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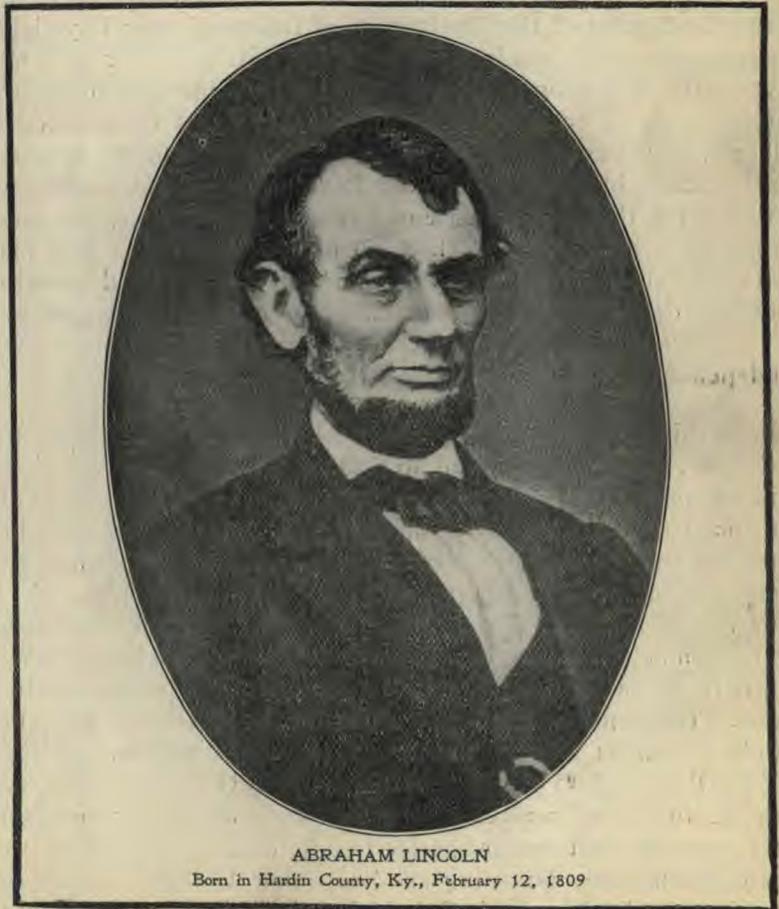
The Sentinel

OF CHRISTIAN LIBERTY

VOL. XVIII

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 12, 1903

NO. 7



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Born in Hardin County, Ky., February 12, 1809

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Let no one be deceived. The spirit of seventy-six and the spirit of Nebraska [of imperial expansion] are utter antagonisms; and the former is being rapidly displaced by the latter. Fellow-countrymen, Americans South as well as North, shall we make no effort to arrest this? Already the liberal party throughout the world express the apprehension "that the one retrograde institution in America [the retrograde imperial policy of America] is undermining the principles of progress, and fatally violating the noblest political system the world ever saw." This is not the taunt of enemies, but the warning of friends. Is it quite safe to disregard it—to despise it? Is there no danger to liberty itself, in disregarding the earliest practise and first precept of our ancient faith? In our greedy chase to make profit of the negro [of the Filipino, the Philippines, or the coolie], let us beware lest we "cancel and tear to pieces" even the white man's charter of freedom. Our republican robe is soiled, and trailed in the dust. Let us repurify it. Let us turn and wash it white, in the spirit, if not in the blood, of the Revolution.

My countrymen, if you have been taught doctrines conflicting with the great landmarks of the Declaration of Independence; if you have listened to suggestions which would take away from its grandeur and mutilate the fair-symmetry of its proportions; if you have been inclined to believe that all men are not created equal in those inalienable rights enumerated by our chart of liberty, let me entreat you to come back. Return to the fountain whose waters spring close by the blood of the Revolution. Think nothing of me; take no thought for the political fate of any man whomsoever, but come back to the truths that are in the Declaration of Independence. You may do anything with me you choose, if you will but heed these sacred principles. You may not only defeat me for the Senate, but you may take me and put me to death. . . . Do not destroy that immortal emblem of humanity—the Declaration of Independence.

I think the authors of that notable instrument intended to include ALL men; but they did not intend to declare all men equal in *all* respects. They did not mean to say all were equal in color, size, intellect, moral development, or social capacity. They defined with tolerable distinctness in what respects they did consider all men created equal—equal with "certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." This they said, *and this they meant*. They did not mean to assert the obvious untruth that all were then actually enjoying that equality, nor yet that they were about to confer it immediately upon them. In fact, they had no power to confer such a boon. They meant simply to declare the right, so that the enforcement of it might follow as fast as circumstances should permit. THEY MEANT TO SET UP A STANDARD MAXIM FOR FREE SOCIETY, which should be familiar to all, and revered by all; constantly looked to; constantly labored for; and even though never perfectly attained, constantly approximated; and thereby constantly spreading and deepening its influence and augmenting the happiness and value of life TO ALL PEOPLE OF ALL COLORS EVERYWHERE.

