



NEWMAN HALL
IN
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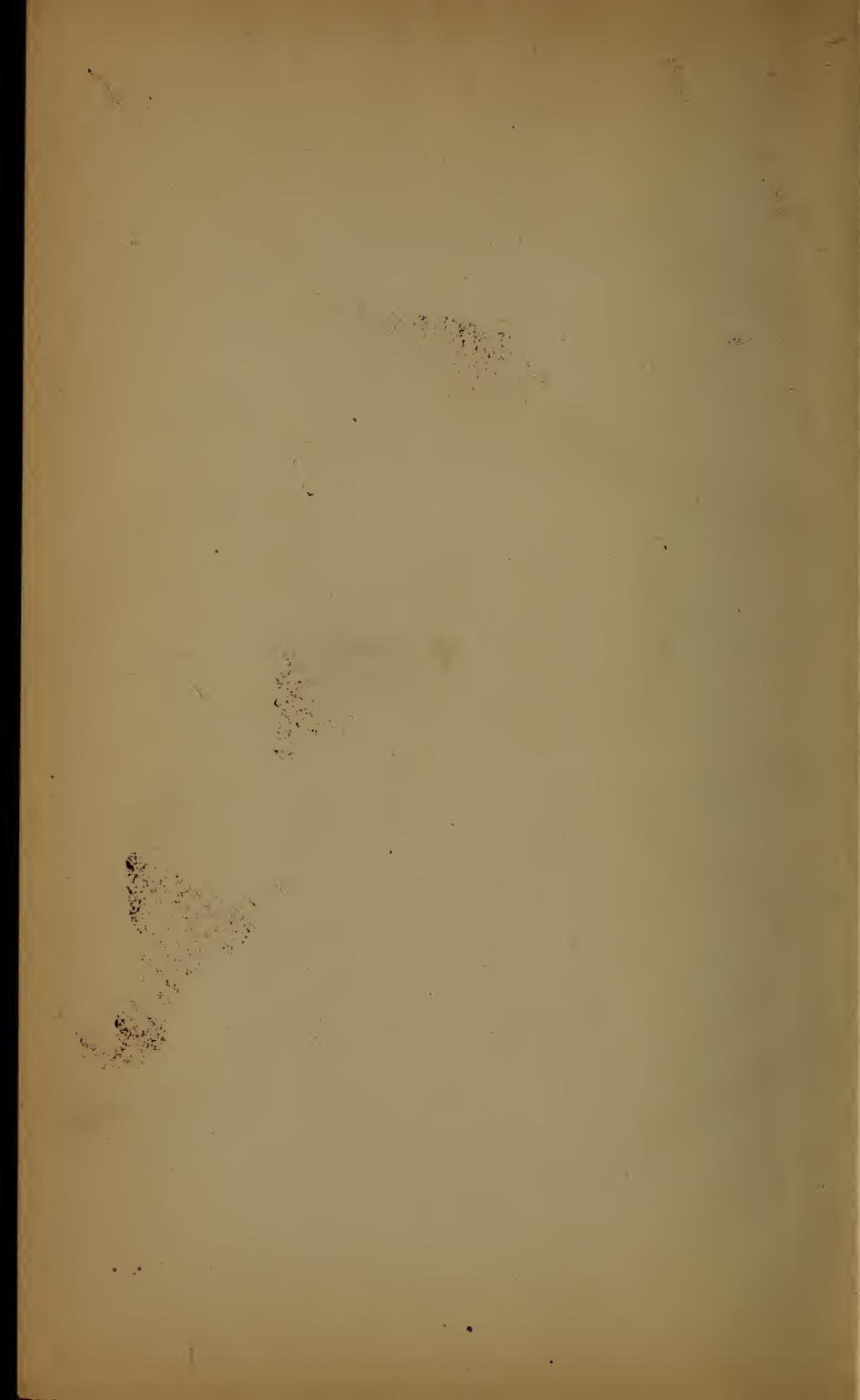
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NEWMAN HALL IN AMERICA.

REV. DR. HALL'S LECTURES

ON

TEMPERANCE AND MISSIONS TO THE MASSES;

ALSO,

AN ORATION ON CHRISTIAN LIBERTY;

TOGETHER WITH

HIS RECEPTION BY THE NEW YORK UNION LEAGUE CLUB.

REPORTED BY WM. ANDERSON.

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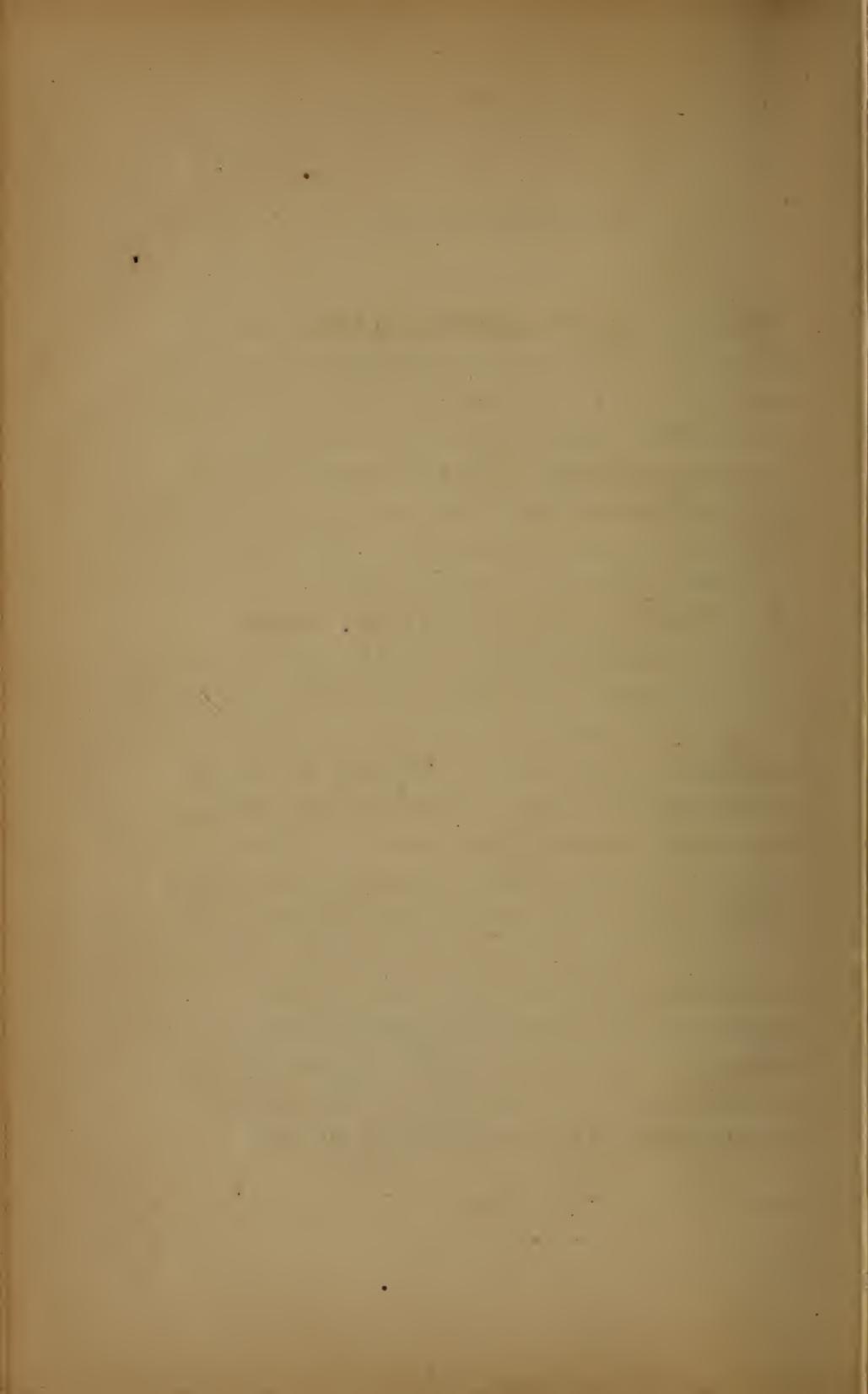
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Repr 8 Nov 14 E. T. S.

