

# The Sentinel

## OF CHRISTIAN LIBERTY

VOL. 17

NEW YORK, JULY, 1902

No. 8

### An Ancient Prediction Concerning the United States

By A. O. Tait

THE United States has made a history that is the marvel of the whole world; and she has made this history in a most incredibly short time. When we take into account the colossal proportions to which it has grown, the extreme youth of the country is one of its greatest wonders.

Those who have the good fortune to live in a country like this are fond of expressing the desire that the nation might stand forever. And truly a nation with such basic principles as those possessed by this great Republic could do nothing else than stand, provided it always adhered to the justice and truth that are its groundwork..

America has given to the world a democracy that has been the admiration of even her enemies, and at the same time a beacon of hope to every down-trodden and oppressed soul on the face of the earth. And this same America, standing firmly upon her unsurpassed Declaration of Independence and just and reasonable Constitution, might go on amid a blaze of ever-increasing glory to peacefully teach and completely revolutionize the world.

The ancient prediction, however, of the Seer of Patmos shows that this nation will depart from its solid principles of righteousness and liberty. The thirteenth chapter of Revelation, verses eleven to eighteen, are a prophecy of this country. This scripture presents this nation under the symbol of a beast that "had two horns like a lamb." These lamb-like horns represent the perfect freedom in both civil and religious matters that was established in this new nation. All the countries of the Old World have always had their state religions; and religious tyranny, as well as civil despotism, has been exercised. But not so with this New World power. It was recognized as an "unalienable right" that "all men are created equal," and that governments are established to *secure* these rights and not to grant them.

Such a perfect government was a new thing among the nations of men. The founders of this Republic abandoned the "divine right" of rulers as it had been taught to, and received by, the majority of mankind; they bid adieu to the "recognized and established principles of government," leaving behind them the per-

secutions and oppressions of the past; they said that since God has created men "equal" and endowed them with certain "unalienable rights," let us recognize those facts, and not fly in the face of Providence by opposing them.

Such, in brief, is a statement of the lamb-like principles upon which this government was founded. And every American can read them in full in the United States Constitution and Declaration of Independence.

But, according to the prophecy under consideration, these mild, yet eternally solid principles of civil and religious freedom will be abandoned. The sure Word of God says of this great nation, "And he spake as a dragon." It is sad to contemplate it. But to controvert it is to controvert the words of Jehovah. It is not mere men who have made the prediction, but God Himself has declared it. He has not *decreed* that it should be so, but, knowing beforehand what would take place, He has simply announced to all who can be led to believe His Word what will be the course of this nation.

Like all of the great nations of antiquity this country will go down. But when this country falls all the world goes with her. This nation has afforded an asylum for the oppressed. The cruel tyrant saw his victims escaping to this city of refuge and stopped to consider what would be the outcome of this "new experiment of democracy." The lamb-like power grew and increased in might and influence. The deriding world began to wonder, then to admire, next to court, and finally to follow the great and glorious and free and liberty-loving Republic of the Western World. And with the world thus admiring and following it is perfectly plain that all will fall into the same destruction that shall finally engulf the beloved America.

Some may question the fact of Amer-

ica's leadership in the world, but if you question, we pray you, be careful to recognize the facts. For the questioning of facts does not change them in the least. It only changes our attitude toward them, and may possibly throw us where we will go down in the oncoming destruction.

"And he spake as a dragon." What are the indications to-day that this nation will so far forsake her principles that she will speak as a dragon? Let us consider a few points and see.

This country, especially during the last twenty-five or thirty years, has shown an unparalleled amassing of wealth into the hands of a few individuals. Already the principles of equality and freedom are so fully out of sight that a small minority of men hold every commodity of commerce and industry within their grasp. Everything now must be subordinated to the accumulation of money. And the influence of money is that which sways and moves the world. The money power has an iron grip on everything that pertains to this present world. Legislatures, city councils, and public officials in general are corrupted and controlled by the relentless tyranny of wealth. These corrupting influences of the money power are destroying the consciences of men, and the money god is made paramount in every mind.

And to make the struggle for wealth all the more intense, this age has adopted a very extravagant manner of living. The simple and satisfying conditions of our fathers will no longer suffice. The glitter of the luxurious enjoyments that may be purchased with gold is constantly before the attention. We meet it everywhere. And so every energy must be fully exerted to get money, and still more and more money.

And now it seems that America is not large enough. New territory must be

conquered and colonies must be formed in order to widen commerce and give opportunity, so it is averred, for the business of the nation to be enlarged and extended. But this will only serve to increase the strength of the money power and render the slavery of the individual all the more complete.

And the saddest feature in all this incoming condition of things is the fact that the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution are being thrown down and trodden under foot. Islands and peoples are to be conquered and held purely in the interest of commerce and un-American ambition.

America, the beloved America of freedom, the haven for the oppressed of every clime, has reached the parting of the ways. A siren's voice is enticing her adown the evil road. The plunge over the precipice into the vortex of eternal ruin can not be far off. And the whole world is following her, and all will be engulfed together. These are ominous times! The very air is surcharged with the awful portents of the world's overhanging doom.

"Westward the course of empire takes its way,  
The first four acts already past,  
A fifth shall close the drama with the day—  
Time's noblest offspring is the last."



There is an optimism rarely recognized until the optimist is dead. It comes from idealists who are ready to live and die for principles. They are not the vogue nor in request at public functions. They never acquire the faculty of saying smooth things on contradictory questions, and their lack of pliancy is set down to stubbornness. Yet their names come down the ages embalmed with fragrance, linked with noble causes that have uplifted mankind. They live immortal, while the cheerful optimist of their day is either forgotten or remembered as the ally of tyranny.

Optimism is sublime when self-sacrifice is the price of possession, when faith in the moral laws that sway the universe forces it to defy the transient that it may serve the permanent. Jesus persecuted and crucified, Paul shipwrecked, imprisoned and put to death, Hugo Grotius martyr to religious hate, Washington at Valley Forge, the American abolitionists surrounded by brutal mobs, Victor Hugo choosing exile in Guernsey rather than to accept the tyrant's favor in Paris, Cobden and Bright facing the hostility of

English capital to bring free bread to the starving, and refusing to bend the knee to English sentiment when the Crimean war made dissent dangerous; the sturdy leaders of the South African veldt, with homes destroyed and their families wandering helplessly or perishing in British camps—these are the optimistic types which fill the soul with admiration and inspire belief in the unswerving universal order whose corner-stone is justice.

It is no sign that one despairs of ultimate justice because he refuses to be an accomplice in a "cheering" farce; to cry peace when there is no peace. Isaiah and Jeremiah were doubtless pessimists to the genial cheerers of their day, and Jesus as the denouncer of the scribes and Pharisees could not have been reckoned among the optimists of Jerusalem. Yet, in the Scriptures, these sturdy reformers who challenged current wrongs are now recognized as prophets and saints. That typical optimist, Nero, who was joyous enough to fiddle when Rome was burning, has also a persistent memory, but of another kind.

To adhere to righteousness when only

unrighteousness pays; never to lose hold of the Eternal hand that throughout history leads them that trust it; to be willing to be of no reputation, and to face death calmly rather than to apostatize;

to maintain serenity and unshaken faith where the multitude are faithless—this is indeed an optimism worthy of veneration.—*William Lloyd Garrison in Springfield Republican.*



## The True Idea of Free Government

By W. N. Glenn

THE only true idea of liberty is embodied in Christian liberty; for it was not until man became a sinner by disobeying God that he fell into a condition of bondage. This was demonstrated by the deliverance from Egypt. Here the Lord brought His people "out of the house of bondage," and, indicative of their new condition of liberty, He straightway rehearsed to them His law, which man had broken when he became a sinner. "Sin is the transgression of the law." Their liberty meant freedom to worship God in spirit and in truth. Man's condition before the fall was that of uprightness, and therefore of perfect happiness.

There can be no true idea of liberty without a recognition of human equality. It is God's design that all men should be free; for He gave His Son to die for that very purpose, "and is no respecter of persons." "If the Son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed." John 8: 36. But does not that refer to spiritual freedom, which any one may enjoy though in bodily bondage to another? True; but the greater the degree of spiritual freedom among the people of any state the more general will be the enjoyment of civil liberty. It is the Spirit of Christ that engenders a real respect for the rights of others, wherever and in whomsoever that sentiment may be found.

The Reformation that began in Luther's time indicated the solution of the problem of true civil liberty by proclaiming the doctrine of religious liberty. But the true idea of civil liberty did not develop into an actual governmental experiment until the Declaration of Independence was issued by representatives of the American Colonies of Great Britain. July 4, 1776, marked the beginning of a new order of things—"Novus Ordo Seclorum"—which was inaugurated by the American Revolution. The doctrines of that Declaration are thus expressed:

We hold these truths to be *self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that when any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.*

One of the leading spirits in the framing, the promulgation, and the establishment of the foregoing Declaration was Thomas Jefferson, who also enunciated the doctrine of "equal and exact justice to all men of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political."

These are the basic principles upon which our Government is founded. Now, if it is a fact that "all men are created equal," then no man or combination of men has a right to disturb this equality. In what does this equality consist? It is not in stature, nor in color, nor in intelligence, nor in disposition. However equal or similar these conditions might have been in all men had not sin entered to disarrange for the time the harmony of God's work in the earth, is not the question. Civil government is concerned with the best temporal good of man as he is. It is here and now that we hold as self-evident truth that "all men are created equal." So, in the condition of man as he is here and now, there is but one point of view from which this God-designed equality is apparent, and that is in the matter of rights. And here is the place where the framers of the Declaration stood when, in laying the foundation of this Government, they acknowledged as *self-evident* truth the proposition that *all* men are "endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights."

The government which they proposed to establish was not designed to *create* rights, but to "*secure*" the free exercise of the rights with which the Creator had already endowed them. The government to which the colonies were then subject was denying this exercise of rights, hence the colonists declared for "a new order of things"—a government having for its object to provide for the best good of *all* the people. The idea prevails to a great extent to-day that the government is designed to provide for the best good of the majority; but that is a perversion of the true spirit of government, for it ignores the *rights* of a part of the people. It is but a slight modification of the monarchical rule that government is established for the special

benefit of rulers and their friends, be they ever so few in number.

The particular feature of rights to which the Declaration pledges governmental security is included in "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." As the theory and the language of the Declaration guarantee such protection to *all* men, every individual citizen, and every individual accepting the guarantee even temporarily, is under obligation to acknowledge and respect the right of every other individual. The government is a compact of individuals for this purpose. In no other way can the rights of all be made secure in a selfish, and consequently sinful, world. For this reason, purpose, object, "the powers that be [civil governments] are ordained of God." Rom. 13:1. The obligation being mutual between individuals, the claim to security in what would ordinarily be deemed personal right is logically forfeited or limited when the individual fails to regard the rights of others. For instance, when a person's *actions* become a menace to the lives or liberty of others (not when his "*persuasion*, religious or political," is repugnant to them), it is the province and the duty of the government to restrain him, or to restrict his liberty of *action* (not of sentiment or conscience) to the extent that is necessary for the security of others in the exercise of their rights. "For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil." Rom. 13:3.

Perhaps in no sense was there a greater necessity for reformation in governmental function than in the protection of men in their right to the "pursuit of happiness." And nowhere was there such an inclination to interfere with the free enjoyment of this right as among the votaries of religion. Furthermore, this interference never has been carried to such an extreme as by those who have

*professed* adherence to the Christian religion. This, too, in face of the basic Christian principle, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

It has been in the matter of the "pursuit of happiness" that the advocates of civil-law religion have ever deemed it their prerogative, through the machinery of government, to dictate bounds of action on the part of their fellow-men. Religious zealots—whether Roman Catholic, professed Protestant, Greek Church, Mohammedan, or the generally recognized heathen of whatever name—have always deemed it essential to good government to restrain the non-religionist in his idea of pursuing happiness, and to compel him to at least formally acknowledge the essential importance of their religious dogmas. So extensively grounded had this idea become that a government without an establishment of religion was indeed a "new order of things," and in the Old World was deemed as near of kin to anarchy.

Many attempts have been made to establish a government that would be void of tyranny, that would recognize the rights of all the people, but prior to A.D., 1776, all such attempts fell short because some particular kind of religious faith was recognized in the civil law. The government, however liberal in other respects, would set up and endeavor to maintain at public expense some form of religion. And it has ever been a fact that the enforcement of re-

ligion by law has worked oppression and limitation of the exercise of civil rights by those who were conscientiously opposed to the state religion.

But through the vista of history and experience, by the light of true Gospel principle, there dawned the true idea of civil government—the complete separation of church and state, and the recognition of the equality of men. This was the perfect ideal as seen by the framers of the Declaration of Independence, and later by those who constructed and adopted the Constitution. That the ideal has not been fully put into practise is due to the innate selfishness and bigotry of individuals and classes who have been enabled to wield in a certain degree a deteriorating influence. But the ideal was set up by our forefathers, in the providence of God, for the first time in the history of nations. And it is yet professedly held up in the letter of the Constitution, but there have been marked departures from the principles espoused in the beginning of our national career, with strong indications that the wave of departure will hardly be restrained. The anniversary of the formal declaration of independence by our forefathers is a good time to consider the situation, and seriously reflect upon the signs of the times. A return to the principles of the old order of things will surely work a recurrence of the old order of things. Now is a good time to think on these things; to take a new hold upon the principles of the new order of things.



If our nation acts upon the theory that might makes right it will find it difficult to draw a line between wholesale conquest and retail anarchy. To fight anarchy successfully we must set up a standard of right entirely independent of the force which supports or defends it;

we must insist that there are inalienable rights and that governments are instituted among men for the preservation of these rights. Governments are necessary, but necessary for what?—For the protection of rights; and they are good just in proportion as they protect the rights of

citizens. Those who now refuse to discuss the principle involved in imperialism cannot always refuse. When they begin the discussion they will find themselves defending European principles of government, and they will discover upon examination that the empires of Europe are responsible for the doctrine of force asserted by individual anarchists. Is it not

time to recognize that a moral principle cannot be affected by the number of persons involved? That might makes right is no more true when the might is employed by 75,000,000 than when it is employed by one, and yet that is the only difference between the doctrine of the imperialist and the doctrine of the anarchist.—*The Commoner*.



## "Why Discuss Imperialism?"

By C. P. Bollman

THE inquiry is sometimes made, "Why discuss imperialism, a political question, in *THE SENTINEL OF CHRISTIAN LIBERTY*, a non-political paper?" The answer is, Because there is a principle involved in the question which touches the life and influences the character of many millions of human beings.

Imperialism is opposed to the principle of self-government, and is therefore opposed to the principles of the Gospel, for our Lord Jesus Christ came into this world that the faculty of self-government might be fully restored to as many as would receive it; for of Him and of His mission it was written by the prophet: "He hath sent Me to bind up the broken hearted, to proclaim *liberty to the captives*, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound."

The writer would not so much as imply that one cannot be a Christian without political self-government. But political faith and political conditions have a far-reaching influence upon the religious life of any people. There is one way in which government can contribute very much to the spread of the Gospel, and that is by inculcating the principle of individual responsibility; by teaching every man to be a man, to gov-

ern himself, and to accord to his neighbor the same liberty of thought and action which he claims for himself.

Imperialism means not necessarily government by an emperor, but despotism in government. Rome was no more imperial under the emperors that she was under the republic. And the United States may preserve the forms of republicanism while practising the arts of imperialism.

But the general government cannot become imperial without influencing in greater or less degree every man, woman, and child under its jurisdiction. Why are the Russian communes more despotic and less merciful than the Czar himself? Why do Russian villagers banish to Siberia scores of their fellows for crimes unknown to American laws?—Simply because of the influence exerted upon their minds and hearts by the political system under which they have always lived.

*THE SENTINEL OF CHRISTIAN LIBERTY* is devoted to the furtherance of self-government not because it is a correct political principle, but because it is an essential Christian principle.

The teaching of Christianity contributes most powerfully to the establish-

ment of political self-government, and that without saying one word about forms of government or concerning politics as such. No man who is not a Christian can become a Christian without having an increased sense of personal responsibility to God; and no man can realize his moral responsibility without at the same time feeling that he is the possessor of certain inalienable, God-given rights, which no government, no matter whether of one or of many, has any right to invade.

When Jesus Christ came to earth it was "the midnight of the world." Everywhere within the confines of the civilization then existing "the iron monarchy of Rome" held undisputed sway. Only Roman citizens had rights, and even they enjoyed those rights, not because they were acknowledged as a natural endowment, but by favor of the Roman state.

But all this was changed by the preaching of the Gospel. Jesus Christ taught that God's authority is paramount. Every man who received this doctrine and acknowledged the claims of the divine law felt that he served God not by sufferance, but by right. He was to obey God rather than men. This necessarily involved the assumption of the right to sit in judgment upon all human laws and to determine the lawfulness or unlawfulness of the laws themselves. As one writer has said:

That helpless spirit of blind obedience to the decrees of despotic governments which characterized the pagan peoples, was therefore impossible to the Christians. . . . *The logical tendency of Christianity was, therefore, to originate the idea of personal liberty for all men, unknown to the world before; to repudiate the heathen doctrine of the divine character and right of kings; to sit in judgment upon their laws, and intelligently to obey, or refuse to obey, them; in a word, to cultivate and exercise, as a matter of religious faith, that spirit*

of personal independence, both of action and of thought, which we in later times denominate democracy.

The world moved less swiftly then than now, but the gospel leaven was at work, and in less than three centuries from the day of Pentecost, Christianity, with its doctrine of natural rights and inherent liberty, had so permeated the Roman Empire and so revolutionized human methods of thought and schemes and theories of government as to make possible the edict of Milan, which left not only Christians but all others perfectly free "to pursue that worship and religion which they wish."

By and by apostasy in the church turned back the wheels of progress and once more liberty of conscience was denied, but with the coming of the Reformation and the reproclamation of the Gospel, the truth of the right of self-government was revived and the American Republic was made possible.

Now again the minds of men are being turned away from the pure gold of self-government to follow after the dross and tin of empire. There can be but one result, namely, human life and human liberty will be sacrificed to human ambition. The worship of the Prince of Peace will give place to the adoration of the god of war.

It is for these and kindred reasons that imperialism should be discussed by the press, and should be understood by the people. It may be too late to save the nation from the embrace of imperialism, but it is certainly a time for individuals who profess loyalty to the King of kings to prove that loyalty by obedience to the fundamental principle of his government: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

# *The Vital Portion of the Declaration of Independence*

*By the Editor*

IT is scarcely necessary here to present the history of that document originally entitled "the Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen States of America," which has come to be known as the Declaration of Independence. The story of its birth has been recounted many times. It is known how, in the effort to withstand the ever-extending encroachments of the English king and his ministers upon the rights of the American colonists, there assembled in Philadelphia in the spring of 1776 the Continental Congress. It is known that even at that time the idea of entire independence of the mother country was entertained by but few, even of those who assembled in Independence Hall. It is known how that, on the 7th of June, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, introduced his famous resolution declaring independence, and how, after an almost secret debate of three days, it was decided to postpone action until the 1st of July, and to appoint a committee to draw up in the meantime a declaration suitable to present to the world if independence should be decided upon.