—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

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“I adhere to the Declaration of Independence.”



“Who shall say, ‘I am the superior, and you are the inferior’?”



“The doctrine of self-government is right—absolutely and eternally right.”



“Repeal the Declaration of Independence—repeal all past history—you still cannot repeal human nature.”



“Let us readopt the Declaration of Independence, and with it the practises and policy which harmonize with it.”



“According to our ancient faith, the just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed.”



“Let us turn this Government back into the channel in which the framers of the Constitution originally placed it.”



“If we cannot give freedom to every creature, let us do nothing that will impose slavery upon any other creature.”



“Stand with anybody that stands right. Stand with him while he is right, and part with him when he goes wrong.”



“With the author of the Declaration of Independence, the policy of prohibiting slavery in new territory originated.”

“Let us have faith that right makes might; and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.”



“Slavery is founded in the selfishness of man’s nature—opposition to it, in his love of justice. These principles are in eternal antagonism.”



“This is a world of compensation... Those who deny freedom to others, deserve is not for themselves; and, under a just God, cannot long retain it.”



“I believe each individual is naturally entitled to do as he pleases with himself and the fruit of his labor, so far as it in nowise interferes with any other man’s rights.”



“I say that no man is good enough to govern another man without that other’s consent. I say this is the leading principle, the sheet-anchor of American republicanism.”



“When the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also another man, that is *more* than self-government—that is despotism.”



“I have said that I do not understand the Declaration of Independence to mean that all men were created equal in *all* respects. But I suppose that it does mean

to declare that all men are equal in *some* respects; they are equal in their right to 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'"



"The people of these United States are the rightful masters of both Congresses and courts, not to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution."



"If the policy of the Government, upon vital questions affecting the whole people, is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court . . . the people will have ceased to be their own rulers."



"I insist that if there is anything which it is the duty of the whole people never to intrust to any hands but their own, that thing is the preservation and perpetuity of their own liberties and institutions."



"A majority held in restraint by Constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people."



"Public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment, nothing can fail; without it, nothing can succeed. Consequently, he who molds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed."



"Those arguments that are made, that the inferior races are to be treated with as much allowance as they are capable of enjoying, that as much is to be done for them as their condition will allow — What are these arguments? They are the arguments that kings have made for enslaving the people in all ages of the world."

The present President of the United States has declared in a magazine article that he has "scant patience with those who make a pretense of humanitarianism to hide and cover their timidity, and who cant about 'liberty' and the 'consent of the governed' in order to excuse themselves for their unwillingness to play the part of men." The greatest *man* that has yet played a part in the political life of the American nation "canted" considerably "about 'liberty' and the 'consent of the governed,'" and to that fact is due his greatness. There was a man by the name of Stephen A. Douglas who had "scant patience" with this "canting" of his "about 'liberty' and the 'consent of the governed,'" but to-day the memory of Stephen A. Douglas is as nothing compared with that of Abraham Lincoln. In the estimation of those who know what makes a *man*, the one is a pigmy while the other is a giant. And yet in his day Douglas was perfectly sure that it was he who was playing the part of a man, and that Lincoln was making "a pretense of humanitarianism." Whatever others may think, we are of the opinion that Lincoln, who, to the great disgust of Douglas, "canted" continually "about 'liberty' and the 'consent of the governed,'" was the man who indeed played the part of a *man*. The fact that the President of the United States not only has "scant patience" with those who urge that regard shall be had for the fundamental principles of the nation, but publishes the fact far and wide, is a very significant sign of the times.



In complacently noting the establishment of Dutch sovereignty over the Sultan of Achin in Sumatra, with whom it says Holland has been fighting for a generation, the New York *Tribune* remarks that "there will be hearty satisfaction at the removal of this long defunct fly from the pot of otherwise fragrant ointment."

of Dutch colonial government." Of this pot of "fragrant ointment" it thus remarks:

Holland has long maintained one of the largest colonial empires in the world, and has done so very successfully. She has, of course, paid little heed to the theory of the "consent of the governed." In her view of the case, East Indians—like Kaffirs in the Transvaal—were made to be governed, willy-nilly, and Dutchmen were made to govern them according to their own sweet will. That principle, curiously compounded of despotism and benevolence, has on the whole worked well.