PREFACE.

NEWMAN HALL has an American heart in an English body. He is one of the few representative Englishmen, who, during our civil war, had the sagacity to understand the issues at stake and the courage to espouse the national cause. It is not strange, therefore, that this eminent minister and eloquent advocate of liberty and the rights of man, should have received an enthusiastic welcome on his recent visit to the United States. Dr. HALL was cordially greeted wherever he went, and thousands eagerly listened to his earnest and manly utterances in the pulpit and on the platform. Although not authorized to be the mouth-piece of the government of Great Britain respecting the relations existing between the two countries, yet the potent influence which NEWMAN HALL wields in Europe, not only over the working-classes but among the leading statesmen, gave to his words great significance. His visit to this country will do more, no doubt, to establish good feeling and mutual respect between England and America than any diplomatic negotiations could effect. It is this belief that has led to the publication of the present volume, which the reporter takes pleasure in dedicating to the Christian patriots of *America*.



Temperance.

A LECTURE DELIVERED BEFORE THE LAFAYETTE
AVENUE TEMPERANCE SOCIETY,
BROOKLYN,

THURSDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 24, 1867.

DR. CUYLER, in introducing Dr. Hall, said :

Friends and neighbors : The time has come that I have long looked for, but scarcely indeed expected, when I can welcome to this pulpit and this community that man we have so long loved and honored, NEWMAN HALL, not of England only or Great Britain, but of Christ's Church and the great brotherhood of man.

DR. HALL spoke as follows :

My Dear Sir, Ladies and Gentlemen, Fellow Christians, Fellow Citizens : We belong to one country ; we are one nation. I continually am for-

getting whether I am in Great Britain or in America. When we were singing that hymn—

“My country 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing”—

I quite forgot it. Why, we could sing every line of that hymn as well as you. It suits us exactly, and you sing it to our tune [laughter].

I am not going to make a speech, for I determined I would not do anything till Sunday; but my friend Dr. CUYLER has announced me, and when I saw it in the paper this morning, I thought, “Here is a fix; my friend will be compromised if I do not appear, and on the other hand I have made a promise to friends that I will do nothing till Sunday;” so I am not going to do anything to-night. I shan’t lecture; I shan’t make a speech; I have resolved not to trouble my brain about what I shall say. I thought as you sung this line of that grand hymn,

“Sweet land of liberty,”

who would live in a land that was not free? Some people have said to me, “You know we live in a free country,” as if we in Great Britain were not free. We have monarchical and you republican forms. Our Prime Minister is a sort of President; and if he were to go contrary to the public sentiment of the nation, he would not be ruler of our country longer; we would get rid of him in a fortnight. If the Prime Minister is defeated in the House of Commons, he must dismiss it and have another house to test the

opinion of the public, and if they do not endorse his action he has to resign directly. The King or the Queen is not supposed to do anything but gracefully and with dignity occupy the supreme post in the nation, so that there may be no prejudice amongst ambitious people to occupy it. Therefore we know exactly by hereditary succession who will occupy it next, so that there are no parties amongst us. We think it is a good plan for us; it would not be a good plan for you. We have increased our suffrage very lately, and I hope that with this new era we shall still more secure the relations of friendship between the two branches of our one great nation. We in England could sing every line of your hymn, and I am sure almost everybody in America is willing from admiration to her as an individual, if not as a Queen, to say "God save Victoria!" [loud applause.]

The hymn continues—

"Land of the Pilgrims' pride."

We can say that, for the Pilgrims came away from us. They were ours first; and though you may say our country turned them out, we, the nation, did not turn them out; but it was the same aristocratic, tyrannical power that turned them out against which we have been combating, who were your enemies during the late war. It was not the nation who were your enemies, but the oligarchical few. Do not mistake the animosity of a privileged few as the animosity of a great nation; the *nation* was with you throughout the great conflict.

Well, if this is the land of the Pilgrim's pride, ours is the land of the Puritan's pride, and that is

pretty near the same thing. I am just reminded of a specimen sermon once preached by Rowland Hill, at Edinburgh. He was informed that the people were accustomed to orderly preaching, and then said: "First, we will come up to the text; secondly, we will go round about the text; thirdly, we will go through the text; and now," said he, "we will run away from the text" [laughter].

Dr. HALL, turning to Dr. CUYLER, "Will this thing do?"

Dr. CUYLER (*sotto voce*). "Yes; but don't forget temperance; bring that in."

Dr. HALL (*resuming*). The line of the hymn—

"I love thy rocks and rills"—

suggests to me the fact that I sailed up that wonderful river, the Hudson, and stopped at West Point, finding my way to Cozzen's Hotel. It became pitch dark; there was no moon or stars, and the trees overshadowed the road. I walked along the carriage road for a while; but as the carriages kept coming along rapidly, I took the foot path, and although it was quite dark I felt quite safe. Presently I fell down, but happily did not go very far. I got upon my feet, felt my limbs, uttered praise to God that I had not broken a limb, and scrambled out of the hole. I found a sentry fifty steps in advance of me, with whom I had the following interview: "I have just fallen into a ditch there." "Ah!" "There is no lamp at that hole." "Indeed!" "I might have hurt myself very badly." "Humph!" "Somebody else coming along may fall in and get killed. Don't you think that a light should be put up there? There are a good many people

coming along." "Ah!" I thought I had discharged my duty in giving warning to the proper authority, and so I walked on. I afterwards found I hurt my wrist, and had to carry it in a sling. In the morning, at breakfast time, I was detailing my experience to an American gentleman, who said, "Ah! you Englishmen have no intellects" [great laughter]. "That seems strange," I replied. "O, no you haven't," continued the gentleman; "in your country there would have been a railing or a lamp at that place where you met with the accident." "That is a proof," I rejoined, "that we have intellects; we do not leave a place like that unguarded." "You do not know what I mean," he continued; "you Englishmen do not use your intellects in this country. I first look at the bucket and chain, and do not trust it if I don't think it is strong enough to hold me. You must use your intellect in this country, or nobody will use their's for you." That hint has been a blessing to me every day. When I went to Chicago, if I had not used my intellect I would have fallen down a pathway six feet deep, and not merely sprained my wrist but broken my neck. There is no need of using the intellect at the railroad crossings in England, for there is a man stationed at every bridge who will not let you pass until the train arrives.

See how this may be applied to the question of temperance that is before us to-night. There are constant dangers in every direction; dangers to the young and dangers to the old. There are ditches in accustomed roads, namely, custom and fashion. We so easily and readily walk in the ways of people who do certain things. If drinking were a queer, strange,

and unusual thing, of course we should not be likely to do it; but because it is a beaten track, multitudes here and in my country walk in it without thinking. When we go into a new track, we have our eyes open to watch where we are going to; but if we go along a beaten track we do not think about it, and if we do not think we may fall. Now, I am not accustomed, certainly, to walk along public highways where there are unguarded ditches, but the public highways of life are exposed to many perils. Persons without thinking fall into many snares. Oh! how many young men, and some young women too, and dear children also, fall into those ditches and holes that are cut right across the public highway of life! I would say to you, young men and women, use your moral intellect; look where you are going, and do not plant one foot down unless you know that that step is a safe one. The paths of drinking are not safe. I do not know how it may be with you, but with us, notwithstanding all the labors of the temperance reformation, I fancy the number of drunkards that die annually is not much diminished; they say sixty thousand drunkards die in Great Britain every year. I take it at half the estimate, in order that we might not exaggerate. In your greatest battle you never lost thirty thousand people. We know of no such battle in modern times as thirty thousand persons falling together in one fight on both sides; but thirty thousand souls are lost annually, directly or indirectly, by drunkenness. We spend in Great Britain upward of seventy million pounds sterling in the purchase of strong drink. Lord Shaftsbury recently told us that seven-tenths of the lunacy of the country arose from strong drink. Strong drink is the

