings during June, July, August and September, was defeated in the senate on March 27 by a vote of twenty-four to twenty-three. The bill was for the purpose of relieving the Jews of New York from the hardships imposed by the present Sunday butcher-shop law, which went into effect the 1st of last September. It was said that "the administration wanted the bill killed." The opposition to the measure was led by Senator Ellsworth, the Republican leader of the senate, and he was assisted by the minority leader, Senator Grady. Organized labor is said to have opposed the bill by a strong lobby. The speeches made were in favor of the bill, "the opposition not giving voice to reasons for objecting to the bill, but confined all efforts to individual appeals to senators who were considered doubtful, to vote against it." The cause of Sunday enforcement prefers such methods; it will not bear open discussion, and certainly they who would refuse to give relief to the thousands of Hebrews of New York who observe the seventh day would have very few reasons for their action that would be worth presenting

Owing to what has been termed a "revolt" on the part of the patrolmen there

was quite strict Sunday enforcement in New York City on the first two Sundays in April. The work began with some of the patrolmen on the last Sunday in March, and on April 6 there were 121 arrests in Greater New York for violations of the excise law, and 14 arrests of shopmen and small tradesmen. It is said to have been the "driest" Sunday known since the famous Roosevelt *régime* of 1895. But notwithstanding the fact that there was strict enforcement, the sale of liquors was not greatly lessened, for all those places holding Raines' law hotel licenses, and there are 2,300 of them, did business as usual, and it was said that in many respects it was the most busy day these places had known since they came into existence. The ordinary saloons being closed those who wished drinks went to these places, where the "wooden sandwiches" were used to make the transaction legal. The saloonkeepers knew that strict enforcement against Sunday opening was coming, and they hastened to join the police in an effort to secure as rigid enforcement of the Sunday law as possible. On the preceding day the Liquor Dealers' Association, representing 8,000 saloonkeepers, decided to close and to aid the police "to enforce every blue law on the statute books." And so in some parts of the city small shopkeepers, stationery stores and news stands were compelled by the police to close. For the first time in years, it is said, the doors of the small dry good stores in the upper part of the city were locked. Magistrate Crane, before whom a number of these small dealers were arraigned, in the Essex Market Court, said that the liquor dealers were making a great mistake in causing such arrests, and declared that "there are more serious crimes committed than the selling of a trifling article, and the police would do

well to pay their attention to such crimes."

On the next Sunday, April 13, there were scarcely half as many arrests of saloonkeepers, but the New York *Tribune*, in its report, naively declared that "from the Battery to the Bronx, with a few exceptions, saloonkeepers observed the seventh day as one of rest." Saloons were closed, but "hotels" were open, so that "no thirsty soul was unsatisfied," "no beer-seeking citizen failed to quench his thirst." Special attention was given on this Sunday to the Jews on the lower East Side who observe the seventh day. From 14 on the previous Sunday the number of arrests of small shopkeepers rose to 57. All of these were fined \$5 each. The offenses ranged all the way from the selling of peanuts to the selling of suits and furniture.

A young woman went into a little Hester Street millinery store to buy a feather with which to trim a new hat. The man who sold the feather was arrested. Another sold a cape; others sold hats, dress trimmings, linen, furniture, waists, underwear, men's hats, neckties, ribbons and innumerable other little things. Each and every one was arrested and locked up. Many of them succeeded in getting bail, but others were not so fortunate, and had either to stay in jail or resort to the usurious demands of the "professional" bondsman.

This brought "untold hardship to the thousands of Hebrews who may not buy on Saturday, their Sabbath, and cannot buy on Sunday, the legal day of rest." The order was changed on the following Sunday, Mayor Low having instructed the Commissioner of Police to see that the Jews were unmolested during the two Sundays of the Passover festival. All manner of trading went on on the 20th, and it is said that "for the first Sunday in months the 'kosher' or butcher shops were open and did business unmolested by the police."

NOTE AND COMMENT

Dr. T. DeWitt Talmage, the noted preacher, died in Washington on April 12. He was buried in Brooklyn, where he lived for so many years and where his famous tabernacle was located.



Wilhelmina, the young queen of Holland, was seriously ill with typhoid fever at one time during April, and talk of the establishment of a regency was rife for a few days. On April 22 the queen's condition had begun to improve.



"The imposition of grain duties by the British government after two generations of free trade in cereals," says the *Springfield Republican*, "will strongly support those who believe that the world has seen the British nation pass the zenith of its prestige and power."