Who would have supposed a few years ago that the time would come when a great American newspaper would manifest a real, genuine liking for and satisfaction over a sort of government that is "curiously compounded of despotism and benevolence," and in which, "of course," little heed is paid "to the theory of the 'consent of the governed' "? But then others besides the Dutch have come to take the view that there are people who—"like Kaffirs in the Transvaal—were made to be governed, willy-nilly," and that *Americans* "were made to govern them according to their own sweet will." And they have succeeded in substituting for the principles of republicanism principles "curiously compounded of despotism and benevolence," but the thing is not likely to work well with them.

In a lecture at the University of Chicago, on January 29, Major-General E. S. Otis declared that while the "rebellion" was in progress in the Philippines prominent Filipinos had urged the American military authorities to put it down by "devastation and murder." "The advice given was that civilized warfare would not terminate the rebellion. It was urged that the insurgents would attribute humane treatment to cowardice and would be encouraged. Devastation and murder were advocated." This is exactly the sort

of advice that seems to have been followed quite widely, but it is likely that very few of those who forsook "civilized warfare" and resorted to "devastation and murder" in order to "terminate the rebellion," and to show that "cowardice" was no part of their make-up, can justly urge the pitiable excuse that "prominent Filipinos" advised them to take this course. They did what they did without advice, at least without advice from the Filipinos. If the Filipinos are a people so utterly obtuse, so savage and degraded, as to look upon humane treatment as so much cowardice and as not to know that war is being waged upon them unless it is made up of devastation and murder, how will they ever know that they are being governed unless they are governed cruelly and despotically? If civilized warfare was too good for them in time of war, will not civilized government be too good for them in time of peace? The fact that the Filipinos have hitherto been dealt with very largely upon the assumption that they are incapable of understanding or appreciating humane treatment does not augur well for their lot in the future.



The following is not taken from the editorial columns of the *New York Tribune*, *Sun*, or *Mail and Express*, or other great daily or periodical in which almost the same language has appeared in the last two or three years. Neither is it the utterance of any of the prominent men in the country who have in the last few years expressed themselves in about the same fashion. It is the utterance of a certain public man with whom Abraham Lincoln had some memorable debates on the question of slavery, and was uttered at Springfield, Ill., in July, 1858:

I believe that the Declaration of Independence, in the words, "all men are created equal," was intended to allude only to the people of the United States, to men of Euro-

pean birth or descent, being white men; that they were created equal, and hence that Great Britain had no right to deprive them of their political and religious privileges; but the signers of that paper did not intend to include the Indian or the negro in that declaration; for if they had, would they not have been bound to abolish slavery in every State and colony from that day? Remember, that at the time the Declaration was put forth, every one of the thirteen colonies were slaveholding colonies; every man who signed that Declaration represented slaveholding constituents. Did those signers mean by that act to charge themselves and all their constituents with having violated the law of God, in holding the negro in an inferior condition to the white man? . . . Did they mean to say that the Indian, on this continent, was created equal to the white men, and that he was endowed by the Almighty with inalienable rights—rights so sacred that they could not be taken away by any constitution or law that man could pass? . . . I hold the white race, the European race, I care not whether Irish, German, French, Scotch, English, or to what nation they belong, so they are the white race, to be our equals. . . . *The Declaration of Independence only included the white people of the United States.*



The profession of America, or rather the profession of those who have acted for her in the matter, has been that she was to govern the Philippines in a very different manner from and on a plane far above that of the government provided by other nations for their subject territories, and that things were to be accomplished that had never been dreamed of in other colonies. Nothing was to be learned from other nations; on the contrary, they were to be shown at last just how superbly colonies could be governed. Yet, strange to say, the Government sent a political economist around the world to study the methods and ways employed by other nations in governing their subject peoples, with the purpose of making use of the information thus obtained in conducting affairs in the Philippines. And, when he came to make his report, this agent of the Government recommended the adop-

tion in the Philippines of several things that he found in the other colonies which he had visited. But the principal thing recommended, and there is no reason to believe that the recommendation will not be carried into effect, was the adoption of the coolie labor system! This is a scheme heartily endorsed by the capitalists who are interested in the Philippines, but not in the Filipinos. This means that, regardless of the interests of the Filipinos, cheap labor with which they cannot compete will be brought in from China to do the labor for the interests which desire to exploit the islands as soon as possible. And not only that, but the laborers so brought in will be under contract to labor for a certain employer or corporation for a term of years, and during that time they will be penned up in the districts in which they work, will not be permitted to escape from them, or under any circumstances to escape from their service until their time is up. In short, they will be absolutely under the control of those for whom they labor, and during their term of service will be virtually slaves. To such a pass has American imperialism already come! It is ready to adopt with alacrity what is undoubtedly among the very worst, if not the worst, practises to be found in the most despotically governed of subject countries. President Schurman of Cornell University and Dr. Felix Adler, of New York, have in public speeches pointed out the iniquity of this thing, and have called upon those who heard them to do all in their power to prevent the carrying into effect of the scheme. Dr. Adler has especially arraigned the proposition, and we fully expect to be able to present in the next two numbers of THE SENTINEL utterances of his on this subject that have not yet appeared in print. If our expectation is realized, the two coming issues of THE SENTINEL will be of exceptional value, and should have wide circulation.