It is known how this committee assigned the work of writing the document to the young Virginian who was able of pen but silent in debate, and how, during those June days, in a quiet room in the outskirts of the city, at a small desk made especially for his use while attending the Congress, he wrote the great document, and read it to two of his colleagues before submitting it to the entire committee. It is known how that, with very slight changes, it was laid before Congress on the 28th of June, and

that immediately after, on the 2d of July, the resolution of Lee was adopted, and that this was the date which John Adams, the most enthusiastic of all for independence, at once declared would "be the most memorable epocha in the history of America," and "be solemnized from this time forward forevermore." And it is known how, not with the noise of trumpets and a great demonstration, but as became it, like all great events which mark the epochs in the cause of truth and justice and that bear in them the seeds that are to spring up in ever-increasing blessing to humanity as the generations go by, it was quietly adopted on July 4th, published on the 6th, and read with simple ceremony in the State House yard on the 8th. And it is known how, on the 2nd of August, the serious work of signing began, relieved only by such grim humor as, "We must all hang together, or we shall all hang separately." And it is known that the document did not receive the signatures of all its fifty-six signers on that day, but that it was weeks and even months before all the names were attached to it. And it is known, too, on what seems to be good authority, that the Declaration of Independence was not the first document in America to declare independence of Great Britain. On receipt of the news of Lexington and Concord, in May, 1775, citizens of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, met in Charlotte and adopted a document declaring their independence of Great Britain and denying her authority over the colonists.

And it is known, or it was known for upwards of a hundred years, by the



*Independence Hall, Philadelphia*

The building in which the Continental Congress assembled in the spring of 1776, and in which the Declaration of Independence was adopted, as it appears to-day.

American people and all the world, that with the advent of that Declaration a new era had come in human history, a new day had dawned for the sons of men. And it was not in the mere fact that revolution against tyranny had begun, that independence of England had been declared, that this was so. People had fought against oppression before; nations had contended for independence from time immemorial. No; the American Revolution for independence comprehended more than that.

And here we come to the true and peculiar glory of the Declaration of Independence, to the living and eternal principles which vitalized it and made it greater than all state papers that had ever been before it. Never had any nation before proclaimed "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

"Thus was annihilated the despotic doctrine . . . which had become venerable, if not absolutely hallowed, by the precedents of a thousand years—the doctrine of the divine right of kings; and in the place of the old, false, despotic *theory* of the sovereignty of the government and the subjection of the people, there was declared the self-evident *truth*—the subjection of government and the sovereignty of the people." Thus it was de-

clared that "government is but a piece of political machinery, framed and set up by the people, by which they would make themselves secure in the enjoyment of the inalienable rights which they already possess as men; which they have by virtue of being men in society and not by virtue of government; which were theirs before government was; which are *their own* in the essential meaning of the term; and 'which they do not hold by any sub-ifeudation, but by direct homage and allegiance to the Owner and Lord of all' who has endowed them with those rights."

And in *thus* annihilating the arrogant pretensions and despotic doctrines of kings and governments, there was annihilated the arrogant, despotic and blasphemous doctrines and assumptions of Popes and popery by which the souls of men were intimidated and enslaved by outward coercion and tyranny. The great truths of human equality and of government limited to the powers which are conferred upon it by the consent of the governed, forever annihilate the idea that any man, any government, any human authority or organization, can have the right to control the consciences of men. When the rights of the people were given the supreme place, the authority of tyranny, under whatever name or form, was swept away.

Thus it is in the impregnable foundation upon which they based their action, the rock upon which the fathers chose to establish themselves in resisting oppression and declaring independence, that is found the high and peculiar glory that attaches to the struggle they waged and the great document they proclaimed. Take from the Declaration those few sentences which go back of all governments and all human institutions, which grasp the throne of the Infinite by holding up as immutable and inalienable the

rights which exist by virtue of the existence of God and His creatures—take from the Declaration these sentences and its life and glory are gone. Then it becomes indeed what the great Lincoln declared it would be when thus emasculated: "Mere rubbish—old wadding left

to rot on the battlefield after the victory is won."

And *that* is exactly how the Declaration of Independence is being left today by those who should cherish it most. We will consider this very important phase of the matter next month.



## *The Vital Portion of the Declaration—As It Was Regarded*

*William E. Channing, D.D., in Treatise on "Slavery," 1835*

IT was the glory of the American people, that, in their Declaration of Independence, they took the ground of the indestructible rights of every human being. They declared all men to be essentially equal, and each born to be free. They did not, like the Greek or Roman, assert for themselves a liberty which they burned to wrest from other states. *They spoke in the name of humanity, as*

*the representatives of the rights of the feeblest as well as the mightiest of their race. They published universal, everlasting principles, which are to work out the deliverance of every human being. Such was their glory. Let not the idea of rights be erased from their children's minds. . . . Let not the sacredness of individual man be forgotten. . . . Let the rights of the individual remain supreme.*

*John Quincy Adams, in Fourth of July Orations at Quincy, Mass., in 1831, and at Newburyport, Mass., in 1837*

It has sometimes been objected to the Declaration that it deals too much in abstractions. But this was its characteristic excellence; for upon these abstractions hinged the justice of the cause. Without them our Revolution would have been but successful rebellion. Right, truth, justice, are all abstractions. The Divinity that stirs within the soul of man is abstraction. The Creator of the universe is a spirit, and all spiritual nature is abstraction.

The Declaration acknowledged the rule of right paramount to the power of independent states itself, and virtually disclaimed all power to do wrong. This

was a novelty in the moral philosophy of nations, and it is the essential point of difference between the system of government announced in the Declaration of Independence and those systems which had until then prevailed among men. . . . It was an experiment upon the heart of man. All the legislators of the human race until that day had laid the foundations of all government among men in power; and hence it was that in the maxims of theory, as well as in the practise of nations, sovereignty was held to be unlimited and illimitable. The Declaration of Independence proclaimed another law, . . . *a law of right,*

*binding upon nations as well as individuals, upon sovereigns as well as upon subjects. . . .* In assuming the attributes of sovereign power, the colonists

appealed to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of their intentions, and neither claimed nor conferred authority to do anything but for right.

*George Bancroft, in his "History of the United States from the Discovery of the American Continent to the Declaration of Independence"*

This immortal state paper [the Declaration of Independence], which for its composer was the aurora of enduring fame, was "the genuine effusion of the soul of the country at that time," the revelation of its mind, when in its youth, its enthusiasm, its sublime confronting of danger, it rose to the highest creative powers of which man is capable. The bill of rights which it promulgates, is of *rights that are older than human institutions, and spring from the eternal justice that is anterior to the state.* Two political theories divided the world: one founded the commonwealth on the reason of state, the policy of expediency; the other on the immutable principles of morals: the new Republic, as it took its place among the powers of the world, proclaimed its faith in the truth and reality and unchangeableness of freedom,

virtue, and right. The heart of Jefferson, in writing the Declaration, and of Congress in adopting it, *beat for all humanity; the assertion of right was made for the entire world of mankind and all coming generations, without any exception whatever;* for the proposition which admits of exceptions can never be self-evident. As it was put forth in the name of the ascendant people of that time, it was sure to make the circuit of the world, passing everywhere through the despotic countries of Europe; and the astonished nations, as they read that all men are created equal, started out of their lethargy, like those who have been exiles from childhood, when they suddenly hear the dimly-remembered accents of their mother tongue. . . . America chose for her own that system of politics which recognizes the rule of eternal justice.

*Charles Sumner, in speeches at Worcester, Mass., August 29, 1860, and at Cambridge, Mass., October 29, 1868*

The words that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed *are sacred words, full of life-giving energy. Not simply national independence was here proclaimed, but also the primal rights of mankind.* Then and there appeared the angel of human liberation, speaking and acting at once with heaven-born strength, breaking bolts, unloosing bonds, and opening prison doors; always ranging on its mighty errand, wherever there are any, no matter of what country or race, who struggle for rights denied; now cheering Garibaldi at

Naples, as it had cheered Washington in the snows of Valley Forge, and especially visiting all who are downtrodden, whispering that *there is none so poor as to be without rights which every man is bound to respect, none so degraded as to be beneath its beneficent reach, none so lofty as to be above its restraining power;* while before it despotism and oligarchy fall on their faces, like the image of Dagon, and the people everywhere begin to govern themselves.

These words in the Declaration of Independence were not uttered in vain. Do

you suppose them idle? Do you suppose them mere phrase or generality? *No such thing. They are living words, by which this country is solemnly bound.* . . . Your statutes cannot contain any limitation which inflicts an indignity upon any portion of the human family.

The Declaration of Independence is the twofold promise; first, that all are equal in rights, and secondly, that just

government stands only on the consent of the governed, being the two great political commandments *on which hang all laws and all constitutions.* Keep these truly, and you will keep all. Write them in your statutes; write them in your hearts. This is the great and only final settlement of all existing questions. To this sublime consecration of the Republic let us aspire.

*Professor Moses Coit Tyler, of Cornell University, in the "North American Review" for July, 1896*

Ever since its first announcement to the world and down almost to the present moment has the Declaration of Independence been tested by criticism of every possible kind—by criticism intended and expected to be destructive. Apparently, however, all this criticism has failed to accomplish its object.

It is proper for us to remember, also, that what we call criticism is not the only valid test of the genuineness and worth of any piece of writing of great practical interest to mankind: there is, in addition, the test of actual use and service, in direct contact with the common sense and the moral sense of large masses of men under various conditions, and for a long period. Probably no other writing which is not essentially sound and true has ever survived this test.

Neither from this test has the great Declaration any need to shrink. As to the immediate use for which it was set forth—that of rallying and uniting the friends of the Revolution, and bracing them for their great task—its effectiveness was so great and so obvious that it has never been denied. During the century and a quarter since the Revolution, its influence on the political character and the political conduct of the American people has been beyond calculation. For example, after we had achieved our own

national deliverance and had advanced into that enormous and somewhat corrupting material prosperity which followed the adoption of the Constitution and the development of the cotton interest and the expansion of the Republic into a trans-continental power, we fell under an appalling temptation—the temptation to forget, or to repudiate, or to refuse to apply to the case of our human brethren in bondage, the principles which we have had proclaimed as the basis of every rightful government. The prodigious service rendered to us in this awful moral emergency by the Declaration of Independence was that its public repetition, at least once every year, in the hearing of vast throngs of the American people in every portion of the Republic, kept constantly before our minds, in a form of almost religious sanctity, those few great ideas as to the dignity of human nature, and the sacredness of personality, and the indestructible rights of man as man, with which we had so gloriously identified the beginnings of our national existence. It did at last become very hard for us to listen each year to the preamble of the Declaration and still remain the owners and users and catchers of slaves; still harder, to accept the doctrine that the righteousness and prosperity of slavery was to be

accepted as the dominant policy of the nation. The logic of Calhoun was as flawless as usual, when he concluded that the chief obstruction in the way of his system was the preamble in the Declaration of Independence. Had it not been for the inviolable sacredness given by it to those sweeping aphorisms about the natural rights of man, it may be doubted whether Calhoun might not have won over an immense majority of the American people to the support of his compact and plausible scheme for making slavery the basis of the Republic. It was the preamble of the Declaration of Independence which elected Lincoln, which sent forth the Emancipation Proclamation, which gave victory to Grant, which ratified the Thirteenth Amendment.

We shall not here attempt to delineate the influence of this state paper upon mankind in general. Of course the emergence of the American Republic as an imposing world-power is a phenomenon which has now for many years attracted the attention of the human race. Surely, no slight effect must have resulted from the fact that among all civil-

ized peoples the one American document best known is the Declaration of Independence, and that thus the spectacle of so vast and beneficent a political success has been everywhere associated with the assertion of the natural rights of man. "The doctrines it contained," said Buckle, "were not merely welcomed by a majority of the French nation, but even the government itself was unable to withstand the general feeling." "Its effect in hastening the approach of the French Revolution . . . was indeed remarkable." Elsewhere, also, in many lands, among many peoples, it has been cited again and again as an inspiration to political courage, as a model for political conduct; and if, as the brilliant historian just alluded to has affirmed, "that noble Declaration . . . ought to be hung up in the nursery of every king, and blazoned on the porch of every royal palace," it is because it has become the classic statement of political truths which must at last abolish kings altogether, or else teach them to identify their existence with the dignity and happiness of human nature.



In the clamorous defense of "the honor of the army," which no responsible public man has attacked, it is apparently forgotten that not a single charge of "water-cure" torture, of the burning of Filipino towns or of massacre of Filipino people, or of any other kind of cruelty or severity inflicted upon them, has come to the knowledge of the American people *except by the statements, official despatches, or sworn testimony of American army officers or of American civil officials in the islands*. Not one charge of any kind against the acts of our agents, military or civil, in the Philippines, rests on the statement of a Filipino "insurgent" or "rebel." We have waged war on them

for nearly three years, killed them by thousands, driven them from their burning homes, and caused uncounted thousands of them to die from exposure, starvation and disease—but we have never once given them or their accredited representatives a hearing. They asked to be heard at Paris before the treaty of peace that conveyed them to us was signed, and were refused. They sent commissioners to Washington to ask a hearing by President McKinley, and again were refused. As President Schurman has said, we have never yet told the Filipinos what we want of them, and we have never yet given them a chance to say what they want of us.—*New York World*.

## Some Important Recent Testimony on an Important Matter

[The matter presented below should be sufficient to demonstrate that when it is said that a tremendous revolution has and is taking place in the United States that the statement is no idle and fantastic notion of shallow and partisan minds. Men of the first order of intelligence, who have no selfish interest whatever to serve in the matter, see that a grave crisis has been reached in the history of the American nation. This is something that all persons should know and recognize, and therefore we present what is given below. The italicized portions are made so by us, not by the writers or speakers.—EDITOR.]

*Andrew Carnegie, in the "North American Review" for May*

WE prohibited the reading of the Declaration of Independence in the Philippines last Fourth of July. To the incredulous reader let me repeat this fact. It is on record and acknowledged by our officials. We can imagine the first thought of so good a man as Judge Taft and so good an American as he has been hitherto when this was suggested to him. "Is thy servant a dog that he should do this thing?" But, alas, he did it!

*We are engaged in work which requires suppression of American ideas hitherto held sacred. . . .*

*Prof. Felix Adler, in "The Forum" for June*

Why is it we are called upon to consider accusations of extreme barbarity, on the part of American soldiers, the mere suggestion of which, three years ago, would have seemed impossible? *It is because we are trying to do a thing which is contrary to the spirit of our institutions, to our traditions, to our ideals as Americans.* We are going to extreme lengths just because we know that we have become for the moment alienated from our true self, that we are bidding defiance to the sentiments which are most congenial to us. . . . We are engaged in trying to break the soul of a people, of a people that values good government, but rightly values self-government even more than good government, of a people that revolts against the idea of colonial subjection to us or to any other power, of a people that, however divided in other ways, is united in the demand for independence. . . .

No; it is not Aguinaldo, it is not a Tagalog oligarchy, it is the awakened

national consciousness of a people that opposes us, a spiritual force which survives defeat, which the dispersion of organized armies cannot disintegrate, which, like a fire, goes on smoldering beneath the ashes, breaking out anew ever and ever again until either it achieves its aim or those who harbor that aim are exterminated. . . .

I, for one, am assured that whatever the commercial interests or the ambitions of individuals or of corporate bodies may suggest, that the American people, as a whole, do not desire, even for the sake of the golden prizes of the trade with the Orient, or of a favorable station near the wealth of China, to march over the prostrate body of a people whose sole offense is their desire for liberty; that the American people do not desire, and will not permit, that methods of the Spanish Inquisition, which we had believed to be a thing of the past forever, shall be revived under the sacred banner of this great Republic.

*From "Gunton's Magazine" (New York) for June*

The conditions now brought to light in the Philippines do not call for or justify mere abuse of the American soldier. The thing to be deplored, rather, is the task into which we have forced him—a warfare of conquest under conditions which have developed these barbarous practises as naturally as a swamp breeds pestilence. . . .

The moral of the situation is that a people who cannot be ruled by an outside power without the use of such means as are being applied in the Philippines ought not to be ruled by an outside power at all; least of all by the one nation which for a century and a quarter has stood before the world as the great exponent of democratic principles and the right of self-government. . . .

And this leads up to the most important phase of the whole Philippine undertaking—its effect upon our own national ideals and influence. The gulf between the principles upon which the Republic was founded and those involved in the brutal assumption that 10,000,000 people may properly be bought and sold for money like so much live stock attached to

the soil of the islands included in the sale, and then forced into subjection at whatever sacrifice of life, treasure, and common humanity, is not merely as wide, *it is altogether wider and deeper, than the gulf which separated the Declaration of Independence from the policy of George III. and his cabinet in 1776.* The American colonies were composed of Englishmen and had been organized under British laws and administered by British governors, so that the Revolution was a distinct breaking away from previous voluntary allegiance. But the Filipinos never had a particle of connection with or owed the slightest allegiance to the United States government. Not even the "allegiance" rendered under compulsion to Spain was ever transferred by them to us, and no effort was ever made to secure it in any other way than by proclamation and force. . . .

*The truth is, in this Philippine enterprise our Government has for the first time broken utterly with our own glorious past, with the best in our national tradition and principle, and seems likely to depart further yet.*

*President J. G. Schurman, of Cornell University, in an address on "The Ideals and Duties of the Republic," in Boston, May 31*

Shall we then exchange our national ideal of liberty and peace for subjugation and war? We must choose one or the other. England, as Mr. Bryce has said, governs India by means of gunpowder. Is this to be our exemplar in the Philippines? . . . I assert, and I challenge any one to contradict the statement, that dependencies won by the sword can be held only by the sword. And I conclude that if we are to retain our historic policy of peace we shall have to grant the Filipinos the independence to which they

aspire and for which they have fought and will fight. *We are at the parting of the ways.* Shall it be peace or—the sword?

But there is at least one other national ideal I intend to consider, because in a manner *it embraces all others and is, by universal agreement, the soul and animating principle of our Republic.* I mean the sacred and inalienable principle of liberty; *the self-evident axiom that all just governments derive their authority from the consent of the governed; the*

right, implanted by God and inviolable to man, of every people under heaven to earth's chief blessing for humanity—the blessing of self-government and national independence. . . .

I refuse to believe that the American people will repudiate, either in their operations in the Old World or in the New, the principles of liberty, self-government, and national independence. . . .

President McKinley voiced the sentiments of the American people on this subject in a speech delivered in Chicago just after the close of the war. He pointed out that the war "was undertaken, not that the United States should increase its territory, but that oppression at our very doors should be stopped"; and in lofty accents he declared that our splendid victories "would be our eternal shame and not our everlasting glory if they led to the weakening of our original lofty purpose or to the desertion of the immortal principles on which the national Government is founded."

These immortal principles are contained in the Declaration of Independence. *That governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed is the substance and essence of them all.* To violate this doctrine in our dealings with the Filipinos would, according to President McKinley, be our eternal shame. . . .