Miss Ellen M. Stone, the missionary who was ransomed from the captivity in which she had been held by brigands in Turkey for several months, arrived in New York on April 10. The now inevitable outcome of great notoriety has ensued, and she has begun a lecture tour.



The new British custom taxes on grain have been promptly followed by an advance of two shillings a sack on the price of flour and a corresponding advance in the price of wheat. In the very hour of the cry of universal peace war is advancing the price of the prime necessities of life.



On April 1 the House of Representatives at Washington voted down an amendment to the sundry civil appro-

priation bill providing for an appropriation to maintain the light on the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor. It seems, however, that the War Department has since made provision for maintaining the same, so the "torch of liberty" will resume its shining.



"It is impossible," says the *Springfield Republican*, "not to admire the coolness with which Elihu Root, who contemptuously declared in his Canton speech in 1900 that 'government does not depend upon consent,' asserts that Gen. Miles' plan, if carried out, would subject the Filipinos 'to the arbitrary rule of a military dictator.' This should remind every one that the government which is now granted to the Filipinos is nothing but a despotism, and that the whole Philippine administration is under the direction of the War Department."



Notwithstanding the fact that the president-elect of Cuba has plainly stated that he and the Cuban people desired that the harbor and city of Havana shall be left entirely to their own control, it is by no means certain that this will be the case. The American naval authorities report that the harbor of Havana is the one best suited for an American coaling and naval station and shipyard, and that the other contemplated stations are of practically no value. And thus it is very probable that, in spite of the earnest and very plainly manifested wishes of the Cubans, a foreign flag will permanently float in, or within sight of, their capital. Thus does "necessity" operate to palsy the resolutions and to defeat the intentions of "benevolence" and "humanity."

The discussion in Congress of the matter of franchises and the taking up of public lands in the Philippines has developed the fact that at least one American corporation has begun to plan for the use of slave labor on Philippine plantations, a contract with that end in view having been entered into with a group of Moro chiefs. There may yet be developments in this direction as startling as those which have recently transpired of the brutality of the American soldiery. There are plenty of corporations that will not hesitate to use slave labor if it is to be had. It remains to be seen whether or not conditions will be such that it can be had.



Strong efforts are being made by their friends in the United States to prevent the carrying out of the sentence of the Cuban court in the cases of the three Americans convicted of defalcations in the postal service. The men were prominent politicians before going to Cuba, and some of their political intimates think that it is too bad that they should be punished for their deeds. The cases have been appealed to the supreme court of Cuba. Each was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, with fines, covering the total amount of the defalcation, apportioned thus: C. F. W. Neely, \$56,701; W. H. Reeves, \$35,516; E. G. Rathbone, \$35,324.



Conditions among the soldiers in the Philippines has led to the issuance by the Secretary of War, by direction of President Roosevelt, of what is said to be "a remarkable general order on the health of the army." The document is pervaded by high and worthy ideas on the subject, and manifests an earnest desire to save the young soldiers from the evils which surround them and pervade the army. Regimental and company officers

are urged by precept and example to lead the men under their control to shun intemperance and vice. The fact is impressed that there is but one way to prevent the horrible diseases which vice entails, and that is "to diminish the vice which is the cause of these diseases."



The Virginia Constitutional Convention has been in session about ten months. On April 5 a recess was taken until May 22. The indications are that before adjournment a "suffrage" and "understanding" clause similar to those of other States will be incorporated into the Constitution. But this discrimination against and interference with the suffrage of the negro is strongly opposed in some quarters, the *Richmond Times* advising against the adoption of the clause in question. But the indications are that Virginia will go the way of other Southern States in this matter. It is doubtful yet as to whether or not the people will be allowed to vote upon the new Constitution, there being a strong disposition to have it "proclaimed."



Interference with the freedom of the press has been taking place in Manila recently. Editors of newspapers have been arrested and in some cases fined and imprisoned for criticising the government or its officials. One editor was charged with sedition because he reprinted an article from an American periodical and added thereto a criticism of the Taft Commission. Another was arrested because he called for the resignation of a judge. The civilian professional men of Manila are said to be opposed to the repressive attitude of the authorities toward the press. The *Springfield Republican* says that the atmosphere where such repression exists "is not American atmosphere; it is the atmosphere of Russia, Poland, Siberia and Turkestan; it is

stifling to American sentiment and tradition, and no one can be surprised that this arbitrary rule is beginning to arouse a spirit of protest among the editors, the lawyers, the doctors and the professional men generally of Manila."