It is interesting to know what opinion is held by deep-thinking observers in other parts of the world with regard to certain great changes which have come in American affairs in recent years, and which usher in America as an aspirant for imperial honors. The view of an on-looker is apt to be more accurate than that of a participant. The eminent Russian, Professor F. de Martens, who is said to be the greatest authority on international law in the world, and who presided recently at the Hague Tribunal, made these statements in an excellent article which appeared in *The Independent* of December 18:

The historical part to be played by the United States does not consist in the conquest of foreign lands by sword and fire, and the ideal aim of the national politics of the great American Republic is not to be found in the subjugation of the rest of the world by the almighty dollar. It is rather my firm conviction that the high civilizing destiny of America resides in the many-sided development of those great spiritual forces by which it was originally created and by which it has lived and grown, up to the present moment. . . . Unfortunately, in these later days, a critical change has been effected in the United States; a change which may lead to a radical departure from all the great principles which have come down from the founders. . . . Contemporary American imperialism must serve as an unavoidable incentive to the most unexpected and unlooked-for political complications. The seizure of Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands contributed to the glorification of American courage and prowess. But the annexation of fresh territory does not necessarily bring profit to the conquerors. Only those conquests form a real and solid basis for the development of the living forces of the conquerors which become incorporated with their very flesh and blood and form an organic part of their possessions. If the conquest is limited to the establishment of absolute power over the annexed territory, without its having been incorporated into the kingdom of the conquerors, the only possible result will be a subjugation that has to be maintained by a crushing physical force. . . . It may be permitted to doubt whether Americans, in the sphere of international conquests

and in the presence of the militarism that such annexation must give birth to, can gain such brilliant results as they have already won by their conquests in the peaceful sphere of commerce and trade. It is also doubtful if the laurels of war can profitably replace the laurels won in bloodless contests in the kingdom of peaceful and productive labor. However this may be, it seems to me that the historical mission of the United States has been fully defined in the course of their two hundred years' existence. They have afforded a brilliant example of the almost fabulous development of all the living forces of a people by means of peaceful labor and the continued cultivation of those great principles on which their political and social life was originally founded. It appears to me that in the largest development of these principles, in their extension and spiritualization, consists the ever-to-be-envied historical function and mission of the great American Republic. To fulfil this calling, no new territory need be annexed, no huge fleet and army required; all that is necessary is to keep to the path history has already shown them to be theirs, and to remain true to the living principles of the American Republic.

And what American should not say "Amen" to that? But, alas! there are many who cannot say "Amen" to it. They are too much enamored with what is causing them to be false "to the living principles of the American Republic."

There was recently installed in the Statuary Hall of the Capitol in Washington a statue or bust of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, one of Maryland's signers of the Declaration of Independence, and the last survivor of all the signers of that document. The occasion called forth remarks from a number of Senators with reference to the Declaration of Independence. Senator Hoar spoke of the document in the highest terms, and expressed his confidence that its great principles would control the nation in the future. He said that those who found fault with the Declaration would for the same reason find fault with the Ten Commandments or the Sermon on the Mount.

One or two other Senators spoke in a similar strain. But Senator Dolliver spoke in a different strain, and evidently felt that the time was opportune for putting in a word for something else besides the Declaration. He called attention to the prediction that had been made by some college president that within twenty-five years there would be an emperor established at Washington, and after remarking that that represented a feeling which seemed to prevail to a considerable extent, said:

Even in the Senate of the United States the anxiety, sometimes real and sometimes pretended, has grown familiar by repetition, that the Government established by our fathers has broken away from its moorings and is now adrift upon the high seas, headed toward the rocks, nobody knows where. We ought to keep company with no such opinions. They belong to the blackness of the darkness of a past generation. From 1865 forward to eternity, whatever else happens, the American Republic shall live—live to answer the accusers of the people, live to vindicate the faith of our fathers, live to scatter the riches of civil liberty to races not yet grown to the stature of freedom, and to nations yet unborn.

He declared that the Declaration of Independence had "passed through vicissitudes perilous to its moral integrity," and with the evident intention of having the incident regarded as a vicissitude of that sort, said:

Mr. Jefferson originally wrote, "All men are created equal and independent." He struck out the words "and independent," leaving our sublime political dogma standing nakedly there, "All men are created equal."