Principles, we all agree, are everlasting. The American people will not repeal the Declaration of Independence or expurgate the speech at Gettysburg. Washington and Jefferson and Lincoln beckon the nation forward in the old

paths of liberty and righteousness. In self-pride we may wander, but we will not desert the ancient ways. Our principles, as President McKinley so well said, lose none of their potency when transported to tropic seas. The American people are longing for a leader to apply them in the Philippines. . . .

For my own part, I can say that in all I have ever said or written about the political future of the Filipinos, I have been guided primarily by the ideals, aspirations, and conditions of the Filipinos themselves. Some of my colleagues on the first Philippine Commission were, as is known from their writings, thorough imperialists.

But I steadily refused to recommend the retention of the archipelago on the ground of advantage to the United States, first, because I always thought it would be a burden rather than a benefit (which is the view now also expressed by Governor Taft), and, secondly, because such a ground of American policy seemed to me *a shameful violation of the principles of our own Government* and a brutal outrage on 6,500,000 brother men and fellow-Christians in Luzon and the Visayas. . . . The fundamental and controlling fact in the Philippine situation to-day is that these people have their heart set on national independence. We may stop the wagging of their tongues, but we cannot stop the workings of their hearts and minds. And why should we want to? *It is all a tragic mistake.* Why deny the Filipinos the liberty, and independence we have all delighted to confer upon the Cubans?



A petition has been presented to both houses of Congress asking for the immediate appointment of a committee from that body "to proceed at the earliest prac-

ticable moment to the Philippine Archipelago, and there enter upon such an investigation as will cause the people of the United States to feel assured that full

information is being elicited, that all grievances will be considered, that any measures necessary to the protection and re-establishment of the prosperity of our dependents will in due time be instituted, and that, in the light of the fullest possible knowledge of the facts and conditions, the American people may form their judgment of the policy so far pursued, as well as that to be adopted in the future." It is set forth that no satisfactory results can be obtained by such an

investigation as that which has been conducted at Washington, chiefly because "one side, in a conflict of races, is debarred from testifying," and "remains substantially unheard." The petition was signed by Charles Francis Adams, Andrew Carnegie, Carl Schurz, Edwin Burritt Smith, and Herbert Welsh, who act in the matter in behalf of "persons, irrespective of party, interested in the policy pursued by the United States toward the Philippine Islands."



## *Sunday Legislation for the District of Columbia*

*By Gen. Wm. Birney, Washington, D. C.*

FROM 1896 to 1899, inclusive, the leader in the attempts to have a Sunday law enacted for this District was Rev. Mr. Crafts, Secretary of the National Reform Society. Being beaten off every time, he suspended his efforts for a time, but they are now renewed in the present session of Congress.

The present time is quite favorable for a renewal of the war. Congressmen have to go before the people this autumn for reelection; and an alliance has been patched up between the Federation of Labor, through President Gompers, and the National Reform people; and one of the District Commissioners (Mr. Mcfarland) is an active partisan and an able worker for Sunday legislation. Senator Hoar, who has great influence in Congress, is understood to be strongly in favor of "civil-rest" Sunday legislation "for religious uses," and our strenuous President is claimed to be on that side also. Some of those in Congress who ordinarily would oppose such legislation seem to be too timid just now to risk the displeasure of fanatical church members and

the consequent loss of their votes. It is evident, and the friends and upholders of the principle of separation of church and state may as well face the fact, that we have before us a harder fight than any that has yet had to be made in Washington on this point.

For many years the only Sunday laws enacted here were those against liquor saloons and barber shops. There has been no law against opening other places of business or amusement. But the people like one day in seven for rest, reading, religion, recreation and reunions; and more than nine-tenths of them observe Sunday as a holiday or holy day. The churches are fairly well attended in the morning during the cool season. At a rough guess, from sixty to a hundred thousand, out of a population of two hundred and eighty thousand, go to church. The day is quiet, more so than in most American cities. No religious congregation has been disturbed by outsiders. No theatres are open, except for concerts. People go to out-of-town resorts in large numbers. A few boys play

ball in the suburbs, and the students at Catholic colleges play ball on the grounds of these institutions. There are on Sunday about half as many arrests as on week days. In short, no public demand or exigency calls for a Sunday law.

The bill introduced by Senator McMillan prohibits keeping open any place of business for sales, except eating houses, drug-stores (for sale of medicines only), undertakers' establishments, and others for "charity or necessity." This last clause is intended to give the magistrate power and latitude to enforce the law or not, as he may decide in particular instances. Penalties for violation of the provisions of this bill are fines of from \$10 up to \$50; and for subsequent offenses, \$50 to \$150, and imprisonment from one to three months.

Senator Dillingham's bill prohibits stands as well as stores, and excepts, in addition to those excepted in the McMillan bill, sellers of books and newspapers, refreshments, malt and spiritous liquors, tobacco, cigars, railroad and steamboat tickets, and the collection and delivery of baggage. It prohibits football, baseball and all games, sports, pastimes or diversions, and all building or railroad construction. The penalties prescribed are fines of from \$5 to \$50. It allows a man to defend himself on the ground that he "uniformly keeps another day of the week as a day of rest," and that he did not "interrupt or disturb other persons" who were observing Sunday.

The practical operation of these bills as

statutes can be better understood when the fact is taken into consideration that an unpaid fine in this District must be worked out by the prisoner in the chain-gang, in striped clothing, at the rate of  $33\frac{1}{3}$  cents a day. This is in addition to the imprisonment included in the sentence. It needs little reflection to appreciate the terrible persecution to which poor persons might be subjected under such a law. The persons likely to suffer under it are Jews, Seventh-day Baptists, Seventh-day Adventists, petty tradesmen and tradeswomen, especially sellers of meat, ice, shoes, clothing, groceries, bread, and fruit.

While the shop and stand keepers will be prevented from making their little gains by sales, the classes most inconvenienced, annoyed and oppressed will be the working people who, from want of time on Saturday evening, are forced to buy supplies on Sunday for themselves and children. These are washerwomen, cooks, saleswomen, clerks in stores, wives of men who get drunk on Saturday evening, nurses, servants, and the miscellaneous classes of thoughtless people. All told, they number from five to ten thousand persons, varying little from year to year. They are not "respectable" people, but they have a right not to be starved by the Government. They have always bought on Sunday and always will, and they harm nobody by so doing. But there are men who would rather see them starve than buy a loaf of bread on Sunday.



The unveiling of the statue of Marshal de Rochambeau, the commander-in-chief of the French forces in America during the Revolutionary War, at Washington, on May 24, and the other ceremonies attending its presentation by France to this country, should have reminded all

aid of foreign allies who did not turn Americans, and probably did all who cared to recall the fact, that in her struggle for independence America had the round near the close of the war and demand sovereignty over the country in return for what they had done.

# *The Church-and-State Negotiations at the Vatican*

*By the Editor*

SINCE the arrival of Governor Taft in Rome on May 30, and even previous to that time, the cable has brought almost daily messages relating to his visit and the negotiations which were its object. But the information thus far (June 23) conveyed has been chiefly with reference to matters that must be regarded as appurtenant to, rather than a part of, the "business transaction." These, in a way, possess almost as much significance as the transaction itself, and so we will briefly notice them, depending of course upon the dispatches that have appeared in the press, and communications to Catholic papers.

The American commission, or "mission," was met at Naples by Bishop O'Gorman, who had been in Rome some weeks making "the arrangements\* for the state audience." After a few days' rest at this point the commission proceeded on its way, escorted by the gallant bishop. It was the plan for the members of the commission to have an introduction to, and to be "received in official audience by, Cardinal Rampolla del Tindaro, the Secretary of State," immediately following their arrival in Rome, but this was prevented by the state of Governor Taft's health. "The Pope was very sorry because of the indisposition of Governor Taft, and charged Monsignor Bisletti, the master of the chamber, to inquire and express his sympathy," and "Cardinal Rampolla also sent to inquire."

On June 5 Mr. Taft and his associates were presented to "his Holiness," and had an interview lasting forty minutes, it is stated. The Pope "received the

mission with the honors paid to ambassadors, and was most cordial in his manner." "At the entrance to the Vatican the Swiss Guard rendered military honors," and at the entrance to the Pope's reception room "the gendarmes of the Noble Guard saluted the guests." "Governor Taft and Judge Smith wore evening dress, Bishop O'Gorman wore his gorgeous purple episcopal robes, and Major Porter was in full uniform and decorations." After the introduction Governor Taft presented to "his Eminence" a letter and a present from the President of the United States, the present consisting of a set of Mr. Roosevelt's literary works in "eight richly bound volumes." These were received by the Pope "with warm thanks," who later directed that mosaics of St. Peter's and the Vatican, "magnificent specimens of this branch of art made at the Vatican workshops," be transmitted to the President. Further preliminary to the business in hand Governor Taft "expressed his sense of the personal honor of the interview, and his profound respect, though he was not a Catholic, for the enlightened statesmanship, the purity of character and the earnest seeking for the unlifting of all humanity, shown by the Supreme Pontiff during the twenty-five years of his pontificate." Then followed a short address by Mr. Taft, setting forth the matters to be considered, and a brief response by the Pope. The substance of what was reported of this interview, which was carried on in French, Major Porter acting as interpreter for Mr. Taft, will be given further on in this article. At the conclusion of the interview the commis-

sion visited Cardinal Rampolla and delivered to him, for consideration by himself and the committee of cardinals to be appointed for the negotiations, the instructions which the Secretary of War had prepared with regard to the negotiations. These instructions were made public in the United States the following day, and we give the substance of them farther on.

At the conclusion of this day's "business" Mr. Taft was represented as being "extremely satisfied with the cordiality of the reception by the Pope," and was reported as saying that he "was most pleasantly disappointed by finding the venerable Pontiff with the most active mind, a bright eye, a firm grip, quick perception, and a deep, resonant voice, bubbling with humor," and "most sincere in his anxiety to express his interest in America and desire for the success of the great Republic." Cardinal Rampolla was reported to have been "agreeably impressed by the frankness shown by Governor Taft in sending him a copy of Secretary Root's instructions for examination." No reports followed, however, of any great joy over the instructions themselves when they had been examined.

On June 9 a "consistory" was held in the Sistine Chapel, and Mr. Taft and his associates "were invited to witness the ceremony, and occupied seats in the diplomatic gallery, in the Sala Regia." "As the Pope passed he smilingly bowed to the Americans." The occasion was described as having been "a brilliant diplomatic event," and here is a significant passage which appeared in the cable report:

The master of ceremonies asked the secretaries of the several foreign embassies present to make room for Governor Taft. They at first objected not knowing who the Governor was. They moved readily enough when informed that Governor Taft was the *special*

*envoy* of the United States, and entitled to a place among the ambassadors of the European powers. [Italics supplied.]

On June 10 Governor Taft "paid official visits to the Spanish, Austrian and French ambassadors accredited to the Vatican, and visited also Cardinals Serafino, Vannutelli and Satolli." The latter "recalled with extreme pleasure the years spent in America, and asked the whole mission to lunch with him Sunday, when he celebrates the fortieth anniversary of his ordination as priest." On the evening of the 13th a dinner and reception was given to Mr. Taft and the members of his party by "Francis Masonautt, an American, who is private chamberlain to the Pope, and who lives in the Pamphilj Palace." Leading cardinals and foreign ambassadors were present. The last public dinner reported was on the 19th, at the "American College." "Governor Taft toasted the Pope and President Roosevelt," and "the Rev. Dr. Thomas F. Kennedy, the rector, and the students responded with hearty cheers."

Finally, about the middle of the month, the Pope got around to doing something toward the transaction of "business." It was announced on the 13th that the sub-commission of cardinals, which was to deal directly with the American commission, had at last been formed, and that on the following day the "plenary reunions" between the two commissions would commence. The papal commission was composed of the papal Secretary of State, Rampolla, and Cardinals Vives y Tuto, Steinhuber, Gotti and Vannutelli. It was announced a day or two later, in a dispatch from Rome to the *Central News*, London, that it was understood that with the exception of Cardinal Vannutelli, the other members of this commission were "in favor of the regulation of the Church in the Philippines in the same manner as ob-

tained when the islands were under Spanish sovereignty." Further than this no news of the negotiations has been published, except one very significant dispatch, which we will note later.

Just before his departure for Rome Governor Taft wrote an article on the government of the Philippines, which was published in *The Outlook* of May 31. In this article, among other things, quite a detailed statement was made of the situation in the Philippines as regards the relation of the Catholic Church to the present government. At the conclusion of this statement, a portion of which we will present at another time, the matter of the negotiations with the Vatican was touched upon, and it was stated that such negotiation was made necessary by "the unusual circumstance of a transfer of sovereignty from a government whose interests were almost indissolubly united to the Church, to a government whose interests must be kept separate from the Church." It was stated that in the settlement of such questions and differences as now existing between the church and the state, "were we dealing with a secular corporation, it would seem a wiser policy and a more American and direct method of doing business to deal with the chief authority in the corporation rather than with some agent having but limited powers." And so in this matter "the Administration has concluded that the advantage of the direct method and the possibility of settling the differences amicably with the Church by such a method warrant it in running the risk of the unjust criticism that such negotiation involves the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Vatican, and a departure from the traditions of our Government in this regard." And, "instead of being a departure from such traditions, such negotiation seems to be an indispensable condition precedent to

the proper separation of the interests of the Church and state in the Philippines." True, "it is possible that the views of the Administration and the views of the Church authorities may be so widely different as to the proper course to pursue that other methods of settlement must be found, but it is hoped that the great common interest which the Church and state have in reaching a settlement will lead to such concessions on each side as will make it possible," and "the wise and enlightened statesmanship which has characterized the long and prosperous pontificate of Leo XIII. furnishes just ground for this hope."

In his address to the Pope on June 5 Governor Taft briefly touched upon the matters which it is desired to settle, and stated that it had seemed wise to settle them "by a conference between the Church and the state;" that "the separation of all the interests of the Church and the state in the Philippines was absolutely necessary under the American Constitution;" that this policy indicated no hostility on the part of the Government toward the Catholic Church or any others, for "the founders of the American Government recognized religion as the basis of the morality of its citizens, and worship and religious practises were encouraged and protected even more than in other countries where the separation of church and state did not exist;" that "the success of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States was an indication that it had no reason to fear the extension of the same rule to the Philippines." In response, the Pope "expressed his great interest in the American Republic; his pride and satisfaction with the progress there made by the Catholic Church, and his fervid desire to aid the American Government in every possible way in the successful administration of the Philippines." He assured the com-

mission of "the spirit of broad conciliation, and the keen desire to arrive at a definite arrangement, with which the questions proposed would be approached on the part of the Vatican in the settlement of what was in its power to settle." He could not respond in detail to the various questions, but would submit them to the commission of cardinals to be appointed for the purpose.

As we have stated, immediately following this interview the instructions of the President and Secretary of War to Governor Taft with regard to this Vatican "business transaction" were handed to the papal secretary, Rampolla, and were made public on the following day in the United States. These instructions were but a somewhat more definite and detailed statement of what was contained in the official announcement given out by the War Department on May 20, to which we called attention last month. We would like to present these instructions in full, but that is out of the question. It is first stated that Governor Taft is authorized to visit Rome and "there ascertain what Church authorities have the power to negotiate and determine upon a sale of the lands of the religious orders," and that when he finds "that the officers of the Church of Rome have such power and authority" he is to "endeavor to attain the results above indicated." All negotiations that may be entered into can be made binding and effective only by the action of Congress, and in all conferences and negotiations certain stated propositions, "which are deemed to be fundamental," must be borne in mind and "should be fully and frankly stated to the other side in the negotiations." The first of these propositions is as follows:

One of the controlling principles of our Government is the complete separation of church and state, with the entire freedom of each from any control or interference by the

other. This principle is imperative wherever American jurisdiction extends, and no modification or shading thereof can be a subject of discussion.

This is certainly plain and definite enough. The next proposition is in part that "it is now necessary to deal with the results of establishing a government controlled by this principle in the Philippine Islands, which have for centuries been governed under an entirely different system." The remainder of the propositions are with regard to the settlement of the difficulties which this situation has produced. By reason of the separation of church and state "the religious orders can no longer perform in behalf of the state the duties in relation to public charities and public instruction formerly resting upon them," and such is the hostility of the natives toward them "that they are no longer capable of serving any useful purpose for the Church" in the islands. It will require armed intervention on the part of the civil government to collect rents from the populous communities occupying the friars' lands, and to restore them to their former positions as priests. The doing of the last "the principles of our Government forbid." Under the conditions it is for the interest of both Church and state that the landed proprietorship of the religious orders should cease, and that "the Church should seek other agents" for carrying on "its ministrations among the people of the islands and for conducting on its own behalf a system of instruction, with which we have no desire to interfere," if it wishes to continue such work, "as of course it does wish." It is the wish of the American Government that the titles of the religious orders to the large tracts of agricultural lands shall be extinguished, and that full compensation shall be made therefor. But the money received in this way must not be used in

attempts to restore the friars to the parishes from which they are now separated. The matter of all church lands and buildings claimed by "the church," but now apparently owned by the state, the matter of rentals for convents and church buildings that have been occupied by United States troops, and the rights and obligations remaining under the various specific trusts for education and charity, now in doubt and controversy, should be settled fairly, "by agreement, if possible, rather than by the slow and frequently disastrous processes of litigation." And in the closing paragraph of the instructions is reiterated what has been said already a number of times:

Your errand will not be in any sense or degree diplomatic in its nature, but will be purely a business matter of negotiation by you as Governor of the Philippines for the purchase of property from the owners thereof, and the settlement of land titles in such a manner as to contribute to the best interests of the people of the islands.

This document on the whole seems to be pervaded with an honest desire and purpose to bring about a settlement of the religious problem in the Philippines in accordance with the principle of separation of church and state in as fair and equitable a manner as possible. We are pleased to read it. But for all that we do not see why it was necessary to send a commission to the Vatican with even such good instructions as these. And certainly they do not alter the fact that the negotiations carried on under them are diplomatic in character. Whatever may be said about the matter, and whatever may be the light in which it is desired that this mission to Rome shall be regarded, the plain truth is that it has gone on a diplomatic errand, and the negotiations thereby conducted between the United States Government and the Vatican are as much diplomacy as any negotiations that ever took place between two

powers. Everybody recognizes this, for it cannot very well be looked at otherwise; and one is almost led to believe that the Government itself, either consciously or unconsciously, recognizes this fact from the anxiety it has shown to have the matter regarded as "merely a business transaction." The common-sense view of the matter was expressed by the *New York Evening Post* in this editorial note in its issue of June 12:

The cable reports great activity at the Vatican, and almost as much visiting and card-exchanging between Gov. Taft and the recognized envoys in that quarter as is now taking place at London in connection with another event. And yet we are solemnly told that Gov. Taft's mission is not diplomacy but business. This might lead to the inquiry, What is diplomacy if it is not business? What is diplomacy for if not for the transaction of some kind of business? It is not merely for bowing and scraping and exchanging calls. If that had been the object of Mr. Taft's visit he would not have presented any letter outlining the business which took him to Rome. To ward off the imputation of holding diplomatic relations with the Vatican—which the American people certainly would not approve of—the point has been made that Mr. Taft's letter to the Vatican was from the Secretary of War, not from the Secretary of State. That is of no importance, however. Both secretaries act under the orders of the President. . . . *The fact is that we have entered into diplomatic relations with the Vatican.* The letter of Secretary Root makes that fact perfectly clear, for if we intend to go on and expropriate the friars in the Philippines, whether the Pope agrees to it or not, *then there is no reason why Gov. Taft should consult him at all.* If the object of the consultation is to agree upon methods the most satisfactory, or the least distasteful, to the Pope, *a consultation to that end is diplomacy.* [Italics supplied.]