At this writing there are good prospects of early peace between the British and the Boers in South Africa. Negotiations had been in progress between the military leaders for a week or two when, on April 18, it was announced that the negotiations had been postponed for three weeks. The delay was for the purpose of submitting the terms offered by the English to a plebiscite of the burghers, the Boer leaders being unwilling to decide the matter upon their own responsibility. A practical suspension of hostilities, though not a formal armistice, will prevail until the voting is over, which is expected to be about the middle of May. While independence is not to be granted to the Boers, it is evident that the British are offering more satisfactory terms than has been the case heretofore.



One of the most terrible disasters in this country during April, and what is said to have been one of the worst in the history of Ohio River navigation, occurred about 4 o'clock on the morning of April 20, when the steamer, *City of Pittsburg*, with 150 passengers on board, was destroyed by fire near Cairo, Ill. The passengers had to be aroused when the fire was discovered, and it burned so rapidly that scarcely half of them escaped burning or drowning. Heart-rending scenes were witnessed in the panic that occurred. On the night of April 16 a powder and dynamite explosion destroyed a barrack and killed more than a hundred soldiers and injured many other persons at Managua, Nicaragua.

The explosion was attributed to conspirators. As a result of earthquake shocks throughout Guatemala on the 18th, 19th and 20th of the month, two hundred persons were killed and many others injured, at least so it was reported.



The high price of meats is occasioning wide complaint, and even a demand for investigation by the Federal authorities into the "Beef Trust." The price of beef has been going up for several years, but recently there have occurred sharp advances. While the meat business is not controlled by any one concern, but is carried on by a number of independent packing companies, it is generally believed that the rise in price is due to a secret agreement among the packers. A demand is being made for the repeal of import duties on meats. It would seem that the way to defeat the "Beef Trust" would be to stop using meat. The New York Federation of Labor, representing nearly 150,000 workmen, came very near passing a resolution on April 20 calling upon its members and their families to go without meat for one month. Some thought the privation would be too great, and the resolution was defeated. There are people who live without meat entirely, and they are as well off physically, if not better, than those who use meat.



In his jubilee encyclical, which he intimated might be his last because of his extreme age, the Pope touched upon some things about as they are. Here is a portion of the encyclical:

Never has humanity found itself in a more miserable condition than it is at present. There is disorder in all social relations and especially in family relations. Excessive liberty has fostered socialism and anarchism. Unjust wars are waged by strong nations against weak peoples and exaggerated armaments among great nations produce an effect which is even more

disastrous than war and creates a world-wide inquietude. There are unceasing troubles and misery among the people, provoking them to an anarchism which henceforth promises to constitute a formidable party of malefactors working against all emperors, kings and presidents—indeed, against all governments, and these governments must adopt decisive measures to defend genuine liberty, and must enforce the teaching of religion.

Perhaps the condition of things may be somewhat exaggerated, for the Pope was seeking to impress the necessity for "the Church," the restoration of her temporal "rights," and governmental enforcement of "the teaching of religion." But certain it is that socialism and anarchism are on the increase, but this is not due to an "excessive liberty," but rather to the "unceasing trouble and misery among the people." Notice, the form of expression is, "Governments *must* adopt decisive measures to defend genuine liberty, and *must* enforce the teaching of religion." That is the language which is very natural for the Papacy.



On Sunday, April 13, the funeral of Wade Hampton, of South Carolina, took place at Columbia amid a great spontaneous demonstration of sorrow and respect which is said to have exceeded even that attending the specially prepared funeral of Calhoun. Thousands of people flocked to the city from all parts of the State, and affecting scenes were witnessed as the old men in gray, the few remaining survivors of the famous Hampton Legion, looked for the last time upon the countenance of their beloved chieftain. General Hampton was the grandson of Major-General Wade Hampton who served with distinction under Marion and Sumter during the Revolutionary War. Although an opponent of secession and a still more pronounced opponent of the slave trade,

General Hampton went with his State when it left the Union. He fought with conspicuous gallantry throughout the Civil War, being wounded again and again, and at its close was a Lieutenant-General. Later he was governor of South Carolina, and represented his State in the United States Senate for many years. At the most critical time of the reconstruction period in South Carolina General Hampton restrained popular passion, directed public sentiment, and opened the way for a peaceful solution of problems which threatened a local civil war. General Hampton was distinguished by his chivalry, sincerity, purity of motives and high sense of duty, and he evoked the warm personal affection of all who knew him. He had just passed his eighty-fourth year, and he died of no special ailment—simply succumbing to the full tide of years.



Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia, has been appointed by President Roosevelt a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Bishop Whipple, of the Episcopal Church. This appointment is commended by the daily press generally on the ground that as the Catholic Church "has a larger number of mission schools among the Indians than any other Christian denomination, and has for many years been laboring most effectively in the education and moral advancement of the Indians, it should have representation on the Board of Indian Commissioners." And the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* says that the selection of Archbishop Ryan is "an appropriate and graceful acknowledgement of the labors of the Church and a compliment to one of its most learned and distinguished clergymen." Now the appointment of Archbishop Ryan as a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners may be all

right, but if it has been done on the ground mentioned, it shows that the education of the Indians, even from the standpoint of the Government, is not a Government affair, but rather a church-and-state affair, and that the Indian Commissioners are not strictly governmental agents. It indicates that the work of the Indian Commissioners is a work in which the Government and the churches are in partnership. If such sentiments as the above prevail it will not be long before the Indian schools of the churches, and especially those of the Catholic Church, will be drawing from the Government the financial support which they received some years ago, and which was discontinued as inconsistent with the principle of separation of church and state.



Cecil Rhodes, the British-South African "empire-builder," died of heart failure, after a few weeks illness, at his home near Cape Town on March 26. "So little done; so much to do," are said to have been the words that fell from his lips several times before his death. Mr. Rhodes had some time ago selected the place of his burial on the Matoppo Hills, near Buluwayo, Matabeleland, and there, amid considerable pomp and in the presence of a large number of Matabele warriors, he was buried on April 10. At the same time memorial services were held in St. Paul's Cathedral, London. Mr. Rhodes left a remarkable will which emphasizes his personality. He seems to have planned both his sepulture and his will with the idea of making each further as much as possible after his death the one ambition which seems to have controlled his life—the extension of Anglo-Saxon dominion. By the terms of his will scholarships are provided at the University of Oxford for five students from Germany, a large number from the British colonies, and two for each State

and territory of the United States. His purpose in this was to promote such "a good understanding" between these three nations, but evidently especially between England and the United States, as "will secure the peace of the world." And with the peace of the world Mr. Rhodes meant the practical rule of the world. Although very much of a surprise, the favor to the United States is not looked upon as favorably as it might be. Americans are not enthusiastic over the idea of having their most promising young men educated at Oxford, which is noted for its aristocratic conservatism. The estimate of Mr. Rhodes is that he was a great man in his way, but his way was too much like that of other famous empire-builders; moral principles were too lightly heeded when material and political considerations were involved.



The attitude of the United States toward the Chinese is not likely to be one of the things dwelt upon by those who hold that their country "can do no wrong," notwithstanding the fact that the very drastic legislation proposed was rejected by the Senate on the 16th, and a milder measure passed. The measure which was being pushed by those most interested in excluding the Chinese would have been, it is declared by many, in violation of the treaty now existing with China. The measure adopted by the Senate continues the present exclusion law and extends it "to all territory under the jurisdiction of the United States," and prohibits the coming of Chinese from Porto Rico, Hawaii, or the Philippines into the United States and from passing from one of these possessions to another. The attempt by Senator Quay to have the "Christian" Chinese and those who assisted in the defense or relief of the foreign legations or the Pe-Tang Cathedral

during the "Boxer" outbreak, exempted from the operation of the law, has occasioned considerable humorous comment at Mr. Quay's expense. In the course of the debate preceding the defeat of the amendment one senator remarked that its adoption would make Mr. Quay "the most successful of all the missionaries who ever labored for the conversion of the Chinese," and that "every Chinaman seeking entrance into the United States would declare that Missionary Quay had persuaded him to become a Christian." Mr. Quay declared that he hoped it "would have the effect of Christianizing the whole Chinese empire." There was one point made by Mr. Quay, however, that was not very lame. He compared those favoring the drastic legislation proposed against the Chinese to the "Boxers," saying that the motto of the latter was, "Exclude the foreign devils; China for the Chinese;" and the motto of the former was, "Exclude the Chinese; America for the Americans."



The English nation is feeling more and more the despotism of war and is being made to realize that imperialism is a costly disease. During the past few months some English newspapers have been congratulating the country on the activity of business, and have tried to convince themselves and others that after all the Boer war was a great benefit to the nation. But level-headed observers have seen that this was but the fatal stimulation which desperate conditions always produce. Now the nation is stirred by the extension of taxation upon the food of the people which has come because of the enormous expense of the Boer war. The annual budget statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, presented to the House of Commons on April 14, reveals the fact that England is under the dire

necessity of taxing everything that can yield a revenue, even if it means the overthrow of the famous free-trade policy of the nation and the return to the "dear bread" conditions of the famous Corn Laws, which were repealed in 1849. The total war expense during the past three years has been so far £165,034,000, or upwards of \$825,000,000. Of this vast sum, which, by the way, is about the amount spent annually in England for intoxicating beverages, \$598,070,000 has already been raised—\$370,970,000 from borrowings and \$227,100,000 from special taxation, leaving a large deficit now to be met from further loans and additional taxes. This is to be met by floating another loan of \$160,000,000, suspending the sinking fund, issuing exchequer bills, and the increase of taxation as follows: A duty of threepence per hundredweight on all imported grain; a duty of fivepence per hundredweight on flour and meal; an increase of the income tax a penny in the pound; a one-penny tax on dividend warrants; and two-penny stamps on checks, instead of one penny as heretofore. While the import tax upon breadstuffs is not heavy, it will meet with the condemnation of a large portion of the English people, especially the poorer and the working classes, and will be regarded by many others as a distinctly backward step politically and economically, as it undoubtedly is. It is to the interests of England to have free entry of agricultural products, and when she begins to impose a duty upon them she hangs about her neck a stone that will drag her down. But this is the penalty of war—of imperialism. It is said that not since the Napoleonic wars has Great Britain been so beset financially. The Boer war, which was expected at the outset to be over in a few months and to cost about \$50,000,000, has already entailed a bonded obligation rising

above \$530,000,000, which is said to be about double what was paid off in the forty years from the end of the Napoleonic wars to the beginning of the Crimean war, and three times what was borrowed on account of the latter war.



Disturbances and bloodshed were reported during April from China, Russia and Belgium, not to speak of other places. In Belgium a Socialist agitation occurred, which became almost revolutionary for a few days. On the 12th there was rioting and bloodshed in Brussels. At a place called the *Maison du Peuple*, in one of the worst quarters of the city, riotous demonstrations were made in the evening, and the gendarmes dispersed the crowd by the use of Mauser carbines, loaded with that are called "strike" cartridges. Several rioters were killed and many persons wounded. At Grammont on the same day two rioters were killed and others wounded. Riotous demonstrations occurred at other points throughout the kingdom. The rioting was soon followed by a general strike throughout the country, and that in turn soon subsided. But as the cause of the dissatisfaction remains it is not expected that this will be the end of the matter. The trouble was over the suffrage. By a law passed some years ago every man was given the suffrage in Belgium, but those who had a certain amount of property or a certain degree of education were allowed several votes each, whereas the common man was restricted to one. The demand of the Socialists was for one vote for each voter. In Russia student riots and demonstrations occurred some time ago, preceded by the suspension of two of the leading newspapers of St. Petersburg for publishing articles reflecting upon the government, which it is said is taking

reactionary steps with regard to the reforms introduced by Alexander II. As a result of the student demonstrations ninety-five have been banished to Siberia and over 500 have been imprisoned by "administrative order," which means without trial. This has created widespread dissatisfaction which extends to all classes of society, and even portions of the army have shown a disposition to side with the people. In the midst of all this, on April 15, the Minister of the Interior, M. Sipiaguine, was assassinated by a student in the ministerial offices at St. Petersburg. Several attempts have also been made on the life of the prefect of police of Moscow. It is said that the situation in Russia "looks blacker than it has since the Nihilist days some twenty years ago." In China a formidable rebellion is in progress, and aside from that bloody riots have occurred where attempts have been made "to collect indemnities for the Catholics, as arranged between the officials and the priests." In the province of Pe-Chi-Li the soldiers slaughtered great numbers of villagers who resisted the collection of indemnities. In Southern China the Hing Chung Wooy, or "Chinese Progressive Society," said to be a branch of the Black Flag Society which organized the famous Tai-Ping rebellion forty years ago, has 50,000 insurgents in the field, with prospects of as many more being added to them. They are led by Dr. Sun-yat, said to be a graduate of Harvard University, and are armed with modern weapons. The object of the rebellion is said to be to overthrow the present Manchu dynasty, which is regarded as alien by the people of southern China. This outbreak is just the opposite of that of the "Boxers," being pushed by those in favor of progress and intercourse with foreign nations.

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