Having reduced this proposition to nakedness, he hastened to explain that Jefferson "did not mean that everybody comes into the world with exactly the same equipment of mind or body, or character, or estate," and that "our fathers were men of immense practical good sense" who "knew perfectly well the differences which necessarily exist

among men, arising from the nature of things."

They had no quarrel with the framework of society. Their quarrel was with the abuses of despotism, the inequalities arising, not from the nature of things, but from the maladministration of governments.

It is strange that the fathers did not set up a monarchy if they had no quarrel with the framework of society politically. While little exception can be taken to these remarks concerning the fathers and the meaning of the proposition that "all men are created equal," yet nevertheless it is exactly the same sort of stuff that Abraham Lincoln said in his day was used to "fritter away" the "vitality and practical value" of the Declaration. On the occasion mentioned, Senator Depew said:

The course of Rome for many centuries was controlled by the mysterious revelation of the Sibylline leaves, but there was no mystery about the Declaration of Independence, no mystery about the Constitution of the United States, no mystery about the farewell address of Washington, and no mystery in the writings which have come to us from the fathers of the Revolution.

No, there is no mystery about any of these things. The mystery is that they are not heeded to-day. It is not likely that future generations will be able to look back and say that there was no mystery about the doings of those who have to-day repudiated the Declaration of Independence, stretched the Constitution to the breaking-point, ignored the wise and deep councils of Washington's farewell address, and turned their backs upon the writings which have come down to us from the fathers of the Revolution.

"I do not mean to say we are bound to follow implicitly in whatever our fathers did. . . . What I do say is, that if we would supplant the opinions and policies of our fathers in any case, we should do so upon evidence so conclusive, and argument so clear, that even their great authority, fairly considered and weighed, cannot stand."

While it seems to be an admitted and established fact that some nine or ten Filipinos, after being compelled to act as guides, were tortured and murdered by a detachment of American soldiers in the Philippines, it seems that nobody is to be held responsible for the crime or crimes. Friends of humanity in the United States have in this case, as in many others, done their best to secure investigation and the punishment of those responsible, but although the officer charged with the responsibility has been tried a second time by court-martial in Manila, he has been acquitted again. The *Springfield Republican* says that on examination the President has been compelled to write across a large number of these court-martial verdicts of acquittal in the cases of soldiers and officers charged with employing unlawful and inhuman methods of warfare, the word "Disapproved," and that in time the same word may be written across this late verdict. This means, as the *Republican* says, that these court-martial trials in most cases are mere farces. It not only does not follow from a verdict of acquittal that the crime charged was not committed, but it does not follow that the person acquitted was not guilty of the crime. The authorities have announced that no legal proceedings will be taken against the officer who tortured to death, and who has confessed the crime, the Catholic priest on the island of Panay, holding that he is now beyond the reach of the law—"no longer amenable to either civil or military law for his actions while in command of the regiment in the Philippines." The officer is living in Vermont, his term of military service having expired. This case has gained considerable notoriety, and is known as the "Father Augustine" case. It was brought to light through the efforts of the Anti-Imperialist Committee of Boston, and the authorities were unable to avoid at least

investigating it, with the result that it was found to be just as described by those who for the sake of humanity and justice had interested themselves in the matter. "Father Augustine" was a prominent personage on the island of Panay; he was delivered as a prisoner to an American officer; this officer had him subjected to the water torture in the effort to extort information from him; under this torture the priest died. All reference to the matter was excluded from the military reports. In the Senate the other day those who were trying to defend this deed declared that the priest deserved to "have been tried by a drum-head court martial and shot." The very pertinent inquiry was made as to why, then, he was not so tried and shot, instead of being tortured to death. It is worth mentioning that *The Outlook*, which has been disposed always to scout the charge that American soldiers have resorted to cruel and inhuman methods in the Philippines, and which, when the story of the "Father Augustine" case was first given to the public, regarded it as "inherently incredible," and thought those who believed it "had been deceived either by some Tagalogs or some sensational storymonger," has admitted that it was entirely mistaken in the matter. It admits that there has been "one instance in which water torture was administered by a military officer of the United States Government"; one instance in which "the principle that no man shall be compelled to testify against himself was contemptuously violated" by an American officer in the Philippines; one instance in which such a person "violated alike the instincts of humanity, the fundamental principles of modern civilization, and the rules of war," and did that for which there is "neither justification, excuse, or palliation," and which can be excused "under no conceivable circumstances." It admits that instead of being a case of mischievous

and treasonable activity, "the Anti-Imperialist Committee have rendered a good service to the country in this case," and even that they "have thus raised a presumption that it [the administration of torture by a military officer of the United States Government] may have been done in other cases not so clearly established." This is quite an admission for *The Outlook*. We call attention to it because it goes to confirm the fact that the war which the Republic of the United States has waged upon another people in order to subject them to its rule was *not* conducted with "unexampled humanity," but on the contrary was in part, we know not how great a part, conducted, as recently declared by Dr. Felix Adler, in a spirit of cruelty, brutality, and devilishness. *The Outlook* would never say what it does unless the evidence was overwhelming.

"I should like to know if, taking this old Declaration of Independence, which declares that all men are equal upon principle, and making exceptions to it, where will it stop? If one man says it does not mean a negro (or Tagalog) why not another man say it does not mean some other man? If that declaration is not the truth, let us get the statute book, in which we find it, and tear it out! Who is so bold as to do it?"

Why the Utterances of Abraham Lincoln Should be Repeated To-day

NINETY-FOUR years ago to-day Abraham Lincoln was born. This is the date on which he is annually honored throughout the nation. He can be honored best by honoring the great and living principles for which he stood, and for which he so ably contended in the times between 1854 and 1860. Therefore THE SENTINEL pays tribute to his memory by presenting in this issue some of the pregnant utterances made by him in the historic speeches and debates of those days.

Some of these quotations are very familiar, but if the truth that is expressed in each of them is truly recognized and received none of them can become too familiar.

And not only does THE SENTINEL present these quotations in order to fitly honor Lincoln's memory, but also, to the extent of its humble influence, to respond to a most pressing need of the times. For to-day to honor and uphold the principles for which Lincoln stood, and to set before the people the utterances with which he defended them, is not only to honor him, but is to render most true and timely service to the nation, and to the cause of human liberty here and everywhere. For in that nation—that "new nation"—which was "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal," "the proneness of prosperity to breed tyrants" is being demonstrated to an unprecedented extent, and again mighty efforts are being made "to turn a free people back into the hateful paths of despotism." Again a great battle is being fought over the principles which lie at the very foundation of the political edifice of the nation. Again the Declaration of Independence has been and is being "assailed, and sneered at, and construed, and hawked at, and torn, till, if its framers could rise from their graves, they could not at all recognize it." Again it is denied that "all men are created equal," and that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." Again mammon, ambition, philosophy, and "the theology of the day" have joined in the cry against these truths, and are doing their utmost to have the Declaration "shorn of its vitality and practical value, and left without the germ or even the suggestion of the individual rights of man in it," so that it shall be "no more at most than an interesting memorial of the dead past." And again

those who do these things make great professions of "loyalty to the Government," while those who uphold and defend and declare to the people the great basic principles of the Government, and insist that they shall be adhered to, are ridiculed, charged with insincerity, and accused of treasonable opposition to "the constituted authorities of the country."

So true is it that the battle that is now being fought, or perhaps it would be more true to say, that has already been fought, turns upon the principles that were at issue in the days when those great debates took place between Lincoln and Douglas that the arguments of each are perfectly adapted to the question now being discussed. And again so true is it that the same principles are in antagonism now as then that it is the truth that the very evil from which the nation was purged by the maintenance at that time of the principles for which Lincoln stood, is on the eve of being reestablished and fastened again upon the nation by those who have to-day adopted a policy which has obliged them to turn their backs upon the Declaration of Independence and the utterances of Lincoln, and to reiterate in substance the arguments of Douglas. So able an observer as Dr. Felix Adler of New York plainly declares that at the present moment, "forty years after we went through the struggle and bloodshed of the Civil War in order to banish human slavery from the territory of the United States, as we thought, forever," it is being officially proposed by persons high in authority in the Government "to reestablish or to restore, in a modified form, human slavery in the territory of the United States." He declares that "for the sake of commercial greed" there is now on foot what gives the strongest promise of being a successful attempt to "reopen upon the body politic the cicatrized wound of human slavery." And possibly it may, to some persons,

add more weight and force to these declarations to say that they were made by a man who is not a stickler for the doctrine of the "consent of the governed," and who in the very same address pronounced the proposition that "all men are created equal" to be a falsehood. But he knows that slavery is utterly antagonistic to American principles, and, as he says, it is modified slavery that those who have in the last few years repudiated the Declaration of Independence now propose to establish.

There is so much that might be said, but this is enough. But to the honor of Abraham Lincoln let one more thing be said. He declared in 1857 that the authors of the Declaration of Independence "meant it to be as, thank God, it is now proving itself, a stumbling-block to all those who, in aftertimes, might seek to turn a free people back into the hateful paths of despotism"; and that "they knew the proneness of prosperity to breed tyrants, and they meant when such should reappear in this fair land and commence their vocation, they should find left for them at least one hard nut to crack." We of this day and generation can thank God that the enemies of human rights now have at least *two* hard nuts to crack — the Declaration of Independence and the great utterances of Abraham Lincoln. And, thank God, they are proving somewhat of a stumbling-block, even in this day of imperialism, to those who are seeking and have well-nigh succeeded in turning a free people back into the hateful paths of despotism. But they have not yet demolished the two hard nuts that they have found to crack, and long may these nuts remain to perplex the enemies of human freedom and to serve the cause of liberty and justice for all nations and races of men.

"These are bad times, and seem out of joint. . . . Be hopeful. And now let us adjourn and appeal to the people."

The Supremacy of the Papacy

By Alonzo T. Jones

XI

THE PAPACY—THE VERY SAME PAPACY THAT THE WORLD KNEW IN THE TENTH CENTURY—IS TO-DAY AIMING TO SECURE TO HERSELF A RECOGNIZED SUPREMACY IN WORLD AFFAIRS. SHE HAD THIS ONCE. THE ARTICLES THAT ARE APPEARING UNDER THE ABOVE HEADING ARE A STUDY OF HOW SHE USED IT. SINCE IT IS HER OWN BOAST THAT "ROME NEVER CHANGES," TO KNOW WHAT SHE DID WITH SUCH SUPREMACY WHEN SHE HAD IT IS TO KNOW WHAT SHE WILL DO WITH IT WHEN SHE SECURES IT AGAIN.

Triple-Headed Anarchy Ended at Last

AT the tenth session of the council, May 14, 1414, there was read the list of accusations against Pope John, consisting of seventy articles, twenty of which were too shockingly scandalous to be publicly read, even in that rough and scandalous age. At the next session, May 25, all the articles against John, which had been read in the previous session, were read again. As they were read, one by one, there were also read the depositions of the witnesses, and the characters of the witnesses, without their names. When all had been read the council declared fully proved the whole list—those which had been read and those not fit to read; and then unanimously declared that "the said lord pope John ought to be suspended from all administration, in spirituals as well as in temporal, belonging to him as pope; and we declare him accordingly actually suspended for his notorious simony and wicked life." Notification of this sentence was sent to Pope John; to which he replied that he "entirely acquiesced in the sentence which they had already pronounced, and was ready to submit to any sentence that they should pronounce, as he knew that the council could not err."

The messengers returned with John's answer, and, in the twelfth session of the council, May 29, the following sentence of deposition was pronounced:

The general Council of Constance, having invoked the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and examined, in the fear of God, the articles exhibited and proved against John XXIII., and his voluntary submission to the proceedings of the council, does pronounce, decree, and declare by the present sentence, that the nocturnal escape of the said John XXIII., in disguise and in an indecent habit, was scandalous; that it was prejudicial to the unity of the Church, and contrary to his vows and oaths; that the same John XXIII. is a notorious simonist; that he has wasted and squandered away the revenues of the Roman Church and other churches; that he has been guilty in the highest degree of maladministration both in spirituals and temporal; that by his detestable behavior he has given offense to the whole Christian people; that by persevering in so scandalous a conduct to the last in spite of repeated admonitions, he has shown himself incorrigible; that as such, and for other crimes set forth in his process, the council does declare him deposed and absolutely deprived of the pontificate, absolves all Christians from their oath of allegiance to him, and forbids them for the future to own him for pope, or to name him as such. And that this sentence may be irrevocable, the council does from this time, with their full power, supply all the defects that may afterward be found in the process; and does further condemn the said John XXIII. to be committed, in the name of the council, to some place where he may be kept in the custody of the emperor, as protector of the Catholic Church, so long as the council shall judge necessary for the unity of the Church, the said Council reserving a power to themselves to punish him for his crimes and irregularities according to the canons, and as the law of justice or mercy shall require.

While the council had been disposing of John, ambassadors from Gregory XII. had arrived. They were sent by Gregory "to resign the pontificate in his name, and all right and title to that dignity." But they came not to *the council*: Pope Gregory XII. would not recognize the legitimacy of a council convened by Pope John XXIII. Therefore, these messengers were commissioned to *the emperor*, and were empowered to treat with him. They were directed to inform the emperor that if he and the heads of the nations would allow the council to be convoked anew by Pope Gregory XII., then Pope Gregory XII. would recognize it as lawful council, but not otherwise. To this the emperor and the heads of the nations agreed.

Accordingly, at the fourteenth session, July 4, 1415, one of Gregory's nuncios took the chair, and from Gregory read two bulls: the one convoking the Council of Constance, and, when thus convoked, owning it as a lawful council: the other empowering this nuncio to act as Pope Gregory's proxy, and, in that character, to submit to the decisions of the council when lawfully convoked as Gregory's council. When the bulls had been thus read, the council was declared convoked in the name of Pope Gregory XII. Then the proxy announced to the council that Gregory XII. was ready to sacrifice his dignity to the peace of the Church, and to submit to their disposal of him as they should see fit.

Then the regular president of the council took the chair, and the emperor his throne. A third bull from Gregory was then read, giving his proxy full power to resign the papal dignity in his name. Then the renunciation of Gregory was made by the proxy in the following words:

I, Charles Malatesta, vicar of Rimini, governor of Romagna for our most holy father in Christ Lord Pope, Gregory XII., and general

of the holy Roman Church, being authorized by the full power that has just now been read, and has been received by me from our said Lord Pope Gregory, compelled by no violence, but only animated with an ardent desire of procuring the peace and union of the Church, do, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, effectually and really renounce for my master Pope Gregory XII. the possession of, and all right and title to, the papacy, which he legally enjoys, and do actually resign it in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of this general council, which represents the Roman Church and the Church Universal.

This act of resignation of Pope Gregory XII. was received with thunderous applause by the council. The *Te Deum* was sung, and mighty commendations were bestowed upon Gregory. Then the council decreed that Benedict XIII. should be required in like manner to resign within ten days after he received the notice of the council; and that if he did not resign within that time, he should be declared "a notorious schismatic, and an obstinate and incorrigible heretic; and as such be deprived of all honor and dignity, and cast out of the Church."

The council next decreed that Gregory "should retain the dignity of cardinal-bishop so long as he lived; that he should be first in rank after the pope, unless some alteration should be judged expedient, with respect to this article, upon the resignation of Peter de Luna; and that he should be perpetual legate of the Marches of Ancona, and enjoy undisturbed all the honors, privileges, and emoluments annexed to that dignity. The council granted him besides a full and unlimited absolution from all the irregularities he might have been guilty of during his pontificate, exempted him from giving an account of his past conduct, or any part of it, to any person whatever, and forbade any to be raised to the pontificate till they had promised upon oath to observe this decree, notwithstanding all the canons, constitu-

tions, and decrees of general councils to the contrary."

Benedict XIII. insisted that now that the other two popes had resigned, this left him *sole and undisputably lawful pope*. The emperor and a large number of attendants made a journey of nearly five hundred miles to Perpignan, in France, on the Gulf of Lyons, near the Spanish border, where they met the king of Aragon and all the princes who recognized Benedict as pope. They held a congress and sought by every possible means to persuade Benedict to resign; but all in vain. At one of the sessions he argued for seven hours at a stretch, although he was seventy-seven years old, that he alone was lawful pope; and that, if the good of the Church required him to resign, he alone had the right to elect a new pope, being the only undoubted cardinal then alive, as having been created before the schism, and, consequently, by an undoubted pope. He declared that he "never would abandon the Church which it had pleased the Almighty to commit to his care; and at the same time declared excommunicated all who did not acknowledge him, whether emperors, kings, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, or bishops; and declared them to be rebels to St. Peter and his Church."

His adherents all, except four cardinals, deserted him, and recognized the Council of Constance. Then the Council of Constance deposed him, July 26, 1417. But Benedict excommunicated and anathematized "the schismatic assembly at Constance, and all the princes and bishops who assisted at it or received its definitions or decrees calculated to foment and perpetuate so dangerous a schism in the one holy Catholic and apostolic

Church; so that the only holy Catholic and apostolic Church was now to be found only at Peniscola," where Benedict then was. He persisted unto the moment of his death, that he was the only pope. As long as he could speak he maintained it; and "when he could no longer speak, he wrote down, with great difficulty, the following injunction addressed, as his last will, to his cardinals:

I enjoin you, upon pain of an eternal curse, to choose another pope after my death.

The three cardinals did elect another pope after the death of Benedict, who took the title of Clement VIII. (Nov. 29, 1424); but he abdicated in favor of the pope who had been elected by the Council of Constance, Martin V. (Nov. 8, 1417, to Feb. 20, 1431).

Martin V. left Constance for Rome, May 16, 1418. He remained a season in Geneva; then passed to Florence, where he arrived Feb. 27, 1419. While at Florence John XXIII., in June, 1419, "throwing himself at his feet, without any previous stipulations or conditions whatever, acknowledged him for the lawful successor of St. Peter and Christ's vicar upon earth." On the fourteenth of June, Balthasar Cossa "ratified and confirmed all the decisions of the Council of Constance relating to himself, and relating to the election of Martin V.; renounced in a solemn manner all right and title to the popedom; was thereupon created by the pope cardinal-bishop of Tusculum; was made dean of the sacred college; and it was ordained that he should always sit next to the pope, and his seat should be somewhat raised above the seats of the other cardinals." He died December 20 following.

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JOHN D. BRADLEY, Editor.

Editorial Contributors:

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

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