It seems to us that no one should have any difficulty in seeing that in its desire to be "fair," and possibly not to offend "the Church," the Government has taken a step that is not at all in harmony with the principles so firmly stated in the document which now constitutes a

portion of that step. It has gone out of its way to do deference to the Papacy; and the Papacy has had no other thought all along than what the matter meant in this way for her. The idea of the matter being "merely a business transaction" has not been her idea at all, and she has been grieved that emphasis has been put upon that idea by the Government. When the news reached Rome of the definite and positive announcement that had been made in this country that the mission of Governor Taft was to be in no sense diplomatic, but merely "a business transaction with the owners of property," the word came back in a special cable to the New York *Tribune*, under date of May 27, that it had "somewhat dampened the enthusiasm at the Vatican":

It was hoped that the mission would be the first step toward the establishment of some kind of diplomatic relations between Washington and the Papacy, but now it is understood that the American Government does not wish to give the mission such significance, although Governor Taft is charged to congratulate the Pope on his jubilee. The Vatican is trying to make the most of the occasion before the world, and has prepared a reception with all the pomp of medieval gorgeusness for which it is famous.

Just a few days before the sending of this cable the Rome correspondent of the *Catholic Standard and Times* (Philadelphia) mailed to his paper a communication bubbling over with the anticipated coming of "the Philippine Commission." He declared: "I can state on the highest authority that this action of the American Administration is a source of strongest satisfaction to the Pope, his minister, his court, and Rome in general." He told of the preparations being made for the reception of the commission, which ceremony was "to be something unique," and in hinting at some great secrets connected with this matter which he, as one of those persons deemed worthy by "the

Curia" to "receive in confidence the secret history of long negotiations," knew, stated that the starting-point in securing the sending of this commission from the United States "was the effort made to bring the Holy See and the Washington Administration into contact, which I mentioned in the *Standard and Times* of July 9 and 27, 1901." He said that "the initiative was that of President McKinley, but his efforts were met with the strongest pleasure and warmest seconding by Leo XIII.," and that "the great reason of delay has been the death of President McKinley."

Another straw indicating the direction of the wind on this point, so far as the Papacy is concerned, are these words in a special dispatch to the New York *Tribune* from Rome, dated June 8:

The influence of Archbishop Ireland has so increased since his work in securing the Taft delegation that it is thought here that his opinion will be taken into consideration before the appointment of Cardinal Martinelli's successor at Washington. It is understood that Archbishop Ireland is not personally opposed to Monsignor Falconio, the favorite candidate of the Pope, but he thinks the Vatican should send to Washington a prelate capable of maintaining not only the religious side of his position, but the social side also, *thus working for a relationship between America and the Vatican, such as it was hoped might be established by giving Governor Taft's visit the appearance of a diplomatic mission.*

And yet there are leading men, professed Protestants, in the United States who are constantly talking about the devotion of the "great St. Paul prelate" to American ideals! It is evident that he is doing all he can to secure an alliance between the American Government and "the Church," in spite of fundamental American principles and ideals.

So little does the Vatican care about a mere business transaction in this matter, and especially such a one as is proposed in the instructions sent with

Governor Taft, that it is by no means certain that the Government will accomplish anything in the way of business after all that it has done in the matter. Under date of June 21 comes a very significant message from Rome, reading as follows:

Governor Taft received to-night the Vatican's answer in Italian. It was somewhat disappointing. Americans had been led to suppose that the question was almost settled, but the answer, couched in general terms, made no definite promises, and invited Governor Taft to make a definite statement, in addition to the general proposition contained in Secretary Root's instructions which Mr. Taft presented to the Vatican.

The most important passage reads: "The Vatican is aware of the entire separation of church and state in America, BUT HOPES THAT THE WASHINGTON GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE CONTRARY CONDITIONS IN THE NEW TERRITORY NOW UNDER THEIR JURISDICTION."

This sounds like the Papacy, indeed, and it puts a different complexion upon the matter than that given it by the confident assertions made but a short time ago by *The Independent* and other prominent journals to the effect that the Pope had no other desire than to do what was right in the matter, and was only waiting to know what the Government wanted in order to join with it in bringing about good government and religious peace in the Philippines. The Papacy cares nothing whatever about good government and religious peace, nor any other kind of peace, so long as it runs counter to any of her selfish desires. She will not surrender her position in the Philippines as long as there is the least possibility of holding on. And it is more than likely that the Government, in going out of its way to deal with her in this matter, has only strengthened her in her natural, logical, consistent and age-long principle and practise; and has made

the settlement of the question at issue in accordance with the principle it has laid down more difficult than ever.

The very plain fact is that in undertaking to govern the Philippines the American Government has gotten itself into an awkward situation as regards the Papacy—a situation which distinctly raises the issue between the American and the papal principle as regards the relation of church and state. And it is a situation which gives every evidence of eventuating to the advantage of the Papacy. If the Government applies the principle of separation of church and state in the Philippines, as now seems to be its honest intention, it will call down upon itself the bitter denunciation of the forces of Catholicism in this country, whose wrath in the matter is now at white heat. It will be accused, as it is now being accused by the papal organs, of surrendering to "the plans of the Protestant sects to utilize the American Government to spread Protestantism in a Catholic country," of aiding in the establishment of "heresy" in the Philippines, and of abetting "the insidious attempts to rob our Catholic brothers of their priceless heritage of faith." This will throw the matter into partisan politics, and the Administration will at once find itself face to face with the alternative of sacrificing in the Philippines, to some extent at least, the principle it desires to maintain, or of being "knifed" at the polls by the votes which the Papacy will be able to muster in her interests. Already the Federation of Catholic Societies is giving serious attention to the matter, and a leading Catholic organ declares that "every Catholic parish from Maine to California should interest itself in this matter."

It is not for us to say which alternative the present or some other Administration may choose; but we know this, that ex-

pediency and not principle has been the guiding star in this Philippine business so far, and that it will require a very stiff-backed Administration to stand up against the Catholic antagonism that is sure to be aroused if the Government goes ahead without the Pope's sanction with the present program with regard to "the Church" in the Philippines. This very matter of sending this commission to the Vatican points already toward the adoption of the method of expediency rather than of principle in the settlement of this problem. And if expediency does control in the matter it is not difficult to see how easily it may lead to the condition of affairs suggested in the instructions of the Secretary of War to Governor Taft—the employment of armed forces by the United States in collecting

from an unwilling people the rents for lands claimed by the friars and the imposition upon them of unwelcome Catholic priests—two things that will rouse them to resistance quicker than anything else. The question as it would present itself to the politician who is willing to disregard principle in the interests of himself or his party would simply be the choice between the enmity of the non-voting *subjects* in the Philippines and the enmity of the millions of Catholic voters in the United States. The precedents now being established with regard to the Filipinos are not propitious for them under such circumstances. The way is practically open now for the use, with a vengeance, of the power of the United States Government in behalf of papal falsehoods and delusions.



## *Present Frittering Away of the Declaration*

[From communication by Hon. George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, published in *Springfield Republican* of May 20. See editorial note.]

SENATOR LODGE'S speech at Dorchester Heights on the 17th of March is a speech of great art in politics. The event that was commemorated—the evacuation of Boston on the corresponding day of the year 1776—is very much enlarged beyond the dimensions that it has assumed in history, although I cannot say that that event was unduly enlarged, but, in one respect, of which I am to speak, its importance was very much diminished. Mr. Lodge attributed to the evacuation of Boston and the departure of the British army and fleet the future independence of the colonies, the establishment of the Constitution of the United States, the enlargement of our territory to the Mississippi River, and

ultimately to the Pacific Ocean, but he neglected to notice one important event which has influenced the world more even than the enlargement of our territory or the framework of our government. That event was the Declaration of Independence on the fourth day of July following the evacuation of the town of Boston. . . .

It is probable that the Declaration would have been made at some time by the Colonies, even if the attempt of Washington in March, 1776, had been, for the moment, a failure; but the event which was celebrated the 17th day of March, 1902, made it certain that the independence of the Colonies was to be established without delay. It led the re-

luctant members of the confederacy to the conclusion that it was safe to append their names to the Declaration of Independence.

The omission to refer to the Declaration of Independence as the one great event following the evacuation of Boston was not an accident. It must have been due to the clear perception of Senator Lodge that a reference to the Declaration of Independence in its language would be a fatal criticism upon the policy to which he is now devoting himself in the attempt to subjugate the Philippine Islands to the government of the United States without the consent of the people occupying the islands. Under the influence of the same idea he presents to the country a paraphrase of the Declaration of Independence, so framed that it justifies the proceedings now going on in Cuba and the Philippine Islands. Among the consequences of the evacuation of Boston to which he attributed importance, the chiefest are these: "The American Revolution which begun at Lexington and Concord and ended at Yorktown was the first step in the great movement which swept away privileges, made democracy a reality, and converted the doctrine that all civilized governments ultimately derive their powers from the whole body of the community, from a dream to a maxim."

A careful reading of this extract justifies two or three conclusions. First, that it is a paraphrase of the Declaration of Independence with limitations. The words of the Declaration of Independence are these: "We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just

powers from the consent of the governed." Senator Lodge's paraphrase limits the right of self-government to civilized governments, or to those who live under governments that are called civilized. Hence it follows that others are excluded from the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence. Next, he does not admit that persons living under civilized governments are entitled immediately to the right of self-government, but that ultimately the right may be gained through and for the whole body of the community.

Thus he has so interpreted the Declaration of Independence as to justify our operations in the Philippine Islands, upon the ground that the inhabitants, when taken possession of by us, were not living under a civilized government. And he further limits the right of persons who may be living under civilized governments in such manner that they are not entitled to the right of self-government immediately, but ultimately they may come into the enjoyment of it.

The positions taken by Senator Lodge are the necessary results of the policy in which the country has become involved by the acquisition of the Philippine Islands and the government of them by force. They are, however, a plain and authoritative recognition of the fact . . . that the Declaration of Independence is no longer regarded either as the supreme law of the country or as a declaration of human rights on which the Constitution of the United States was framed and toward which the nations of the earth have been turning their faces.

However important the evacuation of Boston may have been in forwarding the policy of the Colonies, it did not attract large notice in America, nor has it been an inspiring motive to those abroad who have looked to the United States for instruction and guidance in their efforts

to set up republican institutions. If the evacuation of Boston has had any influence over the fortunes of mankind, it is to be attributed to the fact that it hastened the day when the Declaration of Independence could be made with propriety and safety. It is to that Declaration that the eyes of the world have been

turned, and the influence which America has had in the dissemination of democratic-republican ideas in Europe has been due entirely to the Declaration of Independence, and not to the evacuation of Boston in 1776, nor even to the other more attractive events of the war at Saratoga and Yorktown.



## The Sunday Question in Massachusetts

By George B. Wheeler

THE Sunday question has been to the front in the Massachusetts legislature, as it has been in other places throughout the country. The agitation has been caused by the introduction of several Sunday bills, all but one bills to modify the existing Sunday laws of the State. Interest in the matter has been intensified by the rigid enforcement of the laws in Boston and other places. Several bills were introduced to allow shooting and fishing on the "Lord's day;" two to allow barbers and bootblacks to do business until 1 P. M., and one to make a law effective that was passed several years ago forbidding entertainments of a secular character upon the "Lord's day." These were all defeated. A bill was also introduced to allow the sale of ice-cream, soda-water, and confectionery by licensed innholders, common victuallers, druggists, and newsdealers on the "Lord's day," which attracted much attention throughout the State. Great efforts were made both for and against the bill, which finally passed both branches of the Legislature by very large majorities, and was signed by the Governor after an amendment was made striking out the word newsdealers.

The inconsistency of Sunday legisla-

tion with the great American principles of equality and liberty was made strikingly manifest in the discussion on this bill and the enforcement of the Sunday law prohibiting the sale of ice-cream, soda-water and confectionery upon Sunday. One editor says:

The conviction of a Dorchester druggist, by the orders sent out from police headquarters and made possible by his undoubted guilt, of the flagrant crime of selling a pound of candy on the Lord's day, is one of the funniest performances ever enacted by the solemn representatives of the law's majesty, and if the police were earnestly striving to make themselves ridiculous they could not have selected a more suitable subject for their comical antics. If they will now extend their disapprobation to all other forms of unlawful "desecration" of the Lord's day, they will render themselves quite superior, in point of laughter-compelling qualities, to any howling farce upon the boards.  
—*Dorchester Beacon.*

Another says:

Sneak-thieves, burglars, knock-out artists, etc., are laying their plans for unusual doings to-morrow. It is not often that they get thorough and complete warning that the force of the city will be compelled to concentrate their attention on preventing little girls from buying candy and soda-water. People of sense are beginning to ask with some asperity what is the use of this senseless prohibition, anyway? Why should the law of the Commonwealth give to the police authorities the power to impose

such ridiculous conditions upon the public? What possible good can come of continuing a state of things which arouses contempt where it does not cause annoyance? Why not do away altogether with the useless features of a law which is thus uncertain in its operation, allow the sale on Sunday of those articles which are generally desired for comfort, and make an end of this petty and annoying business? The gentlemen on Beacon Hill should wipe this absurdity off the statutes without delay.—*Boston Post*.

Mayor Leonard, of Lawrence, said:

"I have no intention of enforcing the blue laws. There are numerous live matters to be dealt with without resurrecting the dead past."

A great number of similar quotations might be made. Many people are beginning to find out that Sunday laws are not in harmony either with the true spirit of Christianity or the spirit of freedom which is the foundation of our government.



"The gravest public scandal of the larger era of American life"—"a strange and humiliating spectacle"—"as ridiculous as it is humiliating"—were some of the characterizations of the *World's Work* for June of the failure up to that time of the United States to grant such a tariff concession to Cuban products as "is necessary to save the islands from practical starvation." It is recited that "the United States magnanimously went to war to free the long oppressed Cubans; and the whole history of nations contains no more generous act than this;" and after doing wonders in the way of administration "we kept our pledge with all promptness to give over the island to the government of the people under our protection against foreign entanglements." All this "was properly and well done; but, when the final act came and the situation that we had ourselves produced demanded a tariff concession—a concession that will work no harm to the American public—the moral purpose of the nation is balked." And it is sagely added: "Big tasks are easy for a great nation. It is the little tasks that are hard, especially when these smaller tasks must be done by the legislative branch of the Government." But it is hastily added that "delay will not hinder the final doing of our duty," and that "it may be

done before this paragraph reaches the reader." During the time of the transit of these words from the editor to the reader the President addressed a very earnest and urgent special message to Congress on the subject, but in spite of that the word now is that Congress will adjourn without any action whatever towards doing "our duty." There are some lessons that may be learned from this matter, and one of them is that it is possible to make too great pretensions as to the capability and disposition of a government—even a republican government—to rightly, justly and honorably act the part of a guardian and benefactor for another people. It is preëminently true that the "little tasks" are hard for a great government, and in that very fact is shown the disqualification of a great government for the rule of alien peoples. It is the "little tasks" that count most in the government of dependencies, and the government which cannot perform these in the best possible manner is far more unfit to govern distant people than they can possibly be to govern themselves. How true now as of old are the words of the historian: "Parliaments and senates can preside successfully only among subjects directly represented in them. They are too ignorant, too selfish, too divided, to govern others."

## The Soul and Mind of the Country with Regard to Civil Liberty\*

Words of James Otis, of Massachusetts, through the press in July, 1764, when the Stamp Tax measure was being pushed through Parliament by the English Government.

**G**OVERNMENT is founded not on force, as was the theory of Hobbes; nor on compact, as was the theory of Locke and of the revolution of 1688; nor on property, as was asserted by Harrington. It springs from the necessities of our nature, and has an everlasting foundation in the unchangeable will of God. Man came into the world and into society at the same instant. There must exist in every earthly society a supreme sovereign, from whose final decision there can be no appeal but directly to Heaven. **THIS SUPREME POWER IS ORIGINALLY AND ULTIMATELY IN THE PEOPLE; and THE PEOPLE NEVER DID IN FACT FREELY, NOR CAN RIGHTFULLY, make an unlimited renunciation of this divine right.** Kingcraft and priestcraft are a trick to gull the vulgar. The happiness of mankind demands that this grand and ancient alliance should be broken off forever.

The omniscient and omnipotent Monarch of the universe has, by the grand charter given to the human race, placed the end of government in the good of the whole. The form of government is left to the individuals of each society; its whole superstructure and administration should be conformed to the law of universal reason. There can be no prescription old enough to supersede the law of nature and the grant of God Almighty, who has given all men a right to be free. If every prince since Nimrod had been a tyrant, it would not prove a right to tyrannize. The administrators of legislative and executive authority, when they verge toward tyranny, are to be resisted; if they prove incorrigible, are to be deposed.

The first principle and great end of government being to provide for the best good of all the people, this can be done only by a supreme legislative and executive, ultimately in the people, or whole community, where God has placed it; but the difficulties attending a universal congress gave rise to a right of representation. Such a transfer of the power of the whole to the few was necessary; but to bring the powers of all into the hands of one or some few, and to make them hereditary, is the interested work of the weak and the wicked. Nothing but life and liberty are actually hereditary. The grand political problem is to invent the best combination of the powers of legislation and execution. They must exist in the state, just as in the revolution of the planets; one power would fix them to a center, and another carry them off indefinitely; but the first and simple principle is, **EQUALITY and THE POWER OF THE WHOLE.**

The British colonists do not hold their liberties or their lands by so slippery a tenure as the will of the prince. Colonists are men, the common children of the same Creator with their brethren of Great Britain. The colonists are men; the colonists are therefore freeborn; for, **BY THE LAW OF NATURE, ALL MEN ARE FREEBORN, WHITE OR BLACK.** \* \* \* **LIBERTY IS THE GIFT OF GOD, AND CANNOT BE ANNIHILATED.**

Nor do the political and civil rights of the British colonists rest on a charter from the crown. Old Magna Charta was not the beginning of all things, nor did it rise on the borders of chaos out of the unformed mass. A time may come when Parliament shall declare every American charter void; but **THE NATURAL, INHERENT, AND INSEPARABLE RIGHTS OF THE COLONISTS, AS MEN and as citizens, CAN NEVER BE ABOLISHED.**

## The Soul and Mind of the Country with Regard to Religious Liberty\*

Selections from the famous "Memorial and Remonstrance," written by James Madison and presented to the General Assembly of Virginia in 1785.