great cause of pauperism, of ignorance, and of all the various social evils that so lamentably abound amongst us. The practice of drinking is so universal that people go along that path familiar with it, evincing no anxiety, though there is so much danger. What is the cure? Try that that path shall not be so well trodden. Persuade people who do use their moral intellects not to walk along that path at all, so that others may take warning. If I see persons of intelligence and goodness adopting a certain custom, I think there can be no danger in that custom when people so respectable, so clever, and so good walk along it; but if the good, respectable, and clever people avoided that particular spot, I would begin to say, "Surely there is some reason why I should avoid it; if they avoid it, I shall not recklessly go into it. So every individual who says, "I will not go along that path which is so dangerous to multitudes," helps those who would otherwise fall into the snare. We are all apt to follow the fashions. Set a fashion of drinking cold water, and multitudes will adopt the same course. There are two great difficulties which should ever be remembered in reference to the subject of temperance. One great difficulty is the craving for drink in some constitutions, and superadded to that is the mighty influence of example and fashion. Why should both these difficulties combine together? We cannot prevent the craving in the individual's constitution, but we can do something to lessen the mighty power of fashion and example. I often hear the ladies of Great Britain say, "Oh! I can do nothing; if I were a gentleman, a large employer, or a clergyman; if I had great influence, then it would be a different thing; but I have no

influence at all." Ladies have a mighty influence; children have influence; every individual has influence. They can make a path better trodden, and so simple, easy, and attractive for others to walk in—so safe, popular and fashionable—that men will keep out of the dangerous paths where are moral ditches very inadequately represented by the little thing I fell into. Oh! the holes and the snares that men fall into when they are guilty of intemperance; these affect the mind, the conscience, the soul. Dear friends, I am rejoiced to meet you here confederated together in this good work of temperance. I rejoice to meet you when the war is finished, your cause victorious, the slaves free, and the Union preserved. [Applause.]

Many people in my country used to say, "The North is sure to be defeated, and if they should win, they do not mean to free the slave. If the North succeed, they will have an enormous army, and where there is an enormous army they will always want something to do; and having conquered their enemies on that continent they will want to quarrel with Europe." I presumed to contradict them and said, "The North is sure to win and to put down slavery, and then they are sure to go back into private and business life, and you need not be afraid of their coming here." Having followed you through your conflict and watched the progress of your cause, mourning over your discouragements, and triumphing in your triumphs, having often praised God for the light that was beaming upon your path, and often prayed Him to bless the righteous cause, you cannot tell with what joy I meet you on such an occasion to thank God with you for the preservation of your great nation, and

the destruction of that which was your disgrace and an element of your weakness.

But now, not to forget the question of this evening. There is this other great fight that is always going on. Happily, the wars of nations do not last long. Written history is all about war, as if no part of a nation's existence deserved to be written but a history of its conflicts. But there is a conflict always going on—a conflict of truth against error, of virtue against vice, of temperance against intemperance; and in this fight there must be no laying down of our weapons. There must be no disbanding of our army, for we have enlisted for life. We do not expect that this war will be over in our time. Every Christian is bound to be a soldier and to fight the good fight of faith. It is not the time now, any more than it was in the early times of Christianity, for people to suppose that they can be Christians without fighting.

The great objection which is urged on our side of the water to teetotalism is: "Why am I called upon to give up that which I like because somebody does not know how to use it? Why should I abandon that which does not do me any harm?" That objection would be unanswerable if we lived under a religion of self-indulgence, but our religion has for its symbol the cross, and the cross means self-sacrifice. Perhaps some one says, "Was our Lord Jesus Christ a teetotaler?" The circumstances are different. I am not one of those who say that it is absolutely wrong to take wines and beer, although the simple wines of that day were very different from the variety of strong drinks by which multitudes are tempted now. It was not a prevailing crime and vice of that day, as it is of this period. Our

Lord taught great principles, which are applicable to circumstances as they arise. We gather our great principles from our Lord's great fundamental laws. He did not institute Sunday-schools, missionary societies, and multitudes of the benevolent operations in which we are engaged. We have to adapt Christianity to the changing vices and the exigencies of society, according to time and place. The man who said, "I am not going to come down to your low level of teetotalism, because there are some down there who make beasts of themselves," has not learned the true spirit of Christ, who stooped so low to lift us up. Shall we not stoop to that poor brother who lies on the ground, and pick him out of the ditch?

Some say teetotalism encourages infidelity. I don't know why. I never could understand it because some total abstainers are infidels. There are some in our country who are infidels and yet teetotalers, but I would much rather he would be a sober than a drunken infidel. I believe that Christianity is a reasonable thing. You cannot reason with a drunkard; but if he is a sober infidel, I may have a chance of convincing him that he is wrong and I am right. I would say to him, "I am very sorry you are an infidel, but I am very glad you are a teetotaler." [Applause.] If you keep away from teetotalism because some teetotalers are infidels, will you be better off? For every teetotaler that is an infidel, I will find you a dozen of drunkards who are infidels. It is possible, I can conceive of how a man through becoming a teetotaler might become an infidel. In this way: Suppose I am a drunkard; I have gone from Jerusalem down to Jericho; I have left God's church and people, and when you go

down from Jerusalem to Jericho, you are sure to fall among thieves. Drunkenness overtakes me. I lie there wounded, robbed, and dying; I am a poor wretched drunkard, lying on the ground. A member of a church goes by. "Poor wretched drunkard that!" On he goes. A deacon of a church goes by. "Reprobate fellow!" A pastor of a church goes by. "No hope for such a fellow as that; sorry for him; beyond my reach." A poor despised infidel goes by. He says: "Dear me, very sad; very great disgrace, but he is a brother still; there is many a one who has been lifted up from where he is; I will say a kind word to him, it is not too late. Friend, get up; give me your hand; let us talk this thing over; you are very miserable, you have lost your money, you have lost your domestic peace, you have lost a good conscience, you have lost your reputation among your fellow-men; but it is not too late. I will help you. Come to our temperance meeting; we have a tea-party there; my friends will be glad to see you; I will show you where it is." He goes, perhaps, won by the kind invitation. Others speak kindly to him, and he joins them. In a very little while he feels better, and loves those who have done him good, although they may be people who do not believe in the religion of the Gospel. They ask him to join them in their discussions and lectures, and he says: "The Christian Church did not do anything for me, but these people have done a good deal for me. I do not understand about religion, but I do understand temperance, and I am bound to think that the people who have done me this good are in the right." In that way teetotalism may be connected with infidelity; but whose fault is that? The fault of

those who leave the infidels to take a prominent part—the fault of every Christian man who is not prompt and foremost in this great battle. If you don't want teetotalism to be allied with skepticism, you Christian people make it evident that your Christianity prompts you to more earnest efforts, or else there will be the connection of teetotalism and other good things with bad things. My idea is, that every Christian should take a prominent part in everything that tends to benefit his fellow-creatures. Instead of Christianity being so sublime a thing as to withdraw us from all secularities, it is a system that has for its end the physical, intellectual, social, and political welfare of our fellow-men. Our Lord Jesus Christ, the great High Priest and sacrifice for the world, went about doing good. He did not confine himself to spiritual teaching. The greater part of his labors, perhaps, was in healing diseases—thus teaching us by healing the diseases and soothing the sorrows of the people how his followers should always be engaged. While we speak about him, we are to imitate his example and to do good. You remember at the battle of Hastings the men of Kent asserted their ancient prescriptive right to fight in the front rank of the battle. Now Christian people, not by proud pretension, but by the manifestation of superior zeal, ought always to be fighting in the front rank of the battle of philanthropy, and whenever selfishness or tyranny raises its head, and whenever ignorance, vice, or anything that tends to bring men down and degrade them and make them miserable—whenever these enemies of humanity rise up, they ought to feel, whoever else may coronate them or fail to oppose them, that at the first symptom of the strug-

gle they will always hear the invincible tramp of the Christian church advancing to the rescue of humanity. [Applause.] If there is anything likely to promote the education, the social welfare, the political freedom, the health, and the harmless and useful recreation of the people, Christians ought to be foremost in the work. It is not the fault of teetotalism that men become infidels, but it is the fault of the Christian church that they were not prominent in this good work.

We have carried on this work of temperance at our church for a good many years. When I was invited to be the pastor, I remember very well, in my reply to the managers of the church, stating that it was a *sine qua non* with me that the church building might be used once a month for a temperance meeting, and that the school-room might be used as often as I liked for a temperance meeting. At that time the principal persons, those of wealth and social position, were not abstainers. I knew that, and I knew perfectly well that I could not be comfortable unless I worked teetotalism in connection with the Gospel. They very readily complied with my conditions; and from my first going there fourteen years ago, we commenced to have a temperance meeting the last Monday in every month, and so this has continued, about two thousand people being present at the meeting. I suppose it is the largest periodical temperance meeting in England. There are larger meetings held occasionally, but this is a permanent institution. Besides, we have two meetings every month in our school-room. It was at one of those meetings I had the pleasure of seeing your esteemed pastor and my dear friend and host, Dr. Cuyler. He gave an address at a temperance meeting.

It was an occasion memorable to me. My sainted father, then at the age of eighty-six, presided, and made a speech full of vigor and earnestness. God appointed that he should go to heaven when he did, but he did not go there because of any wearing out of his natural strength. He attended a picnic which was held on a very high hill in the county of Surrey, and while showing his friends how he marched in the days of the threatened invasion of the first Napoleon, he thought too little of age, and fell. The fall brought on bruises and abscesses, and by that means he was taken to heaven.

When I published the autobiography of my father, I only gave a small part of a very large number of volumes, but in it I furnished an impartial account of his deliverance from the snares of intemperance. I never knew him but as a perfect saint, during the last fifty years of his life, and from the time I was a little child I could only think of him with the most reverential love. I saw in him no fault, unless it might be the natural irritability of a vigorous mind. How I have seen him strive against that failing, and for many years entirely master it! When I have seen a spirit of holy indignation rising at something that was said or done wrong, I have seen him, to avoid any expression of haste or anger, quietly go out of the room. Although a wonderful man of business, it was his constant desire to magnify the grace of God.

Just to show you how God can help a young man when he is overtaken by the vice of intemperance, I will state that my father was a generous soul, and everybody loved him. He was a capital singer, full of anecdote, and brilliant in conversation, and, of course,

was invited to drinking parties. Alas! what a sad record there was of those early years. Then he was impressed with divine truth, and there is no doubt, from reading his own pages, that he was truly converted. It was not a sham, but a real conversion to God, evinced by deep sorrow, confession, earnest prayer, and a burning desire to lead a holy life; and then, perhaps, a dreadful gap, the record of having been led away into fearful excess; that going on for weeks, then restoration, and then again family prayer, attendance at the prayer-meeting, and joy in the class-meeting—for he was first laid hold of by the Wesleyans. Then a terrible fall, and a conflict which went on for several years. I have not a doubt, if he had died, God would have looked upon him as one of his children; there is no doubt that he was really converted to God, although he fell into this snare. Everything was done directly for him of a spiritual nature—ministerial advice, the sympathy of friends, and outward religious services—and yet, owing to his temperament and constitution, which through long indulgence had become of such a nature as that occasionally there was a burning craving for the drink, and that drink being furnished in ordinary life, it was almost physically impossible not to plunge into excess; it was a disease with him. Teetotalism was not known in those days (oh! that it had been); almost everybody indulged to excess. At length some of his friends suggested that a physician might be applied to; perhaps something might be recommended that would help him. Oh! how he rejoiced at the idea that possibly there might be some disease in his case which might be cured. He signed a statement to the effect that he was willing to be put

into an asylum, and deprived of his liberty, to be cured of his disease. The physician prescribed, and although there was no help afforded, he took the prescription three times a day, the record stating, "every bottle taken with prayer." But in spite of the medicine, after a little while, in which he was rejoicing in being fully delivered, he was overtaken again. The physician said, "It is evident you are not able to stand the brandy, and you must give it up." He resolved at once, however fond he was of a glass of brandy and water at night, to give it up that moment. The date was then put down, and ever afterward that day was kept as an anniversary to God, to recall the time when brandy was given up. Then followed earnest prayer and a faithful attendance upon the means of grace. By and by, after weeks of rejoicing, the entry in his record is, "Fallen, through intemperance in taking wine." The physician said, "Well, my dear friend, you must give up wine, and confine yourself to porter;" whereupon the entry was made, "From this time resolved to take no wine," and that day was another anniversary in my father's life. On the recurrence of it, you will always see that day kept up in thanksgiving to God. The diary then burns with piety, and we come across another dreadful confession, "Fallen, through excess in porter." The physician said, "You must give up porter, and confine yourself to small table beer." "Resolved, anything to be delivered from this evil." The date in the record is given with this entry, "From this time, no more porter;" and that day was kept till the end of his life as an anniversary. And so it went on; he confining himself to the ordinary table beer for the household. Then the physician said, "It is very evi-

dent you must touch nothing of the sort at all." He renounced even that, and then came the crowning triumph. Now you see it was not the medicine that saved him, though it might have had some little effect at first, but it was the total abstinence. If the physician had said in the beginning, "It is evident you can touch nothing of the sort; I need not give you any medicine; let there be abstinence," from that moment there would have been an absolute cure; but the idea was never suggested. Suppose in connection with that Christian congregation there were a number of Christians who would have said, "Brother Hall, you have fallen; we are sure you have been accepted by Christ; you cannot touch drink with safety; we are all determined not to use it." He would have said, "I will be one of you, and rejoice to have that refuge." Thus were those years of conflict gone through. It was the grace of God that saved him, but it was total abstinence that was the necessary means of that salvation. It was a joy to my father that his sons took up the same cause. I have had the honor for twenty-five years of advocating total abstinence. When a young man at college, I used to argue with my friends, Mr. and Mrs. Sherman, and say that I was never in danger of becoming a drunkard; that I was a moderate drinker; and if I could take a couple of glasses of wine, and leave off, that was a very fine example. One day Mrs. Sherman said, "I have been praying for you, that you might adopt this total abstinence principle." I replied, "I think I am bound to say that I will try it for a month." I have been trying it for the last twenty-six years, and I am not disposed to forsake the practice. [Applause.]

The temperance cause is a development of the gospel, but I think we very often fly too high. There are in all our organizations many intermediate links that the Christian church have sometimes forgotten. We have our grand churches, Sunday orations, dissertations on doctrine, and elegant music; and some think that these exercises, which are adapted to a refined philosophical spirit, are the means to convert the world. There are multitudes, however, who do not go to church, and who, if persuaded to attend, could not enter into the spirit of such exercises. There is too great a gap between you at the top and those poor ones at the bottom. There are many ways of reaching the lower classes, and among the agencies are popular entertainments, into which gospel truth could be introduced. Let us show these people that we are their brethren, by standing side by side with them as Christ did, and lift them up to something higher. Let the Christian church go down, and thus, by teetotalism, lift them up—not considering teetotalism as something attached to the gospel, but as one of the developments of the gospel, and the means of leading men up to it. [Applause.] We have something of the sort in our church. We have not only a temperance meeting once a month, but every Monday night, during six months in the year, I open my church for a secular lecture for working people, their wives and children, which is attended by twenty-five hundred people. We give them real lectures, and do not cheat them. At this meeting I had an opportunity to correct the false statements and arguments of the *Times* and other papers. Some of these speeches were reported in the morning papers—the *Star* and *Daily News*—and were copied in the

country papers; and so a continual fire was kept up for five years on that question. I have not had to retract or modify a single statement then made. Our church used to be crowded on those occasions, and if you had heard the expressions of good will to America, and the earnest desire for the prosperity of your cause, you would have doubted, in consequence of the enthusiasm, whether you were in London or New York. [Applause.] Sometimes on Saturday night we have the reading of newspapers in a large building called Lambeth Baths, and the singing of temperance melodies, and various similar operations. You in America have not such large masses of men that are generally designated "the working classes" as we have in England. In London we have them by tens of thousands; and I am very sorry to say that a large proportion of them do not attend public worship, but frequent the dram-shop. In connection with the temperance operations of Surrey Chapel, there are six hundred pledges made every year by persons, many of whom hold fast. During the thirteen years of my ministry in Surrey Chapel, I have had, on an average, one person every month who has become a member of the church, and who has attributed his religious change, first of all, to signing the total abstinence pledge. During that time, I only know of one drunkard who was converted in any way except through first becoming a total abstainer, and in that one case he became a total abstainer within a fortnight. I do not say that the grace of God can not reach drunkards; but, in the operations of my church, it has not pleased God to convert drunkards except in connection with total abstinence. They hear the gospel after they become total abstainers; it was the gos-

pel and the grace of God that converted them, but it was teetotalism that led them within the sound of the gospel and the means of grace.

This is very nice, [holding up a glass of water and sipping it.] I am sure there have been times, since I have been in America, when, if I had taken anything else, I might have been tempted to take too much. Suppose I had come here as a lover of your country and as a preacher of the Gospel, and with no wish to indulge but under the peculiar stimulation of your climate, and being greatly fatigued or exhausted, what would become of any little influence that I might have? I will tell you a fact that happened in connection with me, which I can not but think of with a great deal of interest. There are a good many young men here, and it may be useful to them. There were two young men in a town which I very well know, members of a debating society, and they frequently discussed subjects bordering on infidelity; in fact, it was thought to be a sort of an infidel club. These two young men were thoughtful and intelligent, and took a prominent part in the discussions. One of them was a teetotaler and the other was not. The teetotaler was a member of a Quaker family, and he used to ask his companion to be an abstainer, but he declined. By and by, the non-abstainer, who never indulged to excess (I do not think that he was ever drunk in his life), went to London and became connected with a large wholesale house. He began to frequent places of questionable resort—places where there is singing, dancing, and amusements not always of the best character, associated with drink. I know of no places of amusement so perilous as those that unite drinking with other things. Drinking tends

to excite the bodily passions, and to lower the moral principle; and in those circumstances, when the moral principle is lowered and the animal propensities excited, to have things that stimulate the lower faculties when the conscience is not there to act its part, is a subtle contrivance of the enemy of souls. This young man went to these places, and was in great danger of being hurled into ruin. About that time, a friend came up from the country on the occasion of a great temperance convention, and met him in the street and said, "Come to this great temperance convention; here is a half-crown ticket for a reserved seat." He accepted the ticket, and said to himself, "I will go, and amuse myself by drawing caricatures of the speakers." He went, and listened to various physiological arguments to show that a man would be better and stronger for drinking cold water. He wanted to win a swimming-prize, and remarked, "If these arguments are correct, I will have a good chance." So he tried it for a couple of months. The time came on for the contest, and he won the prize easily. He was so pleased at the success of the experiment, that he determined to sign the pledge. His parents were very anxious that he should become an abstainer, and had made special prayer for him for some time, that he might become temperate. He arrived in the coach at the place where his parents resided, and, instead of going directly there, he went to the temperance room and told the secretary (whose windows he had broken some time before that in a frolic) that he wanted to sign the pledge. The secretary thought he did not mean it; but he signed his name and went home. His parents said they were afraid he was not coming, as the coach had been in half an hour. To their utter astonishment, he said

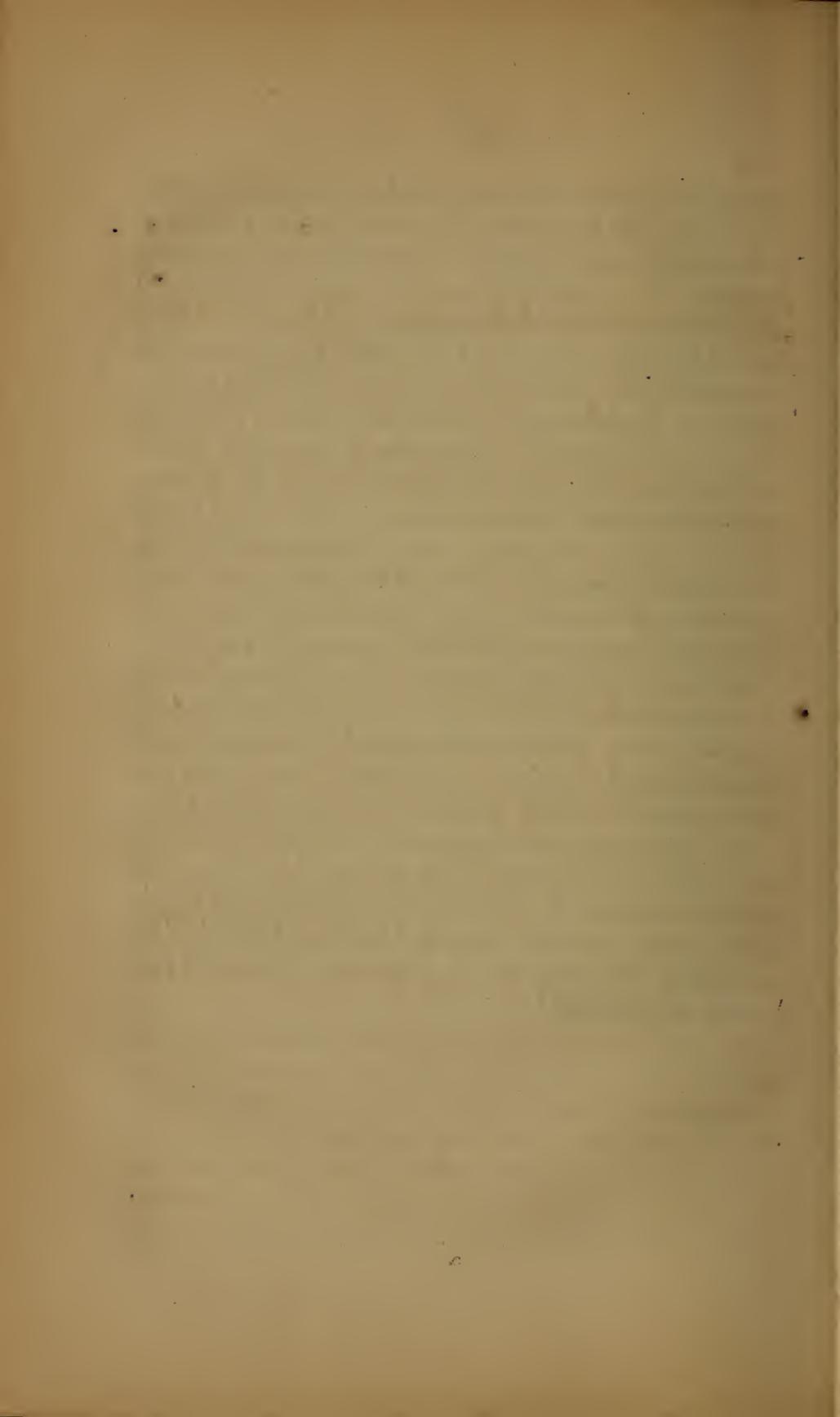
he had been to sign the pledge. Oh! what joy and thankfulness were there. And yet, he was only a teetotaler on the ground of physical benefit. He returned to London; and when he went to his old haunts of pleasure and asked for a bottle of ginger-beer, and things were sung, with a modesty which every young man ought to feel who has a mother and a sister and may have a wife, when his companions laughed and looked at him, he was perfectly calm, and looked vexed. He was no longer a fit companion for them, because he would not laugh at their vulgarisms and join them in drinking. When the time for the Sunday spree came, he was laughed at because he was a teetotaler. It should be recollected that they were not drunkards—they only took a little. Therefore, on Sunday mornings he had nothing to do. He took down the Bible his mother had given him, which he had not opened for some time; thought he would go to a place of worship; he went, and the gospel preached entered his heart. He became converted, and united with the church. He then became zealous in the Sunday-school, and founded a Band of Hope in it. Subsequently, he entered business for himself, and devoted so much of his time to preaching in the streets, going about doing good on Sundays and other days, that it was suggested to him that he ought to give up his prospects in business, which were very good, and devote himself to that which evidently his heart was most bent. He did so; and he is now a most useful, energetic minister of the Gospel, working teetotalism along with religion. You will not be surprised, my dear friends, at any love I have for the cause of temperance when I tell you that I had the privilege of giving that half-crown ticket, and that he to whom I

gave it is my own brother. What happened to the other young man? He was a teetotaler, and went to London. He became intemperate in order that he might go to places of sinful amusement and indulgence. He went from bad to worse, became diseased in body and soul through his career of dissipation, and went home to die. In utter despair, he sent for his former companion, my brother, to come and see him. There they were together: the one, by giving up teetotalism, was dying a premature death; and the other, who, by embracing teetotalism, had become a true Christian. He watched him day by day, and poured into his ears the glorious Gospel news of forgiveness for the worst of sinners. Before that companion died, he had the happiness of receiving the assurance that he rested on Christ as his Saviour.

One word more, and I have done. Some time ago I was wandering on the mountains of Westmoreland. I am very fond of a little pedestrian work. I am turned forty-five, and yet I can walk thirty miles in a day without any trouble. I walked forty miles one day about three years ago. There is nothing I enjoy better than putting on a knapsack and taking a good stout stick, and having a week's walking over the mountains. I could not do it if I was not a teetotaler. I was having one of these rambles over the mountains of Cumberland. I had slept at a farmer's house the night before, and proceeded on my way; and just as I was reaching the top of the mountain, I heard a little lamb's voice. It cried in such a manner that I never heard lamb bleat like it before. It seemed to say, as plain as words could speak, "Help me, pity me, save me." Poor little thing! I thought. It came up

to me. I sat down on the grass, and it came right up to me. I could see it was half-starved. Its skin was hanging on its bare bones. There it stood looking at me, putting its face almost into mine, and repeating its cry, "Help me, pity me, save me." So it seemed to me. I took it in my arms. I thought: Its mother has forsaken it; there is an old sheep out there—perhaps that is it. I took it toward the old sheep; it moved away. I put down the little lamb, but the old sheep walked off, and the little lamb ran back to me with its sad cry. I took it toward another sheep, and put it down where there were some high ferns, so that it could not get back to me. I hid myself, thinking that the lamb would run back to its mother. The old sheep moved away, and the little lamb stood in the midst of the thicket, crying, "Help me, pity me, save me." I was obliged to go back and take it in my arms. I said to myself: It won't do for me to go off with it, and it is several miles before I come to another house. It did once occur to me that if I met the shepherd I might not be able to persuade him that it was benevolence that led me to walk off with one of his flock. I felt I could not leave it to perish. It had implored me to help it, and it would continue to cry in my ear. I sat down with it in my arms, on the top of the mountain, wondering what I would do. I saw, down in the valley, something moving up the mountain-side. By and by I saw it was a man, and it soon came nearer. I saw it was a friend, who followed me with some letters. I showed him the little lamb. He said, "When pasture is scarce, the mothers will sometimes forsake them. Poor little thing! It will be dead in a few hours. I know whose it is. I will give it some milk,

and it will be all right. It would have been soon dead if you had not found it." He took it in his arms, and put its head underneath his shoulder, and it ceased crying. He, a big fellow six feet high, walked down the mountain with this little thing in his arms. Who would but have thought of that lovely representation of our Saviour, "He shall feed his flock like a shepherd; he shall gather the lambs in his arms, and carry them in his bosom?" I thought if I, a poor, fallen, selfish man, had such sympathy and pity for a poor, half-starved lamb that I could not leave it to perish when it came and asked me to help it, would Jesus, the Fountain and the Creator of all that is tender, if any poor little lamb, if any poor, wandering sheep, wounded, bleeding, and dying, comes to Him and says, "Jesus, help me, pity me, save me, or I perish," would He reject such a sinner? He never did, he never will, he never can. A little while after, I was going in that direction, and I asked my friend, "How about my little lamb?" "Oh," said he, "it's all right; it is now the fattest and strongest of the whole flock." And how often a poor, wandering drunkard, coming home to Jesus, the Good Shepherd, has become one of the most useful members in the Church of God! God grant, by his mercy, that it may be so with some poor wanderer to-night?



Missions to the Masses.

LECTURE DELIVERED AT THE COOPER INSTITUTE,
NEW YORK,

FRIDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 15, 1867.

Dr. HALL spoke as follows :

Mr. President and Ladies and Gentlemen—I may say dear friends, for I feel to be very familiar now with America. [Applause.] And the kindness which I have received both in public and private, warrants me addressing you as dear brethren. I have been requested to speak to you to-night in connection with town mission work, and of general operations to promote the welfare, social as well as spiritual, of the great masses of the people.

I have seen very many things which have delighted and amazed me during my visit, but I have seen nothing which has delighted me more than the great exertions which are made amongst Americans to promote the welfare of the people at large. Wherever I have gone, I have seen schools and churches side by

side. Where the population is very sparse, and where but few houses are clustered, there is the school-house and the house of prayer. The missionary and the teacher have been everywhere, and christian congregations are planted as amongst the very first institutions in any new locality.

It is not for me to say one word to Americans with reference to general education. I am bound to admit that America, the daughter, far surpasses England, the mother, in reference to the education of the people at large. [Applause.] We have no system of general education; we are dreadfully sectarian. Dissenters in England have made a great mistake, and I amongst them, in considering that a system of education involved the very same principle as a State system of religion; but as non-conformists in Great Britain decidedly opposed a State endowment of religion, they felt called upon to oppose a State endowment for the support of education. I think they were mistaken. There is no necessary connection between the two principles. It seems to me now that the government that is responsible for the good behavior of the people, and that taxes the community at large for repressing crime and punishing it, should tax the community at large for that education which is a prevention far better than cure. It seems to me that all parties in a community of different denominations and sections may concur in this one thing—to provide a good sound education for the people at large. We have not got it. We have Parliamentary grants for education; but these grants are used, for the most part, sectarianally. There is a Methodist school and some few Parish schools, more or less sectional; but

secular teaching is done very partially, and not free; for in those schools aided by government, for the most part, children have to pay two pence and three pence a week. Neither do we carry on our education for the poor to such an extent as you do. I have nothing to say to America about secular education. I have a great deal to say when I return about what Americans are doing, and how we ought to imitate the daughter.

I have nothing to say to you in reference to Young Men's Christian Associations. I do not know but the idea began with us; but it has been developed by you far surpassing anything that I am acquainted with in Great Britain. I was as far west as Chicago; but your country is so enormously large, when one thinks he is going west he is only east still. In Chicago I saw a Young Men's Institution about to be opened, surpassing anything that we have in London or any of our large cities. I must say, too, I very heartily approve of the various subsidiary efforts put forth for providing young men with a comfortable home, attracting them from evil places of resort in the evening, and giving them innocent recreation as well as providing them with spiritual instruction.

I do not know that I have anything to say to you with reference to town missions. I have been conducted under the guidance of Mr. MINGINS, your most zealous, intelligent, and devoted agent in this respect, to several of your districts. I have looked at that very beautiful district chapel (place of worship) which is on the point of completion, capable of accommodating seven hundred people, and yet so constructed that it can be divided into several rooms during the day. I have examined into the principle which animates

your mission, and I must say that your plan far surpasses anything we have got hold of yet, viz., paying a few thoroughly efficient men at a respectable salary, rather than giving a very small salary to people who have very small ability to show for it. The masses want intelligent men in these positions, and they are able to appreciate it as well as those in more favored positions in society. I very much approve of having mission chapels in the first instance, and then, as soon as possible, have those congregations self-supporting. We have our city missions in London, but they are not carried on in the same way. We employ several hundred city missionaries, but they are not encouraged to preach. Their principal business is to go from house to house, and visit the families in the district. They do not often meet with men, for they are at their work, and men are not at all times very much pleased to have those missionaries visit at their homes. The missionaries are not encouraged to hold meetings or to preach, for that would be an invasion of the parochial system. The city mission is conducted on the principle of pleasing an association of managers of various sections of the christian church, including Episcopalians, who would not look with favor upon city missionaries gathering separate congregations in their territorial parishes. Thus we do not see much resulting from their labors. Undoubtedly, through the efforts of the missionaries, individuals are brought to different places of worship, and children are gathered together in schools; but we should like to see good done on a wider scale. Your principle, I repeat, is better than the one which we have adopted. I need not say anything to you with reference to planting

christian churches. You are not troubled with the incubus of a religious establishment. The more I see of the working of freedom in America, the more thoroughly I am persuaded of the truth of the convictions that I have cherished for many years, viz., that religion flourishes far better under freedom than under an endowment by the government. Instead of any particular church being strengthened by State endowment and State patronage, it is weakened. It would be better for any church establishment to be dis-established; for the internal voluntary energy of the people is repressed by the idea that government supports their church, and they feel they need not support it themselves when it is done for them. I am persuaded that in our country there is a vast amount of religious energy and religious generosity discouraged, that would manifest itself to a degree which would surprise the members of the established church, the moment they were released from State patronage; they would be astounded at their own prosperity. I have seen in your country how you extend your churches; how in every direction you plant new organizations; and how, in this city of New York for example, you abound in beautiful and capacious places of worship. Therefore not for the purpose of exhorting you to work amongst the masses do I presume to stand before you to-night, but I appear before a community already interested in the subject, and already manifesting zeal and energy in its prosecution. It is not for me to say anything with reference to what might yet be done by you in America. My knowledge of your country is so slight, and my experience nothing at all, that it would be impertinence in me to

say anything to you on that point. What I am able to do is what I suppose you would prefer me to do, viz., to give you some account of what is done in the old country ; so that whatever there is about it injudicious you may avoid, and if there should be anything in it that strikes you as worthy of imitation which you have not already in operation, you may note it down as we pass.

I may say that there is nothing more important, politically, than the education of the masses of the people, and in a thorough education of the masses of the people, we must include, not only the secular instruction which is given in common schools, but the promotion of their morality and religion. The stability of any nation, is the virtue of the people composing it. It matters not what may be the form of the government, that nation cannot be in a healthy state, that empire cannot be on an enduring basis, where the people are not educated in this highest and truest sense. Righteousness is the stability of any time ; virtue is at the foundation of any and of every system. You may call a government monarchical, despotic, aristocratical, or republican, it matters not, let the people themselves not be virtuous and good, and no form of government whatever will maintain a nation. Perhaps the old forms of monarchy and aristocracy—if you might indulge me with such an idea—are the best, supposing the people are not educated, elevated, and moral. Perhaps there may be something in those old forms—not in their adoption apart from their antiquity, but tracing them down from many generations, there may be something in them, that might tend to keep up a show of life and strength in a nation in the absence of

real goodness on the part of the people. I am persuaded, however, that the more a government approaches to a true republic, the more the people are included in the basis of government, the more essential it is that they should be educated, moral, and righteous. [Applause.] We have lately extended the suffrage in our own country, and with every extension of political privileges, it must be felt that it is increasingly important, politically, to extend efforts for the educational, social, and religious elevation of the people; so that they may be in the highest sense fitted to discharge those solemn obligations which a free constitution lays upon them. Sure I am of this, that it is most essential for America, as well as Great Britain, that the great masses of the people should be preserved from ignorance and vice. I am convinced that it is not possible for Americans to do anything more immediately bearing upon the greatness, the extension, and the permanence of their empire, than to engage in such missions to the masses as I am about to advocate and illustrate to-night. [Renewed applause.]

In most of our large towns in England we have city missions, but I fear that there is a general distrust arising in regard to the operations of these city missions. Many of the agents do not seem to be the best adapted for their work. The fact is, our city missionaries are paid very poor salaries, consequently a very inferior set of men very often offer themselves; sometimes men who are unable to do anything at any other business, and they are not encouraged to preach. There is nothing set before them in the way of a legitimate ambition, and it is very much feared, that in many quarters, our city missions are not doing as much as

they ought to do. To supplement them, an institution has lately been commenced, called "The Institution of Bible Women." These Bible women are much more useful than men missionaries—at any rate, in the course of the day. Generally it is the women who are at home during the day, when the visits take place, and it is more appropriate for these women to talk to the wives of the workingmen in their absence, in a friendly way, about their domestic concerns, and read to them the scriptures. Many of these Bible women are persons of rare piety and intelligence, and very well fitted for their work. They are generally received with the greatest kindness, although they penetrate into the very worst parts of London. I happen to know several of them personally, and they tell me that they are generally received with very great kindness, even by the roughest and wildest people. The work of Sunday-schools is carried on very extensively in Great Britain. There is not a church of any degree of activity and life which has not its Sunday-school. Especially is the Sunday-school in vogue amongst the free churches. They are now opened in the Established Church, in some measure, but they are conducted in a more zealous manner amongst the free churches, which do not found so many day schools as the Established Church, that denomination absorbing nearly the entire parliamentary grant for education. In the church I have the honor of presiding over, we have a large school establishment—thirteen Sunday-schools, comprehending five thousand children and four hundred and fifty teachers. The neighborhood is very extensive, and is occupied almost entirely by people of the very poorest description. It is almost entirely the

children of the poor who go to Sunday-school, and many of these have no other means of education than that which is provided there. Many of the children are occupied in various ways during the week in helping their parents to get a living. Our school system I compare sometimes to the United States. Every separate school has its State rights—its Governor and Secretary of State (its Superintendent and Secretary), and its State Legislature (its Central Committee). Each school sends its Superintendent as a delegate to the Central Committee, which meets at the church to manage the federal affairs of the Union Sunday-school. Twice a year we collect all the children, or as many as we can crowd into our church, where we have services entirely for them on a Sunday afternoon. I assure you it is a most interesting sight to witness three thousand five hundred children participating in a service in which there is a good deal of singing, the answering of questions, and two or three familiar addresses. I have each school rise in turn, and after asking them a few questions, they sit down. Then I call up another school, till I find they have all passed muster, whereupon we have a service more in common. Some of these are Sunday-evening ragged schools. Many of the children have not fit clothes to come in the morning. They would be ashamed to come and would not, so that we open some of our schools in the evening. These children are the city Arabs of London, and are engaged in various ways, and the only education many of them get is two hours teaching on Sunday night. It is a laborious task for young ladies and gentlemen to teach these children, who are necessarily crowded in small rooms. Many of the children are very dirty, and

some very rude and disposed to play all sorts of tricks. For instance, a friend of mine was at one of these schools, when a boy actually had the impudence to put some oil into his hat, so that when he came to put it on his head, the oil went down on his face. Sometimes in the middle of an address, some of these young rascals will tumble head over heels up and down the school, and jump over the benches. The only way is to be very good-natured with them, and the good behaviour of the rest, generally preserves order; but there are these sundry ebullitions that have to be borne with for the sake of doing these poor children good. But so sharp are these poor things who are about the streets all the week, that many of them will learn to read simply from what instruction they receive during the two hours on Sunday, half an hour of which is occupied in delivering an address and in devotional exercises. You must allow me to make reference to the church with which I am personally acquainted. I have so much to do in connection with my own district, that I have little personal attention to give elsewhere.

We have a system of visitation to lodging-houses, of which there are a very large number of the lowest class. We have them on a large scale, and the persons who lodge in them, follow all sorts of avocations, from hawking matches to exhibiting sham wooden legs. On a Sunday night they are gathered together in a great kitchen, which is common to them all. A number of our young men go forth two and two to these lodging-houses. They find people frying their bacon, preparing potatoes, and doing other culinary processes, while some sit around the fire smoking. The young men

will say, "We have come to see you; let us sing a hymn." Perhaps the two have it to themselves; then they hand out papers, and sing again. "Come, let us have a few verses of the Bible," says one of the young men, who proceeds to read, after which, another one will interest them with anecdotes, and offer prayer. This service occupies about three-quarters of an hour, during which the people still go on cooking and preparing their food. In this way the very lowest of the population, who would not go to church, and who would not go out of the lodging-house to any meeting, have the gospel brought to them; and they receive our missionaries with great respect. It often happens that persons are induced to become total abstainers, sign the pledge, and go to the house of God. A great deal of spiritual good is traced to this exercise, in going down to the bottom in order to lift up those that are lowest higher. Then, in connection with these visits, we have entertainments in the school-room, near some of these lodging-houses, on which occasions we provide tea. Some friends come to sing, and bring a piano with them, so as to have a sort of a concert. Then we get out to the lodging-houses and give the "ladies and gentlemen" an invitation to an evening party. I assure you it is very interesting to see these people coming, and they enjoy such gatherings very much. They feel more kindly disposed towards those who come on Sunday to do them spiritual good, and accept tracts and good books. In this way we endeavor to lay hold of the very lowest masses of the people. But it must be confessed, that in England a large number of people are alienated from the church. I do not say necessarily alienated from religion, but they are

alienated from the church organizations of the day. We have made investigations in the case of many neighborhoods and workshops. It has been stated, and I think with some approach to truth, that not above three skilled artisans in each workshop are regular attendants at a place of worship. This may not be the case in country districts and in small towns, but I am speaking of London and of large towns. I think that not five in a hundred of skilled artisans (I am not speaking of the very poorest, but of carpenters, tailors, and compositors) are regular attendants at places of worship. We were very much impressed with this fact, and some little time ago thought it would be a good thing to invite a conference between representative men of the artisan class and representative men of the churches, to freely talk over the question; and for us, on our part, to ask the working-men, why it was that their class alienated themselves so much from our existing religious institutions? Everybody had been saying, for years, that they could not reach the working-men; and some of us thought we could reach them by inviting the working classes to give their testimony that we might hear what they had to say, so as to enable us to improve our methods and correct some of the misapprehensions of our artisan friends. After a good deal of preparation, so that the experiment might be as effective as possible, we held a large conference last winter in a central part of London throughout the whole of one day. Influential clergy and laymen of the different churches, including the Established Church, were assembled, together with large numbers of representative working-men, many of whom had great intelligence. We said to them, "We

have our church organizations, but we do not see you amongst us as we would like. Do tell us plainly what it is that keeps you from the house of God, for we have a simple desire to do you good." These men accepted the invitation, and in the most frank manner told us what it was in them and their class, that deterred them from attending our places of worship. Some of them said that they were skeptical as to the truth of christianity. They had evidently read Colenso. Any one who thought that the working classes were not intelligent, might have been surprised at what they stated, for they were well versed in many of the controversies of the day, and knew the criticisms which had been so freely passed upon the Old Testament and upon certain parts of the New. It has generally been thought that infidelity has kept the working classes of our country out of the house of God, but I very much question whether this is the case. I do not think that there is much theoretical skepticism amongst the working classes of Great Britain. There is a good deal of practical infidelity everywhere; but I do not think that theoretical skepticism exists to a very great degree. There have been infidel halls, where discussions of a skeptical character have been carried on, but one after another has been given up. They have not been able to "run" them, as you would say here, for the supplies have failed. I have been asked once or twice to go and discuss with them, but I knew perfectly well that the object was to advertise, that on a certain night there would be a discussion. Then they would charge for admission, and this would help their funds; so that I have always declined to go and have a set night of debate on those terms. But I

have gone, accidentally, as it might appear, to their ordinary convocations, and have very much enjoyed meeting with them and having a word to say in connection with some of their discussions. Some time ago, for example (and this will illustrate what I mean when I say that there is not very strong theoretical skepticism in the minds of working-men), one Sunday afternoon, while strolling about to see what I could for the purpose of improving my ministry and adapting myself to the wants of the day, I went into an infidel hall, where discussions were held every Sunday afternoon. As I entered, I was very much pleased to find that that large company of working-men gave me a hearty cheer. A gentleman was speaking, who was telling the company that he had been a student of the Bible all his life, and that he had come to the deliberate conviction that the Bible was a tissue of fables and falsehoods. He went through a series of proofs to this effect. He said, for example, "The Bible calls upon us to believe, on pain of damnation, that there are not three incomprehensibles but One, and not three persons but One," and it was very uncharitable for the Bible to call upon them to believe what they could not understand. He went on to say that it was a very cruel Bible which stated that, a man spoken of in the Old Testament, when he was placed in certain circumstances, had to have a hole punched through his ear, and this was driven into the door; and that piece of cruelty was professedly ordered by Divine authority. Moreover, he said, the very wisest man recorded in the Bible had admitted that there was no truth in religion, for one event happened to beasts as well as to man, and therefore it was no use of being religious. He

also went on to show how cruel it was that God should be a promoter of lies and injure people through lying; that we were told in the Bible that God sent lying spirits into the prophets for the sake of misleading the people. "Therefore," he said, "having studied the Bible all these years, I have come to the conclusion that there is no truth whatever in it." The rule was that every one should have ten minutes. After he sat down I walked up to the desk and took my stand amongst the infidels. They were very much pleased, and treated me with great respect, for they thought I was "plucky," and as I rose to reply, they greeted me with cheers. I said, "You have a gentleman here who has been a student of the Bible for twenty years, and he has come to instruct you out of this book. He begins by quoting a book of very great antiquity and excellence, but it so happens that the quotation he cited is not in that book, and therefore I shall not refer to the quotation, except to say, that this 'student of the Bible for twenty years,' quotes a passage which is not in the Bible. We will pass on to his next criticism. He says that it was very cruel, as stated in the Old Testament, that a man should be required to have his ear punched with an awl against the door-post. Gentlemen," said I, "you know perfectly well that your wives and daughters have their ears punched very often, so that there can be no particular cruelty about that. [Laughter.] Then as to the very wise man who admitted that one event happened to the beast as to the man, and therefore it was not worth while being religious, the gentleman forgot to tell you that this was a confession of a converted atheist. He is telling us what he used to think after he

retracted. He says, 'Hear the conclusion of the whole matter: Fear God and keep his commandments; for this is the whole duty of man.' Then, as to the lying spirit sent into the mouths of the prophets, why," said I, "gentlemen, when God sees that people are determined to go wrong, he sometimes punishes them in letting them depart from the right way. If the Israelites were determined to listen to false prophets, God would not interfere. Be sure that you have not the prophecy fulfilled in your own experience, by listening to lying prophets." [Great laughter.] Do you know they gave me three good cheers, they were so uncommonly pleased; and a gentleman rose and proposed that I should have double time, for my ten minutes had expired. So I went on for another ten minutes. But I forgot to say, when I first commenced addressing them I remarked, "Gentlemen, you are all here at what is called an infidel hall; many of you are husbands and fathers; and I do not believe that you mean to throw the good old book that you received from your parents overboard, have your children disobey it, and you declare yourselves to be infidels. I believe, on the contrary, you are here to listen to both sides. You have troubles in your mind about it, and you wish the Bible to be true." That sentiment was taken up with fervor, and my experience has convinced me, that if you treat those persons who attend infidel discussions in a candid and generous manner they will receive you with kindness. Instead of occupying my second ten minutes in talking about difficulties and objections, I began to speak of the Carpenter of Nazareth, how he was a workman, how he toiled till thirty years of age, and earned his food by the sweat

of his brow, how he dignified labor, and how, if mankind only obeyed his laws, we should form a grand socialism and brotherhood all over the world! I further said that no man denounced oppression, tyranny and hypocrisy in high quarters as Jesus did; and that if we only loved other people as we loved ourselves, and tried to promote kindness amongst one another, this would be a happy place. I went on to say, how Jesus would mitigate the deep sorrows of the heart, how he became the great sacrifice for sin, and that he would lead us to another and better world. When my ten minutes expired, they responded thankfully to the short sermon which I preached them. I am convinced that those people who seem averse to religion are not so prejudiced against the truths of the gospel, as they are against our organizations, and way of presenting them.

Some of the working-men at this conference referred to political reasons for their opposition to religion. They quoted some abuses of the Establishment, