



THE SENTINEL OF LIBERTY

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

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THE SENTINEL OF LIBERTY

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COMPULSION, when applied in the domain of conscience, only drives men to wickedness under the cloak of religion, and thus brings disgrace upon both religion and the church.



THE gospel aims to make a man act like a Christian by converting him; legislation, when in the domain of religion, aims to make a man act like a Christian without converting him.



THE Christian church ought to be unlike the world, and should not complain if the practices of the world are in marked contrast with her own; this in the matter of Sabbath observance as in other things.



CHRIST does say, "Go ye therefore into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature," but he nowhere bids anybody to control the politics of the world. The minister who gets into politics gets outside the gospel commission.

HOWEVER free one may be from interference by his fellow-men, he only has *liberty* who is free in Christ Jesus.



EVERY man should know his own rights as a man; for then and then only can he know the rights of his fellow-men, for they are just the same as his own.



THE divine principle of self-government, self-control, makes unnecessary a pope in the church or a monarch in the state. "He that ruleth his own spirit" is greater "than he that taketh a city."

POLITICAL ATHEISM.

IT has been often charged against the framers of the national Constitution that they were political atheists, because they made the consent of the governed rather than the law of God the foundation of civil government. Those who make this charge belong to the class of individuals who put darkness for light and light for darkness. It states just the reverse of the truth.

Our forefathers who founded this nation said that civil governments are instituted among men to preserve the unalienable rights which all men have as their birthright; and in this they make a distinct acknowledgment of the Creator. *Not to have acknowledged that men have these rights would have been to deny the Creator.*

It was not by accident that the Declaration of Independence was made to say that "all men are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights." Leave the Creator out and there is no basis left for the doctrine of rights.

If there is no Creator to whom every human being owes allegiance and to whom he must answer for himself independently of all other persons in the world, the problem of human government has only such obligations to consider as arise from the relation of each man to his fellow-men. In that case the only rights that could exist would be such as would arise out of society and not those descending from a Creator. It would remain merely for society to ordain the manner in which it should exist, without being under obligation to any higher source of authority than itself. Men might claim that they possessed individual rights, but the answer would be that society is above the individual, as the mass is greater and more important than the unit. And if there were no higher authority in the world than human authority this answer would be wholly true, and the individual would be bound to submit *in all things* to the rule of society.

Recognizing man's relation to his Creator, civil government is obliged to consider men *as individuals*, each man having a sphere in which he stands by himself, apart from all other individuals that compose society. But ignoring the existence of man's Creator, civil government considers men not by themselves as individuals possessing rights which even the government must not disturb, but only as component parts of the political whole; and then the question to be considered in their government is not what rights do men have as individuals which civil government must preserve, but what is for the general good of the whole? In other words, "the greatest good to the greatest number."

And this shows the real meaning of this phrase as a rule of civil government: *it means political atheism*. It stands for a system which, instead of honoring God, really denies him altogether.

The noble men who ordained the Constitution of the United States, by making that instrument the embodiment of the doctrine of inalienable human rights, recognized the Creator from whom alone such rights could come. And the men who to-day call the Constitution a Godless document and demand that it contain a "recognition of God" which would ignore the rights of those for whom the Constitution is the fundamental law, thereby deny the doctrine of inalienable individual rights, deny the Creator, and become themselves the authors of the political atheism which they charge upon Washington, Jefferson, and their co-patriots.

The doctrine that man is the possessor of certain inalienable individual rights is fixed unalterably and eternally upon the doctrine that man is the workmanship of a sovereign Creator. To deny this doctrine of rights is to proclaim atheism. s.

IMPERIALISM—WHAT IS IT?

Now that the campaign is over (as it will be before this comes under the eye of the reader), it may be well to stop and candidly consider the meaning of the term "imperialism," so very familiar, and yet, it is to be feared, but little understood.

Imperialism is the opposite of republicanism, and republicanism, as defined by Abraham Lincoln, is "government of the people, by the people, for the people." And this is exactly what the American Government was designed to be and what it still professes to be. That it has always been exactly this, or that it now is exactly this, probably nobody will assert. Indeed, this is the ideal conception of government, and the ideal is difficult, if not impossible, of attainment in things human.

But the fact that things human are of necessity imperfect is no reason why men should not strive after the ideal in government. Touching the purpose of the fathers of the Republic in giving to their countrymen and to the world the Declaration of Independence, Mr. Lincoln said:

"They meant to set up a standard maxim for free society, which should be familiar to all and be revered by all; constantly looked to, constantly labored for, *and even though never perfectly attained, constantly approximated, and thereby constantly spreading and deepening its influence and augmenting the happiness and value of life to all people of all colors everywhere.*"

This and this alone is genuine republicanism. Adopt any other idea, lose sight of this ideal and settle down content with something else, admit, for example, that there are some people who have not the inherent right of self-government and who must be governed despotically by others, and the high "maxim" has been abandoned, the principle violated and genuine republicanism relegated to the realm of the impracticable.

But in truth there are but two ways in which people can be governed: they must be governed either by themselves or by others. The first is self-government—republicanism; the second, government by others—imperialism.

To depart from the principles of republicanism and adopt the principles of imperialism it is not necessary that a people shall conquer and make subject to themselves other peoples. The principle of self-government may be repudiated just as fully in domestic affairs as in the arbitrary government of distant provinces.

Prior to the great civil war of 1861 to 1865, Abraham Lincoln showed very clearly that the principles of the Declaration of Independence were violated by this nation in the maintenance of human slavery. With that incisive logic of which he was master, and with a grand eloquence due not so much to rhetoric as to truth, Mr. Lincoln, standing upon the Declaration of Independence, plead with telling effect the cause of the oppressed and down-trodden. The world knows the result.

And now again this same question of the right and nature of self-government is before the American people. Ere this paper falls from the press the people may have voted to sustain the policy of imperialism as applied to the islands recently acquired from Spain; or it may be that they will have repudiated the imperialistic policy as applied to those islands. But in neither case will the duty of those who would be true to their fellowmen and to themselves be done.

In the contest to be decided before this paper is off the press, one party has in effect declared in favor of imperialism, and the other against it. But who does not know that so far as the real principle is concerned, honors are practically even as between these parties? The very machinery of the parties themselves, with "boss rule," which so completely dominates not simply the party caucuses and conventions, but through these the whole governmental machinery from the smallest municipality to the Federal Government, is thoroughly imperialistic. Who believes that Tammany really represents Greater New York or that the corrupt Republican machine in Philadelphia is representative of the people of the Quaker city?—Nobody!

Again, the very party which in this campaign poses as the champion of self-government denies in several States the identical principles advocated in its national platform. The open, wholesale disfranchisement of the negroes of several of the Southern States is as certainly a violation of the principles of the Declaration of Independence as is anything that the Government has done or can do in the

Philippines. Thus, as touching the real principle, there is little to hope for from either of the great parties, nor indeed from any party.

If the rights of the people are to be preserved, it must be by the people themselves. And it is a sad fact that as a people we are rapidly losing the faculty of self-government. Self-government is only another name for self-control, and when the people fail to exercise self-control, when a whole community, or even a large proportion of a community, so far loses this faculty that they must be governed by force, there remains for that people only imperialism. Hence this is not a political question but a question of vital principle which touches, even if it does not shape, the character of every man.

THE SENTINEL OF LIBERTY is not only non-partizan, but it is non-political. We deal not with party questions or platforms, but with great underlying principles of justice. We seek not to mold national but individual life. It makes but little difference what party platforms are; they are made for campaign purposes and are not generally taken very seriously after they have served their purpose, but it makes a great deal of difference what the *people* are. We want the people—each individual for himself—to be loyal in his own heart and in his own life to the principle of right and justice, which is the principle of self-government, of self-control, not license for self and arbitrary control for the other man. This is where we believe God wants every man to stand, and it is where no party does *consistently* stand. B.

WHEN the church forsakes the power of the gospel for the power of the state, she forsakes the blessed ministrations of the olive, the fig tree, and the vine for the thorns of the unfruitful bramble. She has no longer for men the fat fruit of the olive, the sweet and good fruit of the fig tree, and the cheering wine of the vine. She has only the lacerations, and bruises, and tyranny of the bramble, and instead of preserving men's lives, devours them. She deprives men of the *substance* of good things and leaves them no support but her own *shadow*.

"THE natural rights of men, civil and political, are liberty, equality, security, property, social protection, and resistance to oppression."

GOVERNMENT AND RELIGION.

A PROMINENT National Reformer, Rev. J. M. Foster, of New York, a minister of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, has recently given his reasons for not supporting the United Christian Party, even though its platform recognizes "God as sovereign, the Lord Jesus as King, and the Bible as the supreme law in national affairs." Of the party in question Mr. Foster says:

"They act within the political body that has accepted of authority under the Constitution of the United States, and their candidates, if elected, would be required to swear to support the Constitution.

"The national Constitution is the supreme law of the land and not a party platform, and while their sentiments before election day are good, their conduct in administering the Government would be regulated by a Constitution that does not mention God's name nor acknowledge Christ nor refer to the Holy Word. The sentiments of their platform reach to heaven, their conduct in office would be chained to earth by an immoral Constitution which they swear to support.

"Covenanters refuse to support the Constitution of the United States, either personally as officers or representatively at the ballot-box. They are not indifferent to politics, but there is a higher law to which we owe our allegiance. We take this position not from sentiments of unpatriotic disloyalty to our country, but from motives of patriotic loyalty to Christ. We can not take the oath of allegiance to the United States."

Doubtless Mr. Foster is entirely conscientious in this matter. The Scotch Covenanters, of whom the Reformed Presbyterians are the lineal descendants, witnessed to the sincerity of their faith by the things they suffered; but sincerity does not prove that its possessors are right; it simply entitles men to respect not due to mere pretenders.

Inasmuch as Mr. Foster and his coreligionists believe in moral reform by political action it is not easy to see why they refuse to act politically until the reform they seek has been accomplished. Whether they participate in the affairs of government or not, they are part and parcel of the people, and with us the people are, theoretically at least, the governing power. Therefore, if, as Mr. Foster maintains, the Government has an individuality and a responsibility apart from the individuals who compose the nation, we confess that we can not see how any one is going to escape his share of that responsibility simply by refusing to act his part.

It is not, however, the thought of the writer that any one is under moral obligation either to vote or to hold office. Quite the contrary, but this is only because we do not believe with Mr. Foster that moral reform may be accomplished by vote of Congress or that moral responsibility can by any possibility attach to anything except to moral persons—that is, to individuals.

Anybody may swear allegiance to the Constitution of the United States and go to work the next moment to secure the most radical changes in that instrument without violating his oath, *provided always* he proceeds according to constitutional methods. If, therefore, it is Christian duty to agitate for political reforms or for moral reforms by political methods and through political channels, then Mr. Foster and his fellow-reformers are clearly without excuse in their refusal to participate in politics simply because the Constitution is not now what they believe it should be.

But we are not of the number of those who believe that Mr. Foster and his coreligionists are advocating a real reform. They demand, first of all, that the national Constitution shall "acknowledge Almighty God as the author of the nation's existence and the ultimate source of its authority, Jesus Christ as its ruler, and the Bible as the supreme rule of its conduct, and thus indicate that this is a Christian nation, and place all Christian laws, institutions, and usages of our Government on an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of the land."

Let us see what is involved in this, or rather let us examine briefly one or two things involved in it. First, if it is designed to be more than merely complimentary; if it is to be practical, and Jesus Christ is indeed to be king, and the Bible the supreme rule of governmental action, then as Jesus Christ is not here in person, as he would not himself sit upon the throne, there would necessarily be a vicegerent or one to rule instead of Jesus Christ and in his name. But this would be nothing short of another papacy, an exact image or likeness of the Roman Papacy.

Again, if the Bible were indeed to be the supreme rule of governmental action it would of necessity be judicially interpreted either arbitrarily by the pretended vicegerent of Jesus Christ or by the courts, just as the Constitution and laws of Congress are now construed by the courts. And this was

boldly avowed before a committee of Congress by Rev. Dr. McAllister, a prominent National Reformer, March 11, 1896. At that time Doctor McAllister said, "We must interpret the Bible." And again, at the same hearing, Doctor McAllister said:

"In such cases the individual conscience must yield to the conscience of the whole people, which is over him, and should be over him in order to enforce what is right, but which can be over him only by recognizing the Lord's supreme authority over the nation."

Much more might be quoted, both from the two gentlemen named and from other representative National Reformers, but enough has been given to show that Mr. Foster and those who are of the same way of thinking regard the Constitution as immoral solely because it recognizes the right of every man to relate himself to God as he deems most fitting, and does not confer authority upon any man nor upon any set of men to dictate to others in matters of religious faith or practice. These men have a perfect right not to vote, but they ought to be able to give a more rational and more liberal reason for their course than that given by Mr. Foster. B.

THE PAPACY AND PROGRESS.—I.

REV. THOMAS H. MALONE, in his article of dissent from Catholic federation in the October *North American Review*, to which attention was called in these columns recently, while declaring such action to be "pernicious in itself," puts forth as his chief objection that it will "prove injurious to Catholics," and is "likely to react upon Catholics everywhere." He considers the loyalty of Catholics to American institutions as beyond question, but in view of the fact that "ruthless and malign has been the misrepresentation in certain quarters of the spirit of Catholic citizens," such movements as that being forwarded by Bishop McFaul are very unwise because they give excuse for certain "fanatics" to continue their "groundless attacks." In discussing this point Mr. Malone says:

"Catholics owe it to themselves to avoid giving, by their attitude or their acts, even the semblance of probability to the statements of those who, when talking about them, argue from the viewpoint of the Middle Ages, and picture Catholics doing now what Catholics did then. Enlightened non-Catholics realize full well that non-Catholics in the Middle Ages

did many things which their coreligionists would not do now, and appreciate clearly that Catholics have not been left out in the grand march of progress, which has brought with it new ideas, new interests, and new ways of looking at things.

"In the Middle Ages and the period of the Reformation politics and religion were almost one. To-day men, whether Catholics or Protestants, separate their politics and religion. * * *

"At the present time * * * the best of our citizens, those who have helped to make this country what it is and will continue to assist in her progress on broad humanitarian lines, have no fear of the Catholic element of our citizenship, which has been with us since the beginning and has thrown itself nobly into the common struggle.

"These people know that we are all 'brothers under the skin,' and whatever has happened in past ages, both sides were to blame, and both have learned the lesson of tolerance, liberality, and nationality, and it is not for us to throw into each other's faces the blood they then spilled, and which has long since cried to heaven for vengeance."

Some Questions.

Now the writer has no desire to quarrel with Mr. Malone, nor to make any attacks upon Catholics, "groundless" or otherwise. He does not desire to question the loyalty of Catholics nor to say that they have "been left out in the grand march of progress." The statements of Mr. Malone may be, and doubtless are, true with reference to great numbers of Catholics as individuals, but certainly he is mistaken if he means that his language shall be taken as applying to the Catholic Church itself. Has the Papacy "learned the lesson of tolerance"? Has she learned to "separate politics and religion"? Has she kept up with "the grand march of progress"? Has she learned "new ways of looking at things"? Will she not do now what she did in the Middle Ages? These are vital questions that are suggested by the language of Mr. Malone.

In securing satisfactory answers to these questions it is unnecessary to go back to Torquemada and the Inquisition, to St. Bartholemew and the rejoicings of Gregory XIII., to the Duke of Alva and the wholesale murder of Protestants in the Netherlands, to the Dragonade and Louis XIV., or to the thunders of the papal pontiffs against the Albigenes and Waldenses. These are, indeed, things that can not be blotted from human memory, but we turn elsewhere for the attitude of the Papacy to-day.

"Pope Leo Speaks to America."

It would be easy to pile up quotations from Catholic authorities showing that the church to-day stands where she has always stood, and that she is not only not ashamed of her record during the Middle Ages, but stoutly insists that she was right then and would be right in doing the same things now. But it is sufficient for the present purpose to go directly to the present head of that church and ascertain from him—the greatest living authority—the present attitude of the church. This he has made very plain on many occasions, but on none more plain than in his encyclical published in this country early in 1895. This document is recent and authoritative, and the writer will confine himself in this article quite closely to it in its bearing upon the questions enumerated above.

This encyclical has not received the attention that it deserves. Some stir was made over it *before* its appearance, but there has been little reference to it since. It came shortly after the appointment of an "apostolic delegate" to this country and the announcement from Catholic sources that the Pope had elevated "the United States to the first rank as a Catholic nation." The attention of the whole country had been called to this forth-coming document months before its appearance in the press on the morning of January 29, 1895. We shall quote from it as it appeared in the New York *Herald*, where it was published under the heading, "Pope Leo Speaks to America." A brief glance at the opening paragraphs is sufficient to show that no more appropriate heading could have been given it, for the Pope, while ostensibly addressing "our Venerable Brethren, the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States," was really speaking to the American people themselves in their national capacity.

The Pope's Regard for "Christian" America.

In the opening paragraph the Pope expresses his high esteem and exceeding love for "the young and vigorous American nation." In the second paragraph he tells how he "commemorated together with you" the celebration by "your whole nation" of "the completion of the fourth century since the discovery of America." So greatly did he share in these rejoicings that he could not be "content with offering prayers at a distance for your welfare and greatness," but wished to be "in some manner pres-

ent with you in your festivities." "Hence," he says, "we cheerfully sent one who would represent our person." Satolli was the person sent, and he came not alone to represent the Pope at the World's Fair, and in that way alone to show the Pope's interest in the affairs of the American people, but with his coming to this country there was established "by the Apostolic See" "an American Legation." "By this action," the Pope says at another place in the encyclical, "as we have elsewhere intimated, we have wished, first of all, to certify that *in our judgment and affection America occupies the same place and rights as other states, be they ever so mighty and imperial.*" This action, he says farther, "accorded with the usage and policy of the Apostolic See. For it has been, from earliest antiquity, the custom of the Roman Pontiffs, in the exercise of the divinely bestowed gift of the primacy in the administration of the Church of Christ, *to send forth legates to Christian nations and peoples.*" Thus the pope responded to the declaration of the Supreme Court but a short time before that "this is a Christian nation." And let it be noted that that response, in the language of the Pope himself, was but the carrying out of "*the custom of the Roman Pontiffs*" "*from the earliest antiquity.*"

In the next paragraph the Pope declares that it was with "good reason" that he took part in this celebration of *the whole people of this country*, and gives as one reason that "when America was as yet but a new born babe, uttering in its cradle its first feeble cries, the Church took it to her bosom and motherly embrace." Continuing with these "reasons," he says:

"The very names newly given to so many of your towns and rivers and mountains and lakes, teach and clearly witness how deeply your beginnings were marked with the footprints of the Catholic Church. Nor perchance, did the fact that we now relate take place without some design of Divine Providence. Precisely at the epoch when the American colonies, having, with Catholic aid, achieved liberty and independence, coalesced into a constitutional republic, the ecclesiastical hierarchy was happily established among you, and at the very time when the popular suffrage placed the great Washington at the helm of the Republic, the first bishop was set by apostolic authority over the American church. The well-known friendship and familiar intercourse which subsisted between these two men seems to be an evidence that the United States ought to be conjoined in concord and amity with the Cath-

olic Church. And not without cause, for without morality the state can not endure."

It is interesting to note how much the Pope finds in common between the young republic of the New World, the great distinction of which has been the fact that it has in principle and largely in practice utterly divorced church and state and repudiated and denied the use of force in matters of opinion and religion, and the old sorceress of tyranny of the Old World whose chief distinction is that of occupying the highest place "among the contrivances which have been devised for deceiving and oppressing mankind." And it is interesting, too, to note with what care he manufactures the basis for the conclusion that this republic "*ought to be conjoined in concord and amity with the Catholic Church.*" This conclusion is the key of his encyclical; and the quotations thus far made are a fitting introduction to the paragraph to which especial attention should be given.

The Papacy and the Fathers of the Republic.

But first, we can not forbear a few remarks relating to the quotation just given. There may have existed the utmost friendship between John Carroll, the first bishop of Baltimore, and Washington and other great Americans of that day, but it does not follow by any means that the Catholic system was especially in favor among them, or that they felt at all the need of the "motherly embrace" of the church or that "the United States ought to be conjoined in concord and amity with the Catholic Church" in the sense in which the Pope uses these words. When, in 1783, the Pope, through his nuncio at Paris, made overtures to Franklin on the subject of appointing an apostolic vicar for the United States (extending, as it were, the arms of the church for the "motherly embrace"), he was informed that the subject, being purely spiritual, was not a matter with which the American Government could properly have anything to do. James Madison and others in Virginia considered it of the utmost importance to oppose a measure because they saw in it that which would "lead us back to the church of Rome." The first Continental Congress, in its memorial addressed to the people of Great Britain, written by John Jay, used these words in speaking of the establishment of the Catholic religion by the English government in a portion of the Dominion of Canada: "Nor can we suppress our astonishment that a British parliament should ever consent to

establish in that country a religion that has deluged your island in blood, and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder, and rebellion through every part of the world." Honor should be given to whom honor is due, and it may be and doubtless is true that John Carroll is entitled to the credit and honor of having done what he could to aid the colonies in securing their independence, but it will never be possible for Leo XIII. or any one else to show that the Catholic Church is entitled to any credit or any honor for the Declaration of Independence and the setting up of a government on its principles.

The consideration of these things showing the real drift of the encyclical makes it necessary to leave until next week the important paragraph.

JOHN D. BRADLEY.

A TALE OF TWO NATIONS.

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

No one can read the history of the infancy and early childhood of these United States and not become deeply impressed with the sacred reverence in which the Fathers held the pillars of priceless principle upon which the sheltering roof to so many millions—the Constitution of the United States, was upreared.

In the speeches, the letters, and the state papers of the time this everywhere appears. There is a rich fervor of righteousness and truth in them all. There is manifest a wealth of honesty and robustness of true life which is indeed refreshing. There is an entire absence of cant and catchy phrase making, and in its place a steady stream of loyalty to those principles of government to which they had pledged "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor."

"It would be unbecoming," said President John Adams when Congress first met at Washington, "the representatives of this nation to assemble for the first time in this solemn temple without looking up to the Supreme Ruler of the universe and imploring his blessing.

"May this territory be the residence of virtue and happiness! In this city may that piety and virtue, that wisdom and magnanimity, that constancy and self-government which adorned the great character whose name it bears be forever held in veneration! Here and throughout our contry may

simple manners, pure morals, and true religion flourish forever!"—*Fourth Annual Address, November 22, 1800.*

Mirrored in these words are the innate desires of the founders of the nation. Their love for their country was not in word only, "but in deed and in truth." And we can truthfully say of them, as was fittingly said of George Washington just after he had passed away:

"Ancient and modern names are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied, but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of his virtue. It reprov'd the intemperance of their ambition and darkened the splendor of victory. The scene is closed, and we are no longer anxious lest misfortune should sully his glory. He has traveled on to the end of his journey and carried with him an increasing weight of honor. He has deposited it safely where misfortune can not tarnish it, where malice can not blast it."—*Address of Samuel Livermore, President of the Senate pro tempore, to John Adams, President of the United States, in behalf of the Senate, on the occasion of the death of George Washington.*

The jealous care with which these great men guarded the inviolability of the "consent-of-the-governed" principle is illustrated to a remarkable degree by the manner in which they feared the "party spirit."

Primarily it must be borne in mind that the founders of the American Republic did not anticipate in the beginning that America would ever be ruled by political parties. They regarded political parties as a menace to free government, and as a factor in events possessing a tendency to make null and void the consent-of-the-governed system in the North American Union.

These thoughts are admirably set forth in the famous Farewell Address of George Washington, as well as in the state papers of some of his immediate successors in the presidential chair:

"In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union it occurs as matter of serious concern that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—*Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western*—whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts.

You can not shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heartburnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. * * *

"All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction; to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put in the place of the delegated will of a nation the will of a party, often a small, but artful and enterprising minority of the community, and, *according to the alternate triumphs of different parties*, to make the public administration the mirror of ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common counsels and modified by mutual interests.

"However combinations of associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely in the course of time and things to become potent engines by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government, destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

"Toward the preservation of your Government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. * * *

"I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, *and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.*

"This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed, but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

"The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which, in different ages and countries, has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism.

The disorders and miseries which result gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual, and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

"Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it."

"It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosities of one part against another; foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passion. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

"There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose; and there being constant danger of excess the effort ought to be by force of public opinion to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame lest, instead of warning, it should consume."—*From the Farewell Address of George Washington, September 17, 1796. Vide The Messages and Papers of the Presidents by Hon. James D. Richardson, of Tennessee, vol. 1, pp. 213 et seq.*

PERCY T. MAGAN.

(Continued next week.)

CATHOLIC INDIAN SCHOOLS.

THIS article which we reprint verbatim, including the heading, from the *Catholic Standard and Times* of Philadelphia, shows most conclusively that the question of Catholic Indian Schools is not settled. Depend upon it, we shall very soon hear more upon this subject. The *Standard's* article is as follows:

"Non-Sectarianism Spells Protestantism.

"Recently we showed by the terms of official reports from the Bureau of Education, Washington,

D. C., that in Alaska grants of money and live stock are being systematically paid to Protestant missions in Alaska through the Rev. Sheldon Jackson. Alaska stands in relation to the United States in much the same position as the Indian Territories. Recently it was stated, publicly and emphatically, that the Government had once for all made up its mind that no more money would be paid to contract schools of any denomination, and it has rigidly carried out its stern decree in regard to the unhappy Catholic Indians.

"As for those who are not Catholics, so far as their material interests are concerned, they are in no way affected by the decision. Practically the change of policy means the coercion of the Indians to accept the Protestant religion or starve. The methods by which this insidious scheme is being worked are graphically described in a number of letters now given to the world in the November issue of the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*. One of them tells how in a certain agency nineteen public schools have been erected under cover of being non-sectarian. All these are simply Protestant schools, and open and undisguised Protestant teaching is given in some. This is exemplified in the fact that Bibles are being given in them by Protestant clergymen and the children are being compulsorily baptized in the Protestant faith, even against their protests.

"These flagrant violations both of the Constitution and the Government's stern declarations against the sectarian principle are being perpetrated under circumstances which make the proselytism a thousand-fold more intolerable and galling. In the fact that it is the Indians' own money that is being utilized to paganize or Protestantize them is found the very cynicism of arbitrary wrong. The Indians in some of those places have petitioned that their children be sent to Catholic schools and the expense be deducted from the allowance made to them, under covenant, in lieu of the lands they handed over to the Government. But these petitions the rigidly impartial State Department has stoically refused. The Indians must not do as they please with their own money, but must have it bestowed as martinets in Washington and in Congress wish.

"Meanwhile the pall of starvation hangs over the the Catholic schools. Nothing more pitiable than the present condition of the schools thus left derelict ever appealed to the hearts of the just and merciful. The teaching staffs in many cases are in a state of absolute famine, and the few poor Indian charges whom they have left suffer the pangs of hunger as well. The children pine under 'half rations,' while the religious who teach them half starve themselves in order to spare their slender store for their more tender charges. Think of it!

Forty days and nights in the wilderness with naught but spiritual sustenance to uphold the brave hearts who thus devote their lives to the service of those miserable 'wards of the nation'—the most pitiless guardian that was ever set over brother as his keeper.

"We can add nothing to the pathos of this story. It must go straight home to every noble heart, Catholic or Protestant, and waken the generous impulses of the better part of the people. But for Catholics it can have but one message. It must rouse them to instant effort for the relief of the stricken Catholic Indians and their teachers."

ROME AND THE BIBLE.

From the Lutheran Witness.

THE bold statement has lately been made that the Romish Church fostered the circulation and study of the Bible in the vernacular even before the Reformation, and that she has not opposed the spreading of the Scriptures. In searching for historical truth in this matter it is necessary to bear in mind that the Romish Church has not always been and is not always in harmony with herself. Her history is notoriously of such composition as to admit of being adduced either in the affirmative or in the negative of many questions. All that is needed is to know what is to be proved or disproved, and the "painstaking" Romish historian will find the history to fit the case. Besides, Rome is very shrewd in accommodating herself to surroundings, and is never worse, from an evangelical viewpoint, than the times and other circumstances will permit. To judge of her position on any point it is necessary to know her express doctrine in connection with her practice when she felt free to carry out her will.

The Testimony of History.

The testimony of trustworthy history proves that Rome regards the Bible as a dangerous book for Christians, especially when read by laymen in their own language. The rule is that laymen are not permitted to read the Scriptures. In exceptional cases laymen may have the Word in a Romish translation if the respective bishops will give written permission; but the bishop must give this permission only when the father confessor certifies that the respective applicant is sufficiently grounded in papistical doctrine. Whoever, without such permission, is found in possession of a Bible in the vernacular lays himself

open to the suspicion of heresy, commits a great sin, and can not receive absolution until he has surrendered the book. The book dealer who sells a Bible to a Romish layman who has not the permission to read the same, is taken under discipline. This, we find, is the attitude in which history, past and present, finds Rome against the general reading of the Bible.

The Bible Placed on the "Index."

In proof, a few references. The great Pope, Gregory VII., wrote in 1080 that God was pleased to have the Word remain unknown in some localities in order to save the people from error. The Council of Toulouse, in 1229, prohibited laymen from possessing the two Testaments, and even from reading the Psalter in the vernacular. Similar action was taken by the Council of Tarragona, 1234. In 1564 Pope Pius IV. approved the following decree of the Council of Trent: "Whereas experience has taught us that the reading of the Bible in the vernacular has done more harm than good, be it resolved that the permission of the bishop or of the inquisition must be procured by the priest for such person as desires to read the Scriptures in the vernacular and is known to be sound in faith and in piety. This permission shall be given in writing. On the other hand, if any one desires to possess and to read the Bible without such permission; he shall not receive absolution from sins until he has placed the Bible in the hands of the officer sent by the bishop." Sixtus V. (1585-1590) amended this rule by ordering that even a bishop is not allowed to grant such permission to a layman, while Urban VIII. decreed in 1631 that not even a bishop himself is allowed to read a vernacular Bible without permission from the Pope. It is said that in the "Jesuits' Confession," called the "Hungarian Formulary of Damnations," is contained the blasphemous expression, "We confess that the reading of the Holy Scriptures is the origin of all heresies and sects and a source of blasphemy." In the beginning of the nineteenth century Dr. Leander Van Ness, a Romish professor of theology in the University of Marburg, finished a translation of the Bible which was at first received with approbation by the Romish authorities; but when it began to be distributed too generally among the people it was placed on the "Index" or list of books with which faithful Romanists must have nothing to do.

The Gospels Suppressed in France.

In 1886, Henri Lasserre, a faithful Romanist, published a translation of the Gospels into French. He was known before that time as the author of a successful book on Lourdes and the miracles wrought there, of which he claimed to have proof in his own person. Turning to the study of Holy Writ, he derived so much benefit from the reading of the Book of books, that he determined to share this blessing with his fellow-believers, of whom hundreds, he said, who partook of the sacraments, had never opened a Bible. His translation, fairly correct and dedicated to "Our dear Lady of Lourdes," was received with the greatest approval by the highest Romish authorities, when, all of a sudden, on December 19, 1887, a decree of the "Congregation of the Index" appeared by which the book was unreservedly condemned, its publication forbidden, and those in possession of copies ordered to surrender them to the ecclesiastical authorities. To-day the book belongs to the rarities.

Must Read in a Corrupted Text.

In order to stereotype and perpetuate error the Council of Trent placed the Apocryphal books—un-inspired human products—on equal rank with the books of God's Spirit-inspired revelation. Besides, that council decreed that "our Holy Mother, the church, possesses the sole right to define the true meaning and sense of the Holy Scriptures," and that the "holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church is the mother and mistress (regent and teacher) of all churches." To this, Cardinal Bellarmine, who lived in the seventeenth century and is the great exponent of popery as constituted under the Jesuitic system, adds: "Inerrancy is not found with a council of bishops; it is found only with the Pope." The Jesuits' Confession teaches: "All and everything taught, ordained, and instituted by the Pope, whether it is contained in the Scriptures or not, and whatever he commands must be accepted as saving and divine truth, and must, therefore, be held in higher esteem by the laity than even the commandments of the living God." And, lastly, when for good reasons it becomes necessary to allow the laity to have a Bible in the vernacular, the translation must be one "approved by the church," and must be read "with submission to the interpretation and authority of the church." This means that the Word must be read in the text—corrupted as every one

may know—that the Romish Church furnishes, and must be understood in the sense in which that church understands the Word. Thus the machinery for perpetuating error and superstition is perfect and efficient in either case, with or without the laity's having access to a Bible; and how cruelly in earnest the Romanists have been about quenching the light that would stream from an open Bible is evidenced by the dying groans of tens of thousands of martyrs, whose damning crime was loving and believing their Bible too well.

"Rome Never Changes."

But has not, perhaps, Rome changed? Rome! Changed! The Reverend Burry, writing in the *Lutheran Standard*, quotes from a Romish catechism written by a Romish bishop and used in the diocese of Columbus, O. It teaches that the laity may read the Scripture in the original Hebrew and Greek, or in the Latin Vulgate translation, or in an approved modern version; but always with due submission to the interpretation and authority of the church. This hatred for the Word manifests itself to-day in the priest-ruled republics of our hemisphere in persecution of those who would introduce the open Bible. Pope Leo XIII., the present "liberal" pontiff, is not one whit behind his predecessors in fulminating against Protestant Bible societies and against the spreading of the Bible as "a pestilence, the ruin of faith, the great danger for souls." True, the Romanist will lay much stress on the fact that it is "Protestant" translations and "Protestant" societies for the spreading of the Bible which the popes condemn. But history proves that even a version from a Romish source, issued by episcopal authority, may find a place on the index of prohibited books. Besides, if it is fear for the supposed errors in Protestant versions that has called forth the denunciation of Bible societies, why has the Romish Church never used a vanishing moiety of its all but limitless resources to spread its versions broadcast among its people? Where are the Romish Bible societies and where does the Romish clergy, except where forced to it by conditions over which they have no control, where does this clergy encourage the people to search the Scriptures in order that they may prove all things?

Dr. De Costa Answered.

Dr. De Costa, in his tirade against Protestants for maintaining that the Romish Church opposed

the spreading and popular reading of the Bible, makes much of the fact that there were in Germany, for example, versions of the Bible before Luther's translation. It has never occurred to any one to deny this historical fact. Between the years 1466 and 1522 there were printed in Germany as many as seventeen translations of the Bible into the vernacular. But the circulation was very limited for various reasons, prominent among which were the facts that the work of translation was so bunglingly done as to make the text well nigh unintelligible; and that the versions, made from the Vulgate, were replete with errors. Not until he was twenty years old, in 1507, did Luther, born of faithful church members, a diligent student and investigator, see a complete copy of the Bible. When, in 1522, he published his translation of the New Testament, the first edition of 3,000 was sold, at a comparatively high price, in the first three months. Afterwards edition after edition of the whole Bible was issued, and one hundred thousand copies, or more, were sold in forty years. Do these facts seem to bear out De Costa's statements about an "unchained" Bible, and that in "1507 small and cheap pocket editions were in circulation"? That Luther's translation was largely plagiarized from prior versions is one of those flings in the face of history and fact of which no one but a Romanist—preferably a newly converted one—could make himself guilty, and is altogether in line with the statement that in the "King James Version the Word of God was deliberately mutilated."

The translations of the Bible into the vernacular in the Middle Ages prior to the Reformation, were due largely, if not exclusively, to the dawning knowledge of the corruption and errors of the Papacy. Time and again men arose who saw more or less clearly the anti-Christian character of the Pope and his doctrine, and they sought for weapons in the Scriptures, as far as these were accessible. True, these translations fell far short of what they should have been, but they were far better than nothing and their effects were such as to rouse the murderous fury of the Romanists, who sought to root out these versions with fire and sword, and to offset them with translations from papistic sources. Since the Reformation the Romish Church has been largely on the defensive, and has been obliged to do, especially here in our country, what she would never think of doing in her day of uncontested supremacy. Whatever measure of encouragement and freedom for the

study of the Bible is given to Romanists here or elsewhere, is due largely to the spirit of the Reformation and the power with which God crowned this His work. Even for the followers of the Pope the Bible has been loosed from chains by the hand of God working through Martin Luther.

News, Notes . . . and Comment

THE *Defender*, the organ of the "New England Sabbath Protective League," notes in its November number that "the Synod of New York, which embraces all New England, took a decided position at its annual meeting with reference to Sunday closing at the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo. The clergymen and laymen making up that influential body," says the *Defender*, "were unanimous in their expression of opinion and their vote against Sunday opening." The *Defender* adds that "a committee of prominent business men of Buffalo was appointed by the Synod to further the movement for Sunday closing." "It will be a national disgrace," asserts the *Defender*, "if this great exposition, which will receive help from the United States Government, shall disregard the fundamental principles and practices of our national life." We would be pleased to be informed how long since Sunday observance became one of the "fundamental principles of our national life."



"We shall be pleased," says the organ of the "New England Sabbath Protective League," "to come into contact with all friends of the Lord's day in New England who believe that there are abuses which can be and should be remedied." We are not in New England, but we can point out one abuse that should be remedied; namely, the one very common in many places of invoking the civil law to compel all the people to keep Sunday simply because some of the people believe that keeping that day is a religious duty.



It was openly charged at the time of the great railroad strike in this city in 1894 that the burning of freight cars was not the work of the mob, but that

is was done by men in the employ of the railroads. The object, it was asserted, was to bring about Federal interference, which was finally secured. This charge seems to be sustained in large measure by evidence brought out in civil suits for damages brought by the railroads against the city and county. Ever since the great strike, attorneys for the labor unions have declared that the companies dare not allow these facts to be brought out in court, but recently one of these suits was tried and resulted in a verdict in favor of the city on the ground that the railroad companies, through their own employes, destroyed their own property, expecting, of course, to compel payment for it after the strike.



"THERE are those who deplore the fact that no World's Parliament of Religions was conducted in connection with the Paris Exposition," says the *Lutheran Witness*. "To make up in part for this seeming defect there has recently been held what is called the International Sunday Rest Congress, similar to the one at Brussels in 1896. Now we are not all clear as to what is what in this matter. It is announced that the assemblage was to consider 'only the physical and industrial gains arising from the week-day rest,' and yet, in the same breath, this congress is called 'an evidence of religion in its institutional form.' The very fact that religious journals attach any importance to such a project indicates that it is after all only an ill disguised attempt to further the cause of the 'Christian Sabbath.' If such is the case the Sunday Rest Congress is just as much out of place, and will do just as little real good as the World's Parliament of Religions did."



SPEAKING of the results of the eighteenth annual session of the Indian Conference, just held at Lake Mohonk, the *Independent* says: "For the Indian problem there is but one solution and conclusion,—the treating of the Indian just like the white man, giving him the same protection by law, the same privileges of citizenship and education and self-support, the same right and the same risk in paddling his own canoe in whatever waters he may choose."

Then the Indian will no longer constitute an exception to the rule of government by consent of the governed.

A ROMAN Catholic writer of some note takes a rather gloomy view of the future of "the church" in France, and predicts that "a day will of necessity come when they [the Protestants] will drive the cure from his church, the bishop from his cathedral, and every Catholic from public office."

If this is the trend in France the conditions are very unlike those in this country. Here Romanism is making very rapid progress, and is every day increasing its political influence. According to the best authorities, the same is true in other countries, notably England and Germany.



SUNDAY golf is said to be causing much discussion among golf players themselves at the present time in New England. The *Defender* suggests that "some timely, forceful sermons on 'amusements, their legitimate place, and the time for enjoying them,' delivered from pulpits, might have a restraining and healthful influence just now, if ministers would only preach them."



"MRS. CONGER, in a letter to her neice," says the *Christian Endeavor World*, "tells how a Chinese bullet made a hole in the Declaration of Independence in the American legation at Peking. The hole will be mended when an American is as safe in China as at home." It will take more than safety in China to repair the injury done to the Declaration of Independence, not by Chinese bullets, but by American politicians.

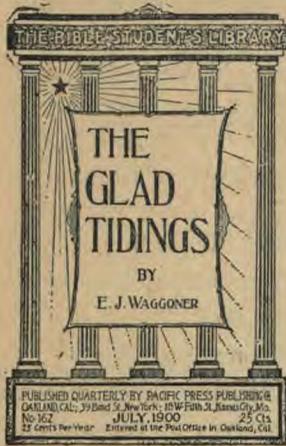


CAPTAIN LEARY, until quite recently governor-general of Guam, one of the islands acquired from Spain during the late war, is reported as saying in an interview that "if he had his way he would hang every American citizen who presumed to publicly express dissent from the present foreign policy of the Government, as it is being worked out in our dependencies." It may well be doubted whether the captain made the statement quite as strong as is reported, but the sentiment attributed to him is in perfect keeping with the spirit of imperialism.



MANY people have evidently grown tired of waiting for the coming of the kingdom of Christ, when war shall be learned no more, and so are declaring that the kingdom of Christ is war!—*Farm, Stock and Home*.

THE GLAD TIDINGS.



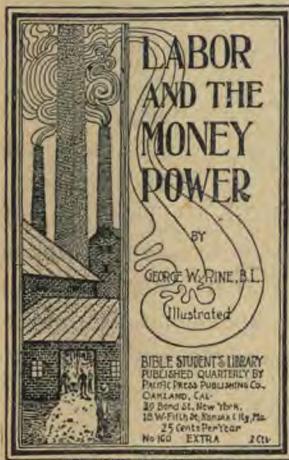
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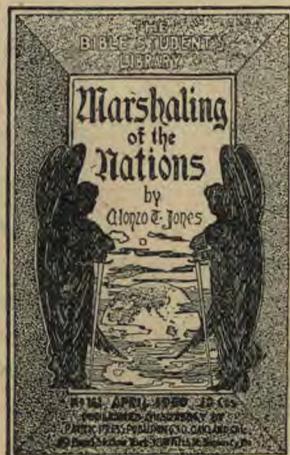
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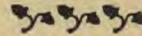
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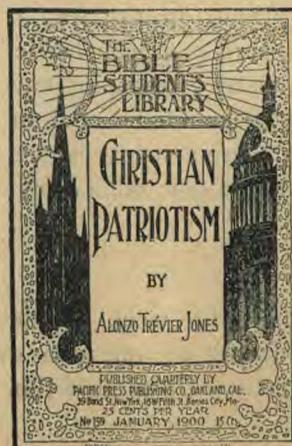
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CHICAGO, NOVEMBER 8, 1900.

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

THE secretary of the "New England Sabbath Protective League" reports through its organ that he has spoken seventeen times in the interests of the league the past month [October], and his engagements reach into February of 1901.



IT is stated that an anti-Sunday-excursion bill will be presented at the the next session of the Maine legislature. Most of the religious bodies in the State have appointed strong committees "to watch over the bill."



THE Bible will not be read in the public schools of Chicago. This decision was reached recently by the school board by a vote of thirteen to six. The vote was upon a book of selections made by a committee of which Professor Swing and Cardinal Gibbons were members. The book is in use in the schools of a number of American cities.



A RECENT London despatch says: "The Sultan of Turkey continues to oppress the Armenians in the most heartless manner, according to a report of Bishop Mush to the Armenian Patriarch at Constantinople. He says everything in the way of crops, sheep, cattle, and furniture has been carried off by the Kurds and that many Armenians have died of starvation. The report concludes that the despair of all Armenians in these districts is such that they have come to wish that a general massacre might terminate their sufferings."



THE election in California this week decides that State's future policy touching the question of the taxation of church property. Up to this time

church property in California has been taxed, but now, as the result of persistent agitation by church leaders, a constitutional amendment is before the people "to exempt from taxation all buildings used solely and exclusively for religious worship, and so much of the real property as is required for their convenient use and occupation."



THE State Christian Citizenship League of Illinois has sent to every candidate for election to the Illinois legislature a list of questions, with a request for an answer to the same. The attitude of the candidate toward these questions, it is understood, will in each case determine the attitude of the Christian Citizenship League toward the candidate at the polls. The questions in this case relate principally to the saloon, but if they related to Sunday enforcement and other religious measures it would not be beyond the scope of the Christian Citizenship movement, as outlined in its literature. We are unquestionably rapidly approaching the time when candidates for political office will have to pass a religious test in order to be sure of the church vote.



THE liquor dealers' organization in Lexington, Ky., is lending its influence in favor of Sunday closing of the saloons, so as to render these disreputable institutions "law-abiding." The saloon, however, being a natural breeder of crime, is a natural outlaw, and its character is not changed in the least by its observance of Sunday.

This attitude of the liquor organization is pleasing to some of Lexington's clergy, one of whom, in commending Sunday closing, said that "the continual strain on nerve and brain is too severe without such refreshing, invigorating, and elevating influences as come from one day out of every seven devoted to moral, intellectual, and physical repairs." This is a poor argument for Sunday closing as applied to the saloon. If the strain of keeping open and doing business seven days in the week would become so severe as to wreck the institution entirely, by all means let the saloon be kept open the week through. We are not anxious for the liquor business to experience a periodical recuperation by the observance of Sabbath rest.



THE state deals with crime, but God alone has the authority to deal with sin.