**W**E HOLD it for a fundamental and undeniable truth "that religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence." The religion, then, of every man must be left to the conviction and conscience of every man; and it is the right of every man to exercise it as these may dictate. This right is in its nature an unalienable right. It is unalienable, because the opinions of men, depending only on the evidence contemplated in their own minds, cannot follow the dictates of other men. It is unalienable, also, because what is here a right towards men is a duty towards the Creator. It is the duty of every man to render to the Creator such homage, and such only, as he believes to be acceptable to Him. This duty is precedent, both in order of time and in degree of obligation, to the claims of civil society. Before any man can be considered as a member of civil society, he must be considered as a subject of the Governor of the universe; and if a member of a civil society who enters into any subordinate association, must always do it with a reservation of his duty to the general authority, much more must every man who becomes a member of any particular civil society do it with a saving of his allegiance to the universal Sovereign. We maintain, therefore, that in matters of religion no man's right is abridged by the institution of civil society, and that religion is wholly exempt from its cognizance. \* \* \*

If religion is exempt from the authority of society at large, still less can it be subject to that of the legislative body. The latter are but the creatures and vicegerents of the former. Their jurisdiction is both derivative and limited. \* \* \*

Who does not see that the same authority which can establish Christianity, in exclusion of all other religions, may establish, with the same ease, any particular sect of Christians, in exclusion of all other sects? that the same authority which can force a citizen to contribute threepence only of his property for the support of any establishment, may force him to conform to any other establishment in all cases whatsoever? \* \* \*

Whilst we assert for ourselves a freedom to embrace, to profess, and to observe the religion which we believe to be of divine origin, we cannot deny an equal freedom to them whose minds have not yet yielded to the evidence which has convinced us. If this freedom be abused, it is an offense against God, not against man. To God, therefore, not to man, must an account of it be rendered. \* \* \*

Either, then, we must say that the will of the legislatura is the only measure of their authority, and that in the plenitude of that authority, they may sweep away all our fundamental rights, or that they are bound to leave this particular right untouched and sacred. \* \* \*

\* See editorial note.

# The Sentinel

OF CHRISTIAN LIBERTY

*Set for the defense of human rights, especially the rights of conscience. The only periodical in the United States devoted to the exposition and defense of the Christian and American principle of complete separation of church and state. The Sentinel is not a periodical of abstractions and speculation, but it is a live magazine which discusses live issues that deeply concern every individual.*

JOHN D. BRADLEY, Editor.

Editorial Contributors:

A. T. JONES, A. G. DANIELLS, M. C. WILCOX,  
L. A. SMITH, C. P. BOLLMAN.

Entered as Second-class matter at the New York Post-office. (See close of reading matter for terms of subscription, etc.)

*We believe in the religion taught and lived 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 believe that human rights are sacred, and that they indissolubly inhere in the moral nature of the individual.*

*We deny the right of any human authority to invade and violate these inalienable rights in any individual.*

*Therefore we deny the right of any civil government to legislate on matters of religion and conscience.*

*We believe it is the right, and should be the privilege, of every individual to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, free from all dictation, interference, or control on the part of civil government or any other external authority; or not to worship at all if he so chooses.*

*We also believe it to be our duty, and no less the duty of all others, to oppose religious legislation and all movements tending toward the same, to the end that all the people may freely enjoy the inestimable blessing of liberty, which is theirs by virtue of the unbounded wisdom and beneficence of the Author of their being.*

The lesson of freedom cannot be learned in the school of despotism.

The true function of civil government is not to grant and confer rights, but to recognize and protect them.

What the fathers of the American Republic denominated as tyranny and despotism when applied to them by Great

Britain, some of their descendants to-day denominate as philanthropy and humanity when applied by themselves to the Filipinos.

Despotism has never been known to commit any act of oppression that was not absolutely "necessary." "Necessity" has been the plea and defense of tyranny during all the ages.

The fact that the popular governments of Anglo-Saxon peoples to-day have behind them a thousand years and more of hard struggle and experience is no evidence that a thousand years of foreign rule will produce free government for the Filipinos or any other people. Servitude and subjection, and the struggle and experience which issues in self-government and free institutions, are two entirely different things.

When all that can be said about the long training which has developed free government among Anglo-Saxon peoples has been said it is by no means established that the rude forefathers of the race in the German forests were not as capable of self-government as any of their proudest descendants to-day. They were free, democratic, and self-governing then, and if they did not administer a great state, they loved freedom and stood for independence and equal rights. None of their descendants of any generation have done more. In what constitutes the essentials of self-government they were as capable as any of their sons, and could have discharged the duties of any generation, had they lived in it, as creditably as did their descendants.

The history of the world shows that civilization has been reinvigorated and rejuvenated not by the extension and

enforcement of its superficialities upon barbarians, but by its transformation and redemption under the powerful influence of the rude and primitive virtues of so-called barbarians. When sinking beneath its own corruption it has always felt the burden to go forth and to conquer and to "civilize." The result in the cases of Babylon, Medo-Persia, Grecia and Rome was after all for the good of the world, for in each instance the "barbarians" conquered the promoters of "civilization" and rescued the civilized world for a time from the corruption into which it had degenerated. An interesting question to-day is, Has the time come at last when the universal testimony of history in this matter is to be reversed, and civilization is to succeed at last in gaining a new lease of life for itself and in elevating the moral tone of the world by conquering barbarians instead of being rescued and redeemed by them?



It has been well declared by high authority that the Declaration of Independence was "the genuine effusion of the soul of the country at that time," "the revelation of its mind, when in its youth, its enthusiasm, . . . it rose to the highest creative powers of which man is capable." The Declaration announced to the world two great ideas: first, that government is of the people; and, second, that government is of right entirely separate from religion. Amplifications of these two ideas as they were then held are given conspicuously elsewhere. The words quoted from James Otis show what the mind of the country was with reference to civil liberty in those days which brought forth the Declaration, and the words of James Madison show no less what was the mind of the country at that time with regard to religious liberty. We regret that space does not permit of our presenting more

of the words of the great "Memorial and Remonstrance," and of other noble documents which marked the campaign for complete religious freedom in Virginia from 1776 to 1786. This "Memorial and Remonstrance" by Madison, which went to the General Assembly backed by overwhelming popular approval, secured the immediate passage of the great "Statute of Religious Freedom," written by Thomas Jefferson, which had been pending for six years, partly on account of the war then in progress. To this campaign in Virginia can be directly traced the national adoption and establishment of the principle of religious freedom.



It is always the case at the very last moment that we are obliged to omit matter that we had expected to publish, in order to make room for something else that cannot be held over. This will account for the non-appearance of some matter that was announced for this number.



It is said that the Shah of Persia, who recently visited Rome, left without seeing the Pope, as "he finally refused to accept the formalities prescribed by the Vatican." Evidently the Shah has different ideas on this point than has the American commission which has spent several weeks in Rome over a "business transaction" with the Pope. It is good to know that there is at least one potentate in the world who draws the line on the idolatrous formalities which the Papacy delights to impose upon governmental representatives who visit the Vatican.



"Sunday ball playing is a good thing when practised within reasonable limitations," says the *Brooklyn Eagle*. "Any sport not wantonly interfering with the rational observance of Sunday, any sport

which takes young men and boys into the suburbs and keeps them in the open air and sunshine and away from the saloons and the street corners, should be generally commended and encouraged." We are glad to say that the view of the *Eagle* in this matter is shared by many other great newspapers. None but those who are blinded by the desire to dictate the religious conduct of others advocate the prohibition of such games by the law or its agents.



According to Dr. Martin D. Kneeland, of the New England Sabbath (Sunday) Protective (Enforcement) League, "there are many blind policemen who need a West Indian volcano to wake them up" to violations of the legal Sunday. Thus he declared on the evening of May 18 at a meeting in the Roxbury Presbyterian church, Boston, held in the interests of Sunday enforcement. "I was told to-night," said he, "of a store in this vicinity which was selling candy today. The policeman on the route passed and repassed the store several times, but did nothing." A terrible, terrible condition of affairs!



The Constitution of the United States declares that "treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort." Some leading newspapers and some leading men, military and civil, have taken it upon themselves in the recent past to declare in effect that treason against the United States consists in adhering to the fundamental principles of the nation, giving them the place and precedence they deserve and the emphasis and advocacy that the times demand. An important question is, Which of these widely different ideas with regard to treason is to prevail in the future?

On June 17 Senator Dryden, of New Jersey, presented in the Senate at Washington "petitions of the congregation of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Bordentown, and of the Christian Endeavor Society of Vineland, in the State of New Jersey, praying for the enactment of a Sunday-rest law for the District of Columbia." The petitions were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia. The inquiry might very properly be made as to why people way up in New Jersey are concerned especially about having "Sunday rest" enforced in the District of Columbia, but the secret of the interest of these religious organizations in this Sunday legislation is not difficult to read and comprehend.



It seems that the ministerial advocates of Sunday enforcement are not to be allowed to monopolize the laws of physiology and the testimony of medical men in their attempts to justify such enforcement. As noted elsewhere, in a recent case in Michigan the attorney for certain ball players, who were being tried for Sunday playing, urged that mental and physical relaxation on Sunday was a necessity, and produced three physicians who testified that as a means to that end there was nothing better for some people than watching a game of ball. The advocates of Sunday enforcement will have to cast about for some other excuse for their religion-by-law propaganda.



With regard to Governor Taft's reception at the Vatican the *Minneapolis Times* remarks that "it is a high compliment to the success of American institutions when an American emissary, without plenary powers, is given a hearing of more satisfactoriness than has been accorded to fully accredited ambassadors of European monarchies bent on less im-

portant missions." There are strange ideas obtaining now-a-days as to what marks the success of American institutions, but this is one of the strangest yet. There was a time when the sending of an American emissary to the Vatican would have been looked upon as a pretty good indication of the failure of American institutions.



Bishop Thoburn, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, says that Governor Taft "occupies one of the most prominent positions in the Oriental world," and that as governor-general of the Philippines he "represents the President of the United States very much in the same way that Lord Curson, as governor-general of India, represents the king of England." It is not difficult to perceive this analogy. And it is a matter of no small significance that it has come to pass with the American Republic that its President in one respect occupies a position analogous to that of the king of England, and that one of its representatives sustains the same relation to an alien people as does the English viceroy of India to its subjected millions.



Just as we are closing our forms for this issue a dispatch from Richmond, Va., under date of June 22, appears in the press stating that "a case involving the right of Seventh-day Adventists to labor on Sunday is attracting no little attention in the Page County courts of this State." It states that a member of that denomination was arrested for hauling wood on Sunday, that the magistrate had decided adversely to him, and that the case had been appealed with the purpose of testing the validity of the Sunday law. This appeal was probably taken from some court of minor jurisdiction in which the case was heard immediately following

the arrest. We have had no word regarding the matter, but hope to report it fully in our next issue.



In an "allocution" delivered in Rome on June 9 at a "consistory" attended by Governor Taft and the other Americans of his party, Pope Leo "deplored the acts of the enemies of the Catholic faith in 'seeking to de-Christianize Italy, particularly Rome, by spreading heresy and Protestantism by writings and speeches.'" And yet there are those who declaim upon the growing liberality of the Papacy, and greatly rejoice over the "outstretched hand" which they claim to see extending from that quarter toward the "separated brethren"—"those Christian bodies which are not in communion with the Church of Rome." They who suppose that the Papacy ever extends her hand for any other purpose than her own advancement do not understand her.



According to press reports, Senator Lodge declared to the graduating class of the Yale Law School, on June 24, that if the movement for the election of senators by direct popular vote succeeds, "the balance of the Constitution will be destroyed, centralization will advance with giant strides, and we shall enter upon a period of constitutional revolution of which the end cannot be foretold." This country has already entered upon a period of constitutional revolution far more serious than any that could possibly follow from the adoption of the proposed change in the method of selecting United States senators. It is remarkable that those who see no dangerous trend whatever in the repudiation of the Declaration of Independence can discover such overwhelming danger in the proposition to elect senators by popular suffrage.

The revelations of great corruption in the municipal government of St. Louis, made by a grand jury a short time ago, have been rendered almost insignificant by the report of a more recent jury, which declares that "in no place in the world and in no time known to history has so much official corruption been uncovered," and that what it has discovered is "so appalling as to be almost beyond belief." If there can be a condition of public affairs worse than that set forth by this grand jury it is hardly possible to find stronger language with which to describe it than has been employed in this instance. But it is not to be supposed that the matter has been exaggerated. And St. Louis is not so very different from the other great cities of the country in this respect.



A "remarkable achievement" is what the New York *Times* sees in the fact that the United States can "send a commission to Rome to consult about the purchase of property from religious orders and the removal of the members of those orders from the exercise of their religious functions within the jurisdiction of the United States," and that such a commission can "be received at the Vatican with cordiality," and can "accomplish its ends with practically no opposition." The person who would have predicted this even twenty years ago, "would have been regarded as a little crazy." And it is all "the logical outgrowth of the fundamental policy of our Government as to the complete separation of the affairs of the church and the state." The end of this matter is not yet in sight, and it may be that there is a more "remarkable achievement" in it than that noted by the *Times*.



"If we could say one word to Congress, while deciding as to the bill for the civil

government of the Philippines," says *The Independent*, "it would be that if there is any doubt as to the degree of self-government for which the people are prepared, it be decided in favor of self-rule, rather than government by us. We want to allow the most generous confidence and risk the consequences." How generous and noble it is in *The Independent* to be willing to speak "one word" in favor of self-rule "rather than government by us," especially when, if that word is acted upon, there will be such a tremendous risk of such awful consequences! *The Independent* does not care to say so, but it virtually admits that there is a disposition, even beyond what it cares to indorse, on the part of those having the matter in charge, to decide all doubts in this matter in favor of "government by us" rather than in favor of self-rule by the Filipinos.



We are glad to be able to present to our readers in this issue some words concerning the efforts now being made at the national capital in behalf of the evil cause of Sunday legislation, from Gen. Wm. Birney, a true and ardent friend of fundamental American principles. Although Gen. Birney has passed his eighty-third birthday, he still pursues his profession as a lawyer, and when occasion requires is ready, in addition to the duties that ordinarily devolve upon him, to take active part in opposition to the efforts of the advocates of religious legislation before Congress. He spoke against the Sunday bills now pending at the hearing before the District Commissioners on May 27, and in connection with his remarks read a mock Sunday-rest bill which effectively exhibits the absurdity of many features of the average Sunday law. This bill we should have been glad to have published in this issue, but will be obliged to leave it until next month.

But it will make interesting reading even then.



That was a very significant editorial which appeared in *The Independent of Times* of May 22, headed "The Signs of the Times." It is declared that there is in the world "a general feeling of apprehension" that "is day by day growing more ominous." Men are asking, it is said, if the peace of the present is "a portentous stillness before the dead rush of the hurricane?" if the prosperity of the present is "the storing up of titanic and demoniac forces which will presently explode like steam in the bowels of Pelée?" This widespread fear and apprehension is declared to be a greater sign of the times than the things which give rise to it. This is true. "And there shall be signs . . . ; upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity; . . . men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth. . . . And then shall they see the Son of Man coming in a cloud with power and great glory."



Just a few months ago, after a meeting of prominent representatives of capital and labor, and the appointment of a National Arbitration Board, it was announced that industrial war was practically at an end, and that all difficulties would be adjusted peaceably hereafter. Yet the country is now in the midst of labor troubles such as it has scarcely ever known before. The coal strike has been in progress nearly two months, and although now as extensive as any strike ever before in that industry, promises to reach even greater proportions. Rioting is reported frequently from the mining regions. In Pawtucket, R. I., a strike of street-railway employees was attended by such rioting that State troops had to be called to the scene, and one person

was killed and a number wounded. And later at Paterson, New Jersey, a strike of silk workers, led by anarchists, produced a desperate situation for a day or two. Several persons were killed, and troops had to be sent to the city to restore order. And on June 22 in Toronto there was such rioting by street-car strikers that the authorities summoned the militia.



A correspondent of the *Catholic Standard and Times*, writing from Manila, under date of May 20, on "The Philippine School Scandal," declares among many other things that "at least ninety per cent. of all the teachers in the Philippines are Protestants," and that "they are here to proselytize." He says that "not a single Catholic teacher is employed in the Normal School of Manila," and that no Catholic student who has ever graduated from this school "has remained a Catholic." He prays that the friars "will remain in these islands," and says that "as soon as the American Government becomes aware that Rome does not intend to allow bigotry to dictate its policy in the Philippines, this howl against the friars will gradually diminish." The Federation of Catholic Societies in this country has begun to agitate this matter, and at a meeting in Newark, N. J., on June 15, resolutions were adopted calling upon the President to investigate the public school system in the Philippines, which, it was declared, was being conducted in such a manner as to place the Government in the position of opposing Roman Catholicism.



Conspicuous among the scarcely more than two hundred persons privileged to witness the brief ceremony of the transfer of the Cuban government from the American military authorities to the representatives of the Cuban people, which took place in the reception room of the

palace at Havana on May 20, was "the archbishop of Cuba and his escort." The representatives of "the Church" never fail to be prominent on such occasions, even if it means something which at heart they cannot relish. The policy of "the Church" in all countries is to secure all the favor she can from the civil authorities, and when in spite of all her prayers and desires a revolution which promises to be permanent is accomplished in the government of a country, she loses no time in the attempt to ingratiate herself with the new authorities. She never fails to link up with "the powers that be" if it means any advantage to herself. It is to be hoped, in spite of the strength of the Catholic Church on the island and centuries of precedent, that the Cuban people will not soon suffer their government to become entangled in the meshes of church-and-stateism that will no doubt be prepared for it with great skill.



At West Point, on June 11, Secretary of War Root declared that "to-day peace reigns from the northernmost point of Luzon to the southernmost island of the Sulu archipelago." Something like this has been declared many times before; it is to be hoped that it is true at last. At the same time Mr. Root made another statement which, to say the least, sounds rather strange in view of the representations that have constantly been made from the beginning by the advocates of the forcible establishment of American rule in the Philippines. In eulogizing the army, he declared that "in the Philippines . . . it has put down an insurrection of 7,000,000 of people." It has been difficult all along for those who have tried to look at this matter impartially to believe the constant declarations from high sources that this so-called insurrection was in no sense a resistance on the part of the people of the islands,

but merely the work of a few political chieftains and bands of bandits and desperadoes. Since the word of so high an authority as the Secretary of War now establishes the untruth of such declarations there is no need any longer for any one to try to believe them.



The man who in 1898 improved (?) upon the Declaration of Independence by laying down the proposition that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of *some* of the governed," and who was one of the most active persons in securing the passage through Congress of the act which fixed the status of Cuba as a dependency of the United States, notwithstanding the previous unqualified pledge of Congress not to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over the island after its pacification, now sees in that direction great danger of this country taking "the first step toward demoralization, if not the disintegration, of our republican institutions," and says: "I think we have come to a great crisis in our affairs." It is very likely that sooner or later all those who have been so sure all the time that nothing could work harm to "our republican institutions" will discover, and be obliged to confess, that "we have come to a great crisis in our affairs," although they may ignore the true beginning of the work of demoralization and disintegration. This work began when it was discovered in the United States, and began to be followed as a rule of action by public men, that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of *some* of the governed."



It is thought that the case in behalf of the "water-cure" torture is now complete, since at the recent trial of an American officer in the Philippines for employing it in obtaining information from natives,

it was set forth that the officer himself had tried it and found that it "was by no means painful"; that eleven Filipinos suffering from the fever had been cured by it; that the Spaniards had always had to employ it in governing the natives; and that it was practised by the police in the United States! Counsel for the defense offered to prove that it had been used by the police authorities in New York City during the time when Mr. Roosevelt and General Grant were police commissioners. This testimony was excluded. Although it does not appear to have been done in this instance, counsel will probably be ready, when the occasion requires, to show that people are burned at the stake in the United States, and that therefore a similar offense in the Philippines can be nothing serious. The method of defending one brutality by appeal to another, which seems to have been quite widely adopted in this matter, has possibilities which have not yet been exhausted, but which are not pleasant to contemplate. And the whole method from beginning to end is repulsive and abhorrent.



A fair specimen of the treatment that is being accorded the Declaration of Independence and its fundamental principle to-day by leading men is clearly pointed out by Hon. Geo. S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, in the words which we print elsewhere. According to Senator Lodge, "the American Revolution . . . converted the doctrine that all civilized governments ultimately derive their powers from the whole body of the community, from a dream to a maxim." Certainly that was a marvelous accomplishment, to convert a doctrine "from a dream to a maxim," especially such an elusive doctrine as is here enunciated, which simply means for the doctrine that was really announced its conversion from

a maxim back to a dream. It happens, as is plainly indicated by Mr. Boutwell, that Senator Lodge's paraphrase embodies an altogether different doctrine from that of the "standard maxim for free society" which the fathers set up. That maxim was not pronounced in the halting accents of those who are afraid of what they are saying, nor encumbered with the qualifying limitations which serve to give it any meaning and make its repudiation as proper as its performance. It spoke of "governments," not "civilized governments"; it held and stated plainly that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, not that they "ultimately derive their powers from the whole body of the community." "The whole body of the community" is a good expression, but it lacks somewhat the ring of that which implies an equal voice in the government by all the governed, which the Declaration meant, and of which Abraham Lincoln once declared, "that, and that only, is self-government." Lincoln had to meet limitations of this character on this same point in his debates with Douglas, and were he living to-day he would no doubt with even greater earnestness, and with possibly the substitution of some other word for that of "Democrats," make the appeal that he did at Springfield, Ill., in June, 1857: "I appeal to all—to Democrats as well as others—are you really willing that the Declaration shall thus be frittered away?"



*The Independent* is not pleased with the misrepresentations with regard to the public schools in the Philippines now appearing in Catholic papers, and regards them as "intended to injure the policy of the Administration" in the government of the islands. It declares that "just now the desire of the Administra-

tion to do justice to the Catholics in the Philippines is conspicuously evident in the visit of the Civil Governor of the islands to Rome, and decency requires that what gives satisfaction there should not be abused here." "But," it adds, "we observe that most of the Catholic papers are more Democratic than they are Catholic." We wonder how *The Independent* knows that the institution of the public school system and the discontinuance of religious instruction at public expense in the Philippines gives satisfaction at Rome? *The Independent* need not allow itself to be worried with the idea that the Catholic press will be allowed to maintain an attitude in this matter widely different from that held at Rome or by the "silent and knowing prelates" in this country to whom it advises Catholic editors to write for a "cue" in this matter. It may be that the Catholic papers in this country are more Democratic than they are Catholic, but we doubt it. It is certain, however, that there is nothing very inconsistent with Catholicism in the attitude which some of them are exhibiting with regard to the institution of the public school system and the stopping of the teaching of Catholicism at public expense in the Philippines. Whatever the faults of Democracy may be, we trust that *The Independent*, in its indulgence towards the Papacy, will not attempt to shoulder upon it evils which spring from an entirely different source. Instead of pretending that the Papacy has entirely changed and can no longer do anything but that which is to be lauded, let the fact be recognized that the spirit of supreme selfishness, which has dominated her through all her history, is still her controlling spirit. And a very good opportunity to recognize this fact is afforded in this Philippine matter, not only by the attitude of Catholic papers in this country, but by the attitude of "silent and

knowing prelates" and of the "Sovereign Pontiff" himself.



We have elsewhere pointed out how policy and political expediency might cause an abandonment of the purpose of the Government to adhere to the principle of separation of church and state in the Philippines. But there is another side to the matter, and it may be that, after all, the course proposed, even though it arouses the bitter antagonism of Roman Catholics, is safer politics than the other would be. In discussing this matter the *Springfield Republican* says that so long as the United States "runs things in the Philippine archipelago the principle of separation of church and state must be respected in order to prevent the convulsion of American politics by religious issues and ecclesiastical quarrels." It explains its meaning thus:

A little reflection will show why the present administration must follow the course outlined in Gov. Taft's instructions. It is true that, under the theory that the United States Constitution does not go to the Philippines *ex proprio vigore*, our Government could, if it chose, give to the church privileges there which are not possible here. If trial by jury can be kept out of the Philippines by our Government, then our Government can by equal right grant control of the public schools in the islands to any church that may win its favor. Under the imperialist's interpretation of the Constitution there is no truth in the contention that there must be, because of fundamental law, a complete separation of church and state in the Philippines. Yet, as a matter of policy, it is necessary to take this position for the simple reason that the Protestant churches of the United States would rise in wrath against any President who should follow an opposite course to the advantage of Roman Catholicism. The principle laid down for Gov. Taft's guidance, aside from its inherent correctness on theoretical grounds, represents an actual political necessity in American affairs, and, therefore, in Philippine affairs.

This does not change the fact at all

that the Government has gotten into a very difficult position in this matter; it simply emphasizes the fact. The Government is placed between two fires, and it remains to be seen how it will fare with the principle of separation of church and state. According to the last reports, at this writing, "the Vatican has accepted the proposition of Gov. Taft concerning the friars' lands, on all the main points, these including the payment of about \$5,000,000 for the friars' agricultural lands, and of a smaller sum for the rental of other lands and for the deportation of the friars to Spain." The report has it that among the "minor points" in which agreement had not been reached was that of religion in the schools, the Vatican insisting that at least the primary schools be under the control of the Catholic Church.



### *The Sunday Agitation in Washington*

As is the case with similar agitations in so many other places throughout the country, the recent Sunday-enforcement agitation in Washington seems to have sprung from the combination of the two forces of self-interest and religion-by-law zeal. Foremost were the associations of the retail clerks, the retail butchers, and the grocers, and these organizations were strongly seconded by the clergymen. It seems that in April Mr. Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, attended by request two meetings of the Presbyterian ministers of the city, at which the Sunday question was discussed. Soon there appeared in the Senate and House the two Sunday bills for the District of Columbia, described elsewhere by Gen. Wm. Birney. One of these was introduced at the request of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association, and the

other at the request of the Retail Butchers' Association. When the bills were referred to the District Commissioners they were immediately followed by a circular letter calling the attention of the Commissioners "to the large number of dry goods, clothing, shoe, and gentlemen's furnishing stores who keep their places of business open on Sunday," and declaring: "We protest against this species of Sabbath-breaking, and ask your honorable body to take such steps as may be necessary to eliminate the evil." This letter evidently emanated from the clerks, but it was also sent in from the pastors of thirty-three different churches, and from labor unions of book binders, cigar makers, bakers, carpenters, iron molders, stationary engineers, musicians, and wood, wire and metal lathers.

The president of the Board of District Commissioners was at once ready to report the bills favorably, but the other two members regarded them as entirely too stringent, and would not report upon them favorably unless they were considerably modified. According to Commissioner Mcfarland, the president, aside from the law requiring the closing of saloons and barber shops on Sunday, "there is absolutely no other modern law for the protection of the weekly rest-day in the National Capital." And he thought "the increasing invasion of that day by business, which threatens seriously the well-being of the people, is calling attention to the necessity" "for a Sunday protection law." He called attention to the fact that the proposed legislation was approved by "a number of prominent clergymen, representing churches of almost every denomination, and therefore a very large proportion of the best people of the District of Columbia." But the other two Commissioners were of the opinion that "there is not

now a situation grave enough to demand the proposed legislation." "Without any law," said they, "the people of the District of Columbia respect the Sabbath day, and do not engage in their vocations, except in a few instances which seem to be in accord with public sentiment, such as the opening of tobacco stores, florist establishments, news stands, apothecaries, etc." They concluded that "that condition of affairs is preferable which secures such a creditable state of affairs without punitive legislation." About this time a meeting of Hebrew merchants protested against the bills, and sent a committee to visit the Commissioners regarding them.

At this juncture the "Rev. Lucien Clark, representing the Methodist Preachers' Meeting," requested a public hearing at which those whom he represented, and "the representatives of other ministerial bodies," could "present the case to the Commissioners." This hearing was set for May 27, and as it was announced several days in advance others interested in the matter were also able to be present and to speak on the subject. We had hoped to give quite a complete report of this hearing, but are unable to do so. Among those who spoke in favor of the bills were: Mr. James A. Hoffman, of the Retail Butchers' Association; Rev. Lucien Clark, for the Methodist ministers; Mr. Geo. B. Squires, of the Retail Clerks' Association; and Mr. A. A. Wingfield, of the Retail Grocers' Association. Three other ministers besides Mr. Clark also spoke in favor of the bills. Among those who spoke against the proposed legislation were: Gen. Wm. Birney; Elder J. S. Washburn, for the Seventh-day Adventists; Dr. W. A. Croffut, for the Secular League; and Mr. Leon To-briner, for the Orthodox Jews.

The Commissioners stated that they

would give careful consideration to all that had been said, and to what might be offered by those who wished to state their views in writing, before framing their report to Congress. But they remained of the same opinion still, and reported two to one against the bills, which it is thought will dispose of them for the present session of Congress.

Among those who addressed the Commissioners in writing was Mr. Samuel Gompers, who, in behalf of "organized labor" and "the wage-earners of Washington," strongly urged a favorable report. Here is an interesting passage from his communication:

Some urge that one day of rest in the week, regardless of which day, should be adopted; but inasmuch as Sunday has become the generally recognized and universally established day of rest, little injury, if any, and the greatest amount of good, will result from its general observance. It is needless to urge you to the advocacy of Sunday rest, that has been so long ingrained in our economic, social and public life that it finds almost unanimous agreement.

And while the labor leader was standing firmly for Sunday, the ministers were gallantly performing their part in the matter. Rev. Mr. Clark declared that "we do not want the enforcement of a Sabbath in a religious sense, but we do want the rest-day enforced," and the Rev. Teunis S. Hamlin, being prevented from attending the hearing, wrote: "I should not appear as a Sabbatarian, nor as a clergyman, nor exclusively as a Christian; but as myself, a laboring man and a friend of all laborers, whether with hand or brain, to plead for one day of rest each week." It was Mr. Hamlin who, a few months ago, not as a laboring man, but as a clergyman and even a "Sabbatarian," preached a vigorous sermon on "Sabbath desecration" in Washington, in which he declared among other things that "many guests of our

nation in legations at this capital are showing us scant courtesy in lightly overriding our best national traditions and customs of the Lord's day."

The Sunday-enforcement clergyman may be able to convince himself that his interest in the matter is merely that of a "laboring man," but others will not be able to see the matter in that light so readily.



### **The Sunday Closing of the St. Louis Exposition**

It is evident that it will not be the fault of the promoters of the legal Sunday if the St. Louis Exposition follows the example of the Chicago World's Fair in disregarding the Sunday-closing proviso which they obtained from Congress in the appropriation bills for both expositions. The interest and efforts of "Rev. Dr. Wilbur F. Crafts, Superintendent of the International Bureau of Reforms, Washington, D. D.," in this matter has been the cause of making it figure as a matter of news for some weeks. According to the Washington correspondent of the *Boston Transcript*, Mr. Crafts is "rigidly scrutinizing the course of the Treasury Department in its relations to the Sunday closing of the St. Louis Fair."

It seems that in the Sunday-closing amendment to the bill appropriating \$5,000,000 for the St. Louis Exposition it is provided that as a condition precedent to the payment of the appropriation or any portion of it the directors of the exposition shall enter into a contract to close the gates to visitors on Sundays. It does not appear that it is stated with whom the directors shall enter into this contract, but presumably the Secretary of the Treasury is to be the other party. Last November Mr. Crafts wrote to the Department insisting that the provision

with regard to the making of this contract be strictly adhered to, and it seems that he was assured by Assistant Secretary Taylor that this would be done. But it seems that without the execution of such a contract money was being paid out on the appropriation. This stirred Mr. Crafts to renewed exertions, and as a result Secretary of the Treasury Shaw notified the exposition directors late in May that no more vouchers would be allowed by him until the contract was entered into. In response to this notice the directors, on June 11, authorized President Francis, of the exposition company, "to sign a contract with Leslie M. Shaw, Secretary of the Treasury, in which the World's Fair management pledges itself not to operate the fair on Sunday at any time." According to the *St. Louis Chronicle* this action "definitely settles the question of Sunday closing for all time to come."

But it seems that Mr. Crafts does not so regard it, and that others take a different view of the matter. A few days after the above action by the directors a Washington dispatch to the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* stated that it was no secret, not even to the treasury officials who had insisted upon this action, that the contract could be readily ignored if in future contingencies the management should decide to open the fair on Sundays. This brought forth from Mr. Crafts the information that some time ago when he called the matter to the attention of Secretary Shaw he was told: "I will make a contract, but it cannot be enforced." Mr. Crafts says he was asked not to report this opinion, but that since the publication of this dispatch to the *Globe-Democrat* he feels released from the obligation of secrecy. And now, since he feels that the cause of Sunday closing is rather weak at the Treasury Department, it seems that he

has turned elsewhere for assistance in the matter. A special dispatch from Washington to the Boston *Transcript*, under date of June 20, stated that "the matter has been brought to the attention of the President, and petitions from all parts of the country are now coming in, urging that the Government insist upon a contract that can be enforced."

It will be interesting to watch further developments in this matter. In the meantime the reflection is in place that Sunday-enforcement "reform" requires a vast deal of effort for precious little reform. And even when successful in attaining its end it has accomplished nothing that is worth a moment's effort.



### *The Commission from a Papal Viewpoint*

The real attitude of the Papacy, both in the United States and elsewhere, with regard to the purpose of the American Government to carry into effect the principle of separation of church and state in the Philippines, is probably closely akin to that shown by the *Catholic Standard and Times* (Philadelphia), Archbishop Ryan's organ, who, by the way, was recently appointed to an important office by the Administration. In its issue of June 21 this paper published an editorial headed "A Mission Not of Amity but of Impudence," in which among other choice things were the following statements:

In view of the terms of the "instructions" given to Mr. Taft by the Secretary for War, and in view of the avowed object of this extraordinary embassy, it is difficult to see how the Roman ecclesiastical authorities can regard with equanimity the proposal to discuss the matter at issue, save in the sense of resisting an audacious interference on the part of the American Secretary for War with the high spiritual authority of the Pope. Not since the days of the First Consul has such boorishness been displayed toward the Holy See.

It is made as plain as daylight now that under cover of a pretended severance of church and state an assault is being made on the faith of six millions and a half of Catholics, in favor of a Protestant propaganda, almost undisguised in its unblushing effrontery. To "separate church and state" by turning the resident Catholic clergy out and leaving the people to the seductions of a horde of "souper" proselytizers, to rob them simultaneously of their religion, their language and their right to their own soil—this is the naked purpose, hardly disavowed by the master-minds who have undertaken the exploitation of the Philippines.

It is declared that it is now made plain that the real desideratum is the expulsion of the friars, and "not so much the wresting from them of their landed property." With regard to Secretary Root's statement that the friars "are no longer capable of serving any useful purpose for the Church," it is declared that "this declaration is unique in the annals of civil diplomacy," and "its impudence is simply immeasurable." Mr. Root's statement that one of the controlling principles of the American Government is the complete separation of church and state, and that this principle is imperative wherever American jurisdiction extends, is declared to be "false, absolutely and unqualifiedly false." And then an argument that the Papacy may be relied upon to produce on every such occasion, and one that will probably be heard more in the future than in the past, is presented. It is declared that a certain Presbyterian clergyman "is given large sums of money by the Government for 'missions' in Alaska"; that there is state religion in the realm of the Sultan of Sulu, where American jurisdiction extends; and that, "moreover, the American Government pays army and navy chaplains for church services, and pays money in a variety of ways for other purposes connected with religion."

This argument might have been car-

ried farther, and we have no doubt that in a short time there will be included in it, to prove that the profession of the separation of church and state under the jurisdiction of the United States is "absolutely and unqualifiedly false," this very matter of the sending of this mission to the Vatican. These representatives of the Papacy know perfectly well when the principle of separation of church and state is violated, and they make it perfectly evident that if there is anything they hate, so far as the Catholic Church is concerned, it is the application of that principle. And yet there are people pretending to be very wise who are so simple as to believe that the Papacy in this country is heartily in accord with that principle.



### *The President on the Philippine Situation*

The charges of inhuman conduct on the part of Americans in the Philippines was the topic to which nearly the whole of President Roosevelt's Decoration Day address at the Arlington National Cemetery was devoted. His points in regard to this matter were, in brief, that cruelties had been committed; that they were wholly exceptional, and were counter-balanced by innumerable acts of forbearance and generous kindness; that they had been committed under terrible provocation from a very cruel and treacherous enemy which had committed one hundred times as many acts of far greater atrocity; that, though committed in retaliation, determined and unswerving efforts are being made to punish every act of barbarity and to prevent such deeds in the future; that they had been shamelessly exaggerated in this country; that "we would have been justified by Abraham Lincoln's rules of war in infinitely greater severity than has

been shown;" and that "the fact really is that our warfare in the Philippines has been carried on with singular humanity."

In contrast with these exceptional acts of cruelty on the part of "strong men who, with blood and sweat, face years of toil and days and nights of agony, and at need lay down their lives in remote tropic jungles," for "the honor of the flag" and "the triumph of civilization over forces which stand for the black chaos of savagery and barbarism," were held up in severe and scathing terms, but not too much so, the lynchings which occur from time to time "in our country, to the deep and lasting shame of our people, lynchings carried on under circumstances of inhuman cruelty and barbarity." The handling of this point seemed to be directed with the view of entirely discrediting the words of those, or some of those, who "clamor about what has been done in the Philippines," by fastening upon them the odium, or at least the inconsistency, of failing to condemn these lynchings. The effectiveness of this as an answer to those who cry out against brutality in the Philippines while endorsing these lynchings in the United States is of course beyond question. But, farther than that, it was of course not only entirely destitute of any force as an answer to the charges of cruelty, but was in a way a positive indictment of the whole attempt to subjugate the Filipinos, and strongly emphasized a peculiar odium which attaches to every deed of cruelty that has occurred in that attempt. The Filipino has the best of justification for withstanding the advances of his American "liberator" and "benefactor" with the words: "Go take the beam of lynching and of fiendish holocausts from your own eye before you attempt in the name of humanity and civilization, with the might and force of conquest, to extract the mote which you claim to find in

my eye." And if the President of the United States is not careful to distinguish between the plea of justice for the Filipinos, and sympathy for lynchings and burnings, it is too much to expect that the Filipinos will distinguish between those Americans who come to conquer them in order to confer "liberty" upon them, and those who are responsible for the horrible lynchings which they know frequently occur in the country whose rule is held up to them as the fountain and source of all blessing.

The victory of the American arms was held up as the only effective way of putting a stop to cruelty in the Philippines, and in this connection it was said:

Our soldiers conquer; and what is the object for which they conquer? To establish a military government? No. . . . Other nations have conquered to create irresponsible military rule. We conquer to bring just and responsible civil government to the conquered.

In this connection it is well to remember that no nation, no conqueror, has ever proceeded upon the conquest of any people with the avowed purpose of tyrannizing over them. Some of the most absolute and arbitrary despots that the world has ever seen have professed for those over whom they intended to extend their sway the most liberal and beneficent intentions, and some of them have even deceived themselves into believing that what they were doing was commended of Heaven. Not so much by what they say, but by what they do, are conquerors to be judged.

The portion of the President's address which perhaps attracted wider attention than any other was that in which it was hinted that independence might at some time be accorded to the Filipinos. It was stated that they could not grasp in a day "the slowly-learned and difficult art of self-government, an art which our people have taught themselves by the la-

bor of a thousand years." And then was expressed what is no doubt the honest position of many who hold that America should govern the Filipinos:

We believe that we can rapidly teach the people of the Philippine Islands not only how to enjoy but how to use their freedom; and with their growing knowledge, their growth in self-government shall keep steady pace. When they have thus shown their capacity for real freedom by their power of self-government, then, and not till then, will it be possible to decide whether they are to exist independently of us or to be knit to us by ties of common friendship and interest. When that day will come, it is not in human wisdom now to foretell.

According to this the Filipinos are to obtain a knowledge of "the slowly-learned and difficult art of self-government" in an entirely different way from that in which Americans have obtained it. In the one case it was self-taught by labor and experience; in the other it is to be inculcated by self-appointed instructors. And until these instructors decide that they are through with their self-imposed task, there can be no decision as to whether or not the Filipinos shall *then* have their independence. But when that time comes, which "it is not in human wisdom now to foretell," it will be possible to make such a decision, and it *may* then be decided that they can "exist independently of us."

This is, of course, a promise of independence that is scarcely any promise at all. But even scant as it is, it has not been proffered by the Government to the Filipinos. And here is the worst feature of this whole Philippine matter. For there is no reason to doubt the words of one of the most prominent newspapers of the nation, that a promise *now* to the Filipinos of independence as soon as they have shown capacity for such freedom and self-government, "duly authenticated and immediately made the norm of all our conduct in the Philippines,

would release our troops by the thousands, and would advance civilization in the islands faster than it can ever be gotten forward on a powder-cart."



On pages 28 and 29 of the official report of the Northwest Kansas Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, held at Osborne, Kans., April 2-6, and presided over by Bishop W. F. Mallalieu, we note the following resolution regarding "Sabbath observance," which was adopted by the conference:

*Whereas*, The Sabbath day is being desecrated by persons engaging in various forms of amusement, such as ball games, horse-racing, general visiting, picnics, railroad excursions, and many other things detrimental to the cause of Christ and to the work of the church; especially the Seventh-day Advent doctrine; therefore

*Resolved*, That we, as a body of loyal ministers of the gospel, do enter our earnest protest against such practises.

The reference to "Seventh-day Advent doctrine" is scarcely intelligible, but we suppose it is meant that the doctrine of seventh-day observance is fruitful of Sabbath desecration even beyond the other things named, and that the practise of that doctrine is the especial thing against which "we, as a body of loyal ministers of the gospel, do enter our earnest protest." Do the Methodist ministers of Northwest Kansas want it understood that they are opposed to the doctrine of the Fourth Commandment and the practise of its observance, and that they regard such doctrine and practise as more "detrimental to the cause of Christ" than Sunday ball games, horse-racing, railroad excursions, etc? If they do not, they should not be passing and publishing such resolutions as the above. However confident they may be of their loyalty to the gospel, it is to be seriously questioned when it resolves itself into opposition to the teaching and observance

of one of the Ten Commandments, the fulfilling, or keeping, of which is the sole object of the gospel.



A correspondent writes to the *Boston Traveller* that he has followed "all the arguments put forward by the Sunday fanatics, and have gone out of my way to hear Rev. Mr. Kneeland, but I have not yet discovered why such men should dictate to those who are their equals morally and their superiors intellectually." His communication closes with these pertinent words:

While Mr. Kneeland and his salaried preacher friends are gadding around during the week, or are planting their gardens, or are beautifying their homes, or are playing golf, myself and a large majority are confined in offices and factories. Yet only a few weeks ago these selfish men caused the arrest and had fined a man (who was obliged to work hard all the week) for fussing around a little garden. As I said in a previous letter, there is not a single argument in favor of a Puritanical Sunday that has not been answered. The people should wake up and insist upon having unfair laws repealed. They exist only because liberal minded people have more of the spirit of the Golden Rule than the bigots.



It is the expectation of *The Independent* with reference to the negotiations by the American Government with the Vatican "that the purposes sought will be accomplished to the advantage even more of the Church than of the civil government of the Philippine Islands." It will not be strange if this expectation is realized, but why such should be the case we do not know.



At a recent monthly meeting the Baptist ministers of Trenton, N. J., passed resolutions "approving the action of the Coachmen's Union in its efforts to do away with Sunday funerals," and "pledged themselves to give the movement their support."

## 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.

[In response to requests for the classification of the items in this department with respect to the kinds of labor, or whether it is labor, games and amusements, opening of stores, etc., for which arrests occur and over which agitations arise, we will say that it is not practicable and scarcely possible to so arrange the items. But hereafter we will give a synoptical statement similar to the one herewith, and this will no doubt give much better satisfaction. While we believe that no such report with regard to Sunday enforcement as we are presenting from month to month can be found anywhere else, it is by no means certain that our items cover the ground completely. But in any case conclusions must not be hastily drawn from a comparison of the figures given. Frequently we are able to report arrests that have occurred without being able at the time or later to report the outcome of the matter in court. The figures given will represent simply what is reported in the number in which they appear. If any reader knows of other points that it would be well to include in the synoptical statement, we shall be glad to have them suggested. *Synopsis*.—Arrests under Sunday laws: For common labor, 13; for keeping open store and selling, 93; for barbering, 1; for publishing, 1; for ball playing, 71; for card playing, 3; for liquor selling, 71; total, 253. Persons fined: For keeping open store and selling, 75; for playing ball, 6; for playing cards, 3; for liquor selling, 1; total, 85. Sunday enforcement agitations: Against common labor, 3; against open stores and selling, 16; against barbering, 1; against running street-cars, 1; against games and sports, principally baseball, 14; against theaters and saloons, 2; general agitations, 5; total 42. At least 23 of these agitations due to ministers and religious organizations. Grand jury indictments under Sunday laws: Theater managers, 3; liquor dealers, 16. Four ball players acquitted by juries, and 27 discharged by court order. One seventh-day observer convicted for common labor; appeal taken to higher court. One State law passed giving innkeepers, victualers and druggists and no others privilege of selling soda-water, ice-cream and confectionery; one city ordinance passed permitting ball playing, fishing and card playing; another permitting sale of fruits, cigars, confectionery and temperance beverages under restrictions; and two city ordinances passed prohibiting ball playing.]

Sunday closing is being agitated in Richburg and Church's Ferry, N. Dak.



In response to petitions from citizens the city council of Clear Lake, S. Dak., has prohibited Sunday ball-playing.



Sidney, Ohio, officials have been "severely criticised by the grand jury for not strictly enforcing Sunday closing."



There were twenty-nine arrests for Sunday liquor-selling in Greater New York on June 15, and twenty-three on June 22.



Sixteen indictments for Sunday liquor selling were brought in the circuit court at Nevada, Mo., on June 3. Arrests were to follow immediately.



"Citizens who desire a quiet Sabbath"

have entered complaint with the police against the playing of baseball in the residence portion of Minneapolis.



The managers of two theatres and a concert hall were recently indicted by the grand jury at Beloit, Kans., "on a charge of violating the Sunday law by giving theatrical performances on the Sabbath."



The Y. M. C. A., of Elgin, Ill., has "taken the initiative in fighting Sunday baseball" in that city. The mayor and police recently refused to permit a Sunday parade through the streets by the local ball team.



In the criminal district court at Providence, R. I., recently four boys were fined \$3 and costs each for playing ball on Sunday, and three men were fined \$5 and costs each for playing cards on Sunday.

In his quarterly charge to the grand jury of the county at Evansville, Ind., on June 2, "Judge Mattison urged the body to stop Sunday baseball playing and to indict all people playing on Sunday or seeing a game played."

The city council of Charlotte, Mich., has just passed an ordinance "against indulging in any sports whatever on the streets on Sunday." Three boys have been fined \$3 each for playing ball in violation of the ordinance.

On May 29 Police Justice Crutchfield, of Richmond, Va., imposed a fine of \$200 on the promoters of a "Sunday club." The "club" was an attempt on the part of certain liquor men to evade the law against Sunday liquor selling.

At the central police station in Baltimore, Md., on June 2, Isadore Kres was bound over under \$600 bail to await the action of the criminal court on "the double charge of working on Sunday and of selling liquor on the Sabbath."

A mass-meeting was recently held in the public park in Freeborn, Minn., "for the purpose of discussing the question of Sunday observance." It was the outgrowth of a previous meeting for the same purpose in the Presbyterian church.

The sale of soda-water, confectionery, and fruit was strictly prohibited in Gardner, Mass., on Sunday, May 18. This was due directly to the orders of Deputy Sheriff Turner, but "the Union Temperance Committee stood back of the movement," he said.

On May 23 a druggist in Temple, Texas, was convicted and fined \$20 in the mayor's court "on the charge of selling cigars on Sunday." The case had

been tried before and resulted in a "hung jury." The report is that "the Sunday-closing law is being rigidly enforced."

Henry Heppe, an ice-cream dealer of Gloucester City, N. J., was recently prosecuted by a neighboring shoe dealer for Sunday selling. The case was to be tried before a jury, but we have not learned the outcome. The cause of the prosecution seems to have been a personal grudge.

The city council of Waukegan, Ill., has refused to prohibit Sunday ball playing, deeming such action "too restrictive of public liberty." "All the Christian Endeavor societies in the city united in the crusade, but the council was unanimous in its decision." Hurrah, for the city council of Waukegan!

At the annual convocation of the Epworth League for the district of Cleveland, Ohio, held in the Euclid Avenue Methodist Church, that city, in May, "a decided stand with reference to Sunday baseball was taken," and a motion was "unanimously carried respectfully requesting the sheriff to enforce the law."

The proprietor of the single store in the village of Bell Centre, Ind., has received the "suggestion" to "close up on Sunday and stay closed during the day and evening." With the suggestion came the "advice" that "there is a movement to compel you to close," and the whole ended significantly: "A hint to the wise is sufficient; so take warning."

At a convocation of religious workers, representing the Protestant Episcopal Church in Boise, Idaho, and presided over by Bishop Funston, a report was adopted on May 28, "inviting the co-operation of all religious bodies, and all

citizens interested, with a view to promoting the more orderly observance of Sunday in the State of Idaho."



A dispatch from Kankakee, Ill., under date of June 11, stated that a house-to-house canvass was in progress in that city on the question of Sunday baseball. Petitions for and against it were being circulated in every ward, and it was expected that before the matter was disposed of by the city council "it will have been practically submitted to a popular vote."



Clergymen of Concord, N. C., have asked the city authorities to have "the sale and delivery of ice on Sunday restricted to cases of sickness only." The *Tribune*, of that place, says it believes "that work on the Sabbath should be restricted as far as possible," but that the restriction with regard to ice "is unnecessary and would work a hardship to the people who can least afford it."



The ministers' union of Cleveland, Ohio, is agitating against Sunday amusements and excursions. Rev. Dr. Alexander Jackson, who is leading in the agitation, says the clergymen "are not cranks, but they believe in a proper observance of the Sabbath day, and will endeavor to get it for Cleveland." The railroad companies will be requested to stop Sunday excursions to and from the city.



In the Yorkville police court, Greater New York, on May 19, Max Klein and Henry Siegel were fined \$5 each for violating the Sunday law. One of them had sold two collars for 25 cents, and the other had sold a box of shoe polish to a policeman. They asked the Magistrate what harm there was in what they had done, and he replied: "It is a violation

of the law to sell on Sunday, and the law must be obeyed."



In Toronto, on June 4, the executive committee of the Lord's-day (Sunday) Alliance "discussed the increase throughout the city of the sale of milk on Sundays as a refreshment," also "the question of public parades," and "the opening of refreshment booths generally on that day," and determined "to arrange a cessation of these Sunday spectacles and of Sunday trading." And if personal interviews are not sufficient "legal action will be taken."



Besides those mentioned in other items, agitations by ministers and church people for the employment of the law in preventing baseball playing on Sundays are reported from Fargo, N. Dak.; Mankato, Minn.; Vincennes, Ind.; Sioux City, Iowa; Syracuse, N. Y.; Omaha, Neb.; Utica, N. Y.; Terre Haute, Ind.; and Albert Lea, Minn. There were some interesting circumstances in connection with these agitations that we would like to mention, but space does not permit.



According to a dispatch from Donaldsonville, La., published in the *New Orleans Picayune* of May 24, "the constitutionality of the Sunday law was attacked in the district court by counsel for Edward Smith, who, with full reservation of his rights, pleaded guilty and was fined \$25." The plea was overruled by the court, and "counsel demurred that the law contained two objects, to-wit: opening a store on Sunday and selling on Sunday." No further information was given.



In response to a request from the board of aldermen Corporation Counsel Feldman, of Buffalo, N. Y., recently rendered an opinion to the effect that

Sunday ball playing is illegal under the city ordinances and the Penal Code, notwithstanding the fact that it is not specifically named. Through the efforts of Alderman Mullenhoff a resolution has since been passed by the board of aldermen excepting baseball, fishing and card playing from the sports prohibited on Sunday by the city ordinance.



The "Greater New York Shoe Polishers' Union, No. 1," has just been organized in this city with a membership of about 850, and about one of the first things done was to pass resolutions calling upon the mayor to use his influence in securing the closing of shoe-polishing stands and parlors at 2 o'clock on Sundays, and in which it was stated that efforts would be made at the next session of the legislature to secure the passage of a law regulating the closing of these places on Sunday.



The secretary of the Canadian Lord's-day (Sunday) Alliance has been investigating and is preparing a report on the working of the oil wells about Bothwell, Ontario. When operations at these wells first began complaint was made against the Sunday work done in connection with them, but after an investigation by a representative of the law it was decided that the work was "a necessity." Mr. Shearer says he has found that Sunday work is not necessary, and on the strength of his report will "ask the government to force the men to shut down."



The Rev. Michael Barry, of St. Paul's Catholic Church, Oswego, N. Y., is reported to have "begun a crusade against Sunday baseball." He will not only attempt to stop Sunday ball playing in that city, but on the adjacent government reservation, where it is said "the police have no authority to interfere." In his

sermon on June 8 "Father Barry deplored the American desecration of Sunday, and predicted that a visitation of the wrath of God more terrible than the disaster which befell the inhabitants of Martinique would come upon the American people because of it."



At a meeting in Muskegon, Mich., on June 10, of representatives "of the First, Second and Third Christian Reformed, the First and Second Reformed, and the Immanuel Presbyterian churches," a "Sabbath union" with 140 initial members was organized. The object of the organization is "to secure a better municipal Sabbath observance." "When laws are not enforced the union will use its influence to get their enforcement, and if that avails nothing the members will use their ballots in selecting men who favor enforcement of law." The officers of the organization are all ministers.



Minneapolis, Minn., has been suffering from an epidemic of municipal corruption, and now it seems that the panacea of Sunday enforcement is to be applied. On May 28 a delegation of citizens headed by President Cyrus Northrup, of the State University, waited on State Senator Snyder and asked him to become the Republican candidate for mayor. He accepted on condition that the principal plank of his platform should be: "Closed theatres and closed saloons on Sunday." This announcement was received with cheers, and it was decided to make it the slogan of the campaign.



The mayor of Gloucester, Mass., in response to demands from the clerks' union, has promised to enforce the Sunday-closing law, and the marshal has received instructions "to visit every store that

keeps open on Sunday and inform each proprietor as to the law regarding Sunday opening and sales." The clerks desire to close the grocery stores and meat shops, and have discovered that according to law these places can keep open only during certain hours and for the sale of bread and milk only. They say that if the city authorities do not act promptly they will appeal to "higher authority."



From Gallatin, Tenn., under date of June 24, came word that "G. T. Burrows, the contractor, who is engaged in erecting a large grain elevator, with nine of his assistants, was arrested here Sunday." The contractor claims that he had permission from the authorities to carry on the work on Sunday, but "someone in the neighborhood made complaint to the officers." The dispatch states that "the laws of this city are very strict on the Sunday proposition, and are rigidly enforced. Every business house in Gallatin has to close its doors at 12 o'clock Saturday night and not open again until Monday morning."



At Little Falls, Minn., on May 19, Mr. F. Shopera, a clothing merchant, was arrested on a warrant sworn out by the president of the clerks' union, in which he was charged with having "sold seven handkerchiefs and two pairs of socks to one Duxbury" on the previous Sunday. The outcome of the case we have not learned. The arrest was made under the State law, the penalty section of which, according to the Little Falls *Transcript*, which printed the law in full, reads:

Breaking the Sabbath is a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine of not less than one dollar and not more than ten dollars, or by imprisonment in a county jail not exceeding five days.



Angelo Meglaro, a barber of Bridge-

port, Conn., was arrested on June 9, on complaint of other barbers, for keeping open shop on the previous day. The *Union* of that city says that the law prohibits the keeping open of barber shops between the hours of 12 o'clock Saturday and 12 o'clock Sunday night, and this further interesting bit of information is given:

Years ago the barbers in almost every State in the Union kept their shops open until any time between 10 o'clock and noon, every Sunday. About twenty years ago an agitation against the practise was started. It spread very rapidly, until in some States it is a misdemeanor, punishable by fine and imprisonment or both, to keep open on the Lord's day. There is such a law in Connecticut, and it is in great favor with the barbers.



State Senator Muir, of Indianapolis, Ind., favors the repeal of the present State law prohibiting the playing of baseball on Sundays, and thinks the matter should be left to the authorities of the various municipalities. He intends to introduce a measure to this end at the next session of the legislature. Hundreds of people have asked him to do what he can to secure such a change in the law as will permit ball playing on Sundays, and "there is more local interest in the question than there is as to who will be the next President of the United States." He believes that "young men who are held between four factory walls for six days in the week have the right to amuse themselves by outdoor exercise on Sunday."



Having succeeded, with the assistance of the Anti-Saloon League, in closing saloons on Sunday, the ministers of Richmond, Va., working through the local organization of the Sunday Observance League, are making efforts to close up confectionery stores and to prevent the sale of soda-water, ice and meat on Sundays. The closing of the confectionery

stores seems to be their principal object, and it is said that efforts "will be made to render it so that when a confectioner is caught a second time doing business on Sunday his fine will be increased." "Public sentiment has endorsed the closing of the saloons, but does not approve of the latest move." Public sentiment is far more sensible in this instance than the clergymen.



A movement for "the enforcement of the Sunday laws as applicable to the butchers, grocers, dry goods and shoe dealers," etc., was recently inaugurated by the clerks' union in Holyoke, Mass. The first step was the taking of a "census" by which the name of the proprietor of every store in the city keeping open on Sunday was secured. This made a list of more than fifty names. "Extracts from the laws will be published, and these violators notified to desist. If the practise is continued, prosecutions will follow." "The purpose of the agitation is to insure one day a week off for the clerks, as well as to enforce respect for the statutes." A number of boys engaged in playing ball were arrested on the Sunday the "census" was taken. They were lectured by the police justice and allowed to go.



The purchase of milk and ice-cream and the reading of newspapers on Sunday, and "all kinds of sports and out-of-door recreation on the Sabbath," were condemned at a recent meeting of the Scranton (Pa.) Sabbath (Sunday) Observance Society. One member said he had not bought a drop of milk on Sunday for eight years, and that "the man who does it is not living up to the true principles of Christianity." Another thought it was "an insult for a milkman to stop his wagon in front of a Christian's door on Sunday." Another knew

of "many Christians who think nothing of sending little Annie for a quart of ice-cream on the Sabbath, if it's a hot day," and declared: "They'd ought to be ashamed to sin so before God." The Sunday newspaper was generally condemned because of its "demoralizing effect on Christians in distracting their attention from spiritual things and keeping them away from church."



Twenty-seven boys were arrested on Sunday, May 25, in Hempstead, L. I., for playing ball, and were held by a justice on the charge that they "did unlawfully and knowingly violate Sec. 265 of the Penal Code of the State of New York, relating to public sports on the Sabbath day." By habeas corpus proceedings one of the boys was taken before Justice Gaynor, of the supreme court, Brooklyn, on June 4, who, in a formal opinion, discharged the prisoner on the ground that the complaint against him stated no offense in that it contained "no facts showing that the repose and religious liberty of the community were interrupted." This, of course, disposed of the cases of all the boys. While the habeas corpus hearing was in progress Justice Gaynor inquired of the prosecuting attorney: "Why don't you arrest men who are playing golf on Sundays, instead of grabbing small boys who are playing ball?"



Four churches—Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist and Lutheran—recently petitioned the mayor of Nebraska City, Neb., to "use his authority towards the prevention of baseball games on the Sabbath day within the regions over which his authority extends, since such practises are against the spirit of the day and the laws of the State of Nebraska." Each of the four petitions was signed by the pastor of the church from which it came,

and was claimed to represent the unanimous desire of the church membership. The mayor notified the ball players that any more attempts to play ball on Sunday would be followed by arrests. But soon a disagreement arose between the mayor and the ministers' "Law and Order" League as to who should push the prosecutions when arrests occurred. The ministers insisted that the mayor should take the full responsibility in the matter, and the outcome was that on June 13 he rescinded his order prohibiting Sunday playing.



A somewhat new phase of the Chinese labor-competition question, but scarcely a new way of dealing with it, is reported from Helena, Mont. The labor unions have decided that the Sunday work of Chinamen is not to their (the unions) interest, and have inaugurated a movement "to compel the Chinese to remember the Sabbath day and keep it holy." Mr. R. K. Hill, of Helena, is quoted on the subject as follows:

It may seem odd to the casual observer that the labor unions should take such an interest in the observance of Sunday. There seems to be an opinion general in Montana that the miner has not much regard for things spiritual and perhaps he hasn't from one point of view, but from another he has, viz.: Sunday as a day of rest. Now, the Chinese don't believe in resting. You know that the average "Chink" will work twenty-three out of twenty-four hours, seven days a week and 365 days a year. That's where the complaint is. The miners believe that the Chinese should be compelled to rest on the seventh day. In order to force this rest on the Chinese the union has asked the city authorities to compel the Orientals to rest on Sunday.



In previous numbers we have noted the fact that the city of Winnipeg, Manitoba, has been given the power by the provincial government to submit to the people of that city the question of inaugu-

rating Sunday street-car service. Although the question is not to be voted upon until December, the religious forces are already bestirring themselves in the matter. In May a convention of Presbyterian ministers was held in the city, and by unanimous action a committee was appointed to oppose all agitation in favor of Sunday cars. Methodist clergymen who were interviewed declared themselves opposed to the innovation, also, and predicted that at the annual district meeting soon to be held the Methodist clergy would "take a stand in line with that of the Presbyterian Church." The Anglican clergymen who have expressed themselves seem to favor the Sunday car movement. One of them thought it would "not result in turning the day of rest into a holiday," and "pointed out that the same amount of labor that is caused by a man hiring a rig and driving his family to church would be sufficient to accommodate two or three score of people on the street-cars."



It is announced that, as the result of the efforts of Rev. J. W. Stephens, of the First Methodist Church, of Greenfield, Mass., "Sunday golf is dead in Western Massachusetts." Early in May Mr. Stephens began an agitation against Sunday ball playing, and was asked why he did not give his attention "to the golf links, which were maintained by the 'upper ten.'" He declared that he would, and "talked with the venerable Bishop Mallalieu concerning the matter, and the bishop advised him to go ahead." He preached on the subject, and announced that he would go to the links himself on Sundays to secure information "to be laid before the district-attorney," and would "demand that warrants be issued for the guilty ones." He read the clause of the State law prohibiting "any sport, game, play or diversion" on the "Lord's

day," and declared: "If golf isn't a game, it's a diversion." The golfers evidently believe that prudence is the better part of valor in the matter, and have decided to discontinue Sunday playing for the present. It is reported that the Greenfield agitation "has proved infectious, and an Athol pastor has decided on a similar movement," and other clergymen in neighboring towns are following suit.



About the 1st of May a local branch of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association was organized in Trenton, N. J., and "one of the first things the clerks did was to appoint a committee to see to the closing of merchandise stores on Sundays." They defined as merchandise stores those dealing in "shoes, dry goods, clothing, hats, jewelry and furnishings." Beginning with Sunday, May 25, they began securing evidence against the proprietors of open stores, and on June 9 secured warrants for the arrest of some fifteen or twenty business men, and it was announced that "in all over fifty business men will be compelled to answer the charge of desecrating the Sabbath by selling goods which are not considered real necessities of life." We have not learned the outcome of the prosecutions. It seems that a city ordinance imposes a fine of \$2 for every article sold, and the clerks, in obtaining their evidence, purchased "a large number of small articles, such as handkerchiefs, so that the fines would run up to a considerable figure." The clerks declare that the movement is "not spasmodic, but will be continued from week to week until Sunday selling is stopped." One report says their action is in retaliation upon the merchants because they would not close early in the evenings.

On June 3 the Merchants' Protective Association of Jersey City, N. J., decided to "inaugurate a Sunday-closing movement and endeavor to induce all retail dealers to close their places of business on the Sabbath." In the discussion preceding the appointment of a committee to formulate plans for carrying into effect this determination, one member declared that the best way to secure Sunday closing would be "to have a law enacted forbidding merchants keeping open on the Sabbath." Another declared that there were sufficient laws now, if they would only be enforced, and another declared that the only laws that would bring about the desired result were "the old 'blue-laws.'" Others thought that whatever was done must have the support of the general public, and advised a campaign of education for the purpose of molding public sentiment to support strict Sunday closing. Another declared that "it is mostly members of labor organizations who force us to keep open on Sunday; they come to us and want our good will to get shorter hours; we should now go to their organizations and ask them to assist us." The *Jersey City News*, from which we gather the above information, says this last point was "a strange phase of the discussion." It is certainly one that is not without considerable significance. It points in the direction of a combination between merchants and workmen to compel all business to cease on the first day of the week.



After much agitation pro and con there has at last been passed by the aldermen of Montreal, Canada, an amendment to the Sunday "by-law," as the Sunday-closing ordinance is termed, which permits the sale of fruits, cigars, confectionery and temperance beverages between the hours of 9 in the morning and 11 in the evening on Sundays in the

city and the adjacent St. Helen's Island Park. But all the articles named must be sold in each place kept open, and there must be no exposure on the outside, and customers must remain only long enough to make their purchases. It is said that the effect of the amendment, which was adopted on June 2, while making legal what has hitherto been illegal, will be to reduce the number of places that have been accustomed to keeping open on Sunday from 1,000 to 600. But notwithstanding this the ministers and friends of Sunday enforcement, who last winter raised quite an agitation when the measure was first suggested, did not allow it to pass without every effort to prevent it. On May 16 a deputation representing the Lord's-day (Sunday) Alliance of Canada, and composed principally of ministers, waited upon the mayor and protested strongly against the proposed amendment, and appealed to him for the enforcement of the ordinance just as it was. They presented petitions against the passage of the amendment, which were said to contain 10,000 names, and especial attention was called to "the large petitions sent in by the Catholic clergy," which were claimed to indicate that the petitions represented the desire of the majority of the population. All other efforts failing, attempts were made at the last moment, through members of the city council, to defeat the measure by all sorts of limiting amendments. An interesting point in one report is that a few days before its passage "an important dignitary of the Catholic Church endeavored to have the amending by-law read so that it would be illegal to open before 11 a. m., as this would be after mass had been said in the churches."



Governor Crane, of Massachusetts, re-

fused to sign the "Sunday Soda Bill," which the legislature passed by such a large majority, until it was made to exclude newsdealers. He thought the privilege of selling soda-water, ice-cream and confectionery on Sunday should be strictly limited to licensed innkeepers and victualers, and druggists, and referred the bill back with an amendment to that effect prepared by the attorney-general. Some objection was made in the legislature to "the interference by the executive with the legislative functions," but the desired change was made, and the bill was signed by the governor on May 22. It is not at all unlikely that the governor was loth to sign the bill even as amended, for he has long been represented by the New England Sabbath (Sunday) Protective (Enforcement) League as being heartily in sympathy with its objects. Just a few days before the final action of the legislature the president of this organization presided over a meeting in the Roxbury Presbyterian church, in Boston, at which resolutions were read and adopted appealing to the governor to use his influence against the bill and to prevent the extension of its privileges to any besides druggists. "In the past he has proved himself a friend of the Sabbath," said Mr. Kneeland of the governor. "Let us hope he will continue so." But sentiment was too strongly in favor of some such modification in the law, and so the best the governor could do was to deprive newsdealers of the privileges of the bill. He held that unless this was done the Sunday refreshment business would become widespread, as the privilege could be had merely by keeping a few papers for sale. One peculiar way in which this "liberal" law, as sanctioned by the governor, will operate will be to stop the Sunday refreshment business which has hitherto been engaged in by many newsdealers.

Sunday baseball and the Sunday enforcement which ministerial opposition to it brought on was recently a matter of some commotion in the city of Flint, Mich. Acting in response to the demands of the ministers of the place, the sheriff arrested on the afternoon of May 25 the eighteen members of the Flint and Battle Creek clubs, who were engaged in playing one of the State league games. In the justice's court the next morning they were bound over in a bunch under bail of \$200 for trial on June 9. Rev. G. N. Kennedy, the leading spirit among the ministers who had caused the arrests, was in attendance. On the evening of June 5 a mass-meeting was held in the Baptist church, at which the ministers presided and a strong sentiment was manifested for the strict enforcement of the law. The chairman of the meeting, Rev. R. E. McDuff, declared that every lawyer in the city but one was "heartily in favor of the strict enforcement of the statutes relative to the observance of the Sabbath," and that some of them declared that "anything else was anarchy" while the statute remained. Resolutions were adopted in the name of the citizens of Flint, declaring it to be the judgment of the meeting that "the laws for the protection of the observance of the day of rest and worship should be conscientiously observed by every citizen;" that factories and workshops should allow their employees the Saturday half-holiday; that stores and all places where human beings work should close at 6 on every business day; and that the city should provide public parks as places for recreation and rest, "to be used under proper conditions on Sundays and all other days in strict conformity to the law of both State and city, and the laws of God." Following the arrest of the ball players it was learned by a reporter from one member of the ministerial association

that only "the first step had been taken in enforcing the law requiring the observance of the Sabbath," and that the next step would be to give attention to merchants and liverymen who do business on Sundays.



Sunday enforcement swooped down upon Muscatine, Iowa, recently, and produced lively times for a few days. On May 22, at the instance of the clerks' union, two grocerymen, C. C. Smith and Henry F. Bodman, were fined for violating the Sunday-closing law. These men brought to court with them and gave to the county attorney a long list of persons and firms who were also "doing business on Sunday." This list embraced grocerymen, clothiers, butchers, icemen, milkmen, bakers, liverymen, newsdealers, dealers in tobacco, keepers of soda fountains and ice-cream parlors, and, according to report, the managers and operators of the telegraph and telephone companies, the agents and employees of the three railroads, and musical directors and members of church choirs who receive compensation for services rendered on Sunday. The word at once went out that all of these were "to be made to confront the majesty of the law and pay the penalty fixed by statute for doing business on the day that Christian people are supposed to rest from servile labor." Sixty-nine arrests followed the next day, among the number being the proprietors of the two daily papers, the offense of one being the cleaning of boilers, and that of the other "publishing and issuing on Sunday." Most of the persons arrested were merchants and shopmen. A fine of \$5 was imposed in each case, but where the plea of guilty was entered, as was the case in most instances, the fine was remitted on payment of the costs. But the following Sunday did not see any marked change

in the practise of the merchants, "a large number of those who had been in the habit of opening all or a part of the day doing so as usual out of curiosity to see whether the matter would be carried further by prosecutions." The last report was that the clerks' union had held a meeting "behind closed doors," and that they had "a definite line of action that they will carry out." It is stated that this Sunday-closing movement "has nothing to do with the saloon question," as "the saloons have been closed for years."



The attempt of the Flint and Lansing, Mich., ball teams to play one of the State league games near the latter city on May 11 resulted in the arrest and incarceration for a short time of the eighteen players and the two managers of the clubs. A few days' previous a committee of the Law and Order League, which seems to be controlled by the ministers of the city, served notice on the sheriff of the county that he would be held personally responsible if the game was allowed to come off, and for his information cited him to the case of *Scougale vs. Sweet*, 124 Mich., 311, in which it was held "that games of baseball upon Sunday are prohibited by Sec. 5,912 of the Compiled Laws of the State of Michigan of 1897, and are breaches of the peace under Sec. 11,334," and that it is the duty of the sheriff to prevent such games, and if he knowingly fails to do so, he is guilty of a misdemeanor and liable to a fine of \$300. The attention of the sheriff was also called to the schedule of ball games for the whole season, and he was told that he would be expected to prevent every game announced to be played on Sunday. According to the report, the grounds where the above arrests were made are "outside the city, nearly half a mile from any house or

public highway," and the crowd in attendance was very orderly. The managers of the two clubs and one of the players were acquitted by a jury in a justice's court on May 27. They were defended by Judge Q. A. Smith, who had three physicians sworn, each of them testifying that "relaxation is necessary to the conservation of health," and that "as a means to that end there is nothing better than baseball for those who enjoy it." But the strong points of the defense are said to have been a Scripture quotation and a supreme court ruling. The one was the passage in the fourteenth chapter of Romans, reading: "One man esteemeth one day above another; another man esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind." The other was from the opinion of Judge Moore in the case of the *People vs. Warren*, and was to the effect that "whatever the law may be, a jury is not obliged to render any verdict contrary to the dictates of conscience." Judge Smith contended that in these strenuous times mental and physical relaxation was absolutely necessary; that, therefore, such games as baseball, properly conducted, were a necessity, and that the Sunday law forbidding them had been rendered obsolete by custom and public opinion. On June 11 another of the arrested players was tried and acquitted by a jury. A notification of the Law and Order League that the trial was to be called brought to the court "Revs. Hubbard, Pound, Frye, and Dodds of the local churches."



The mayor of Crookston, Minn., has notified the proprietors of saloons in that place that they must keep their places absolutely closed on Sundays hereafter under penalty of a heavy fine for the first offense and a forfeiture of license for the second.

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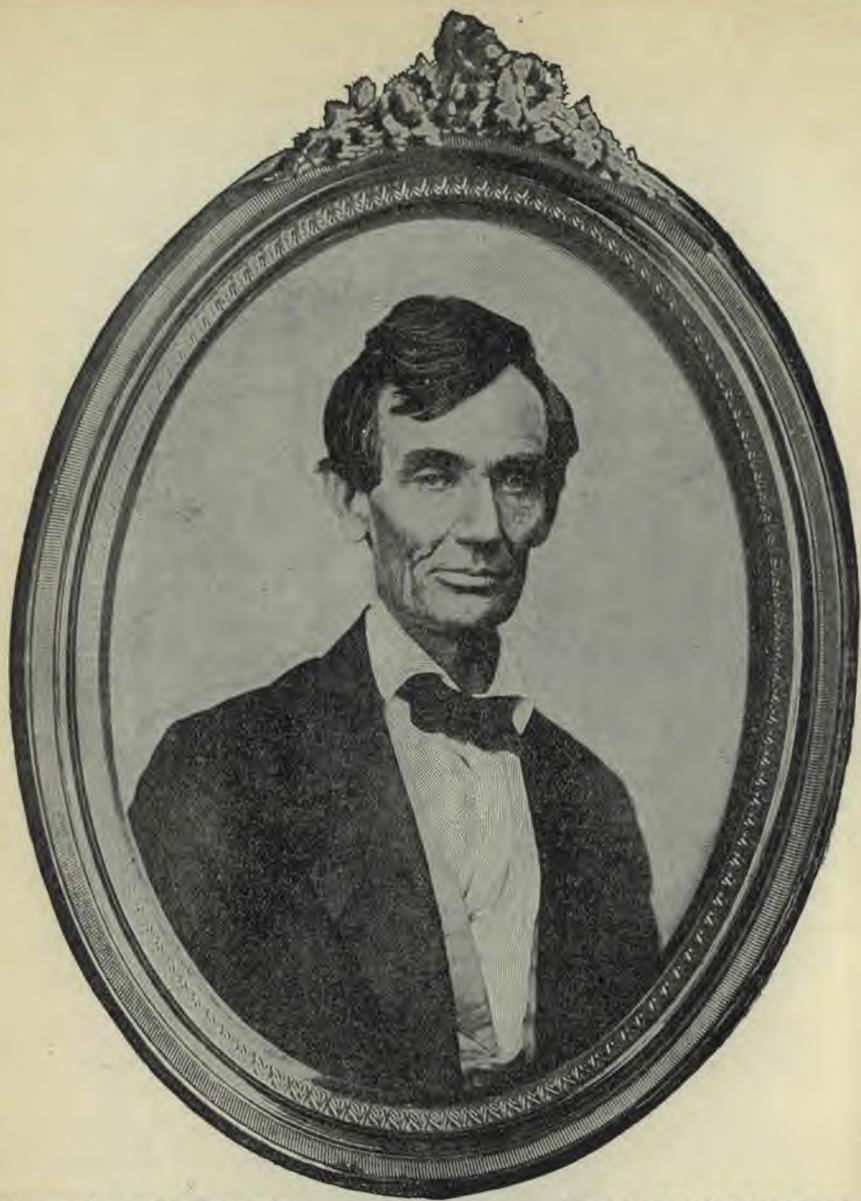
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### Abraham Lincoln

From an ambrotype taken in Springfield, Ill., in 1860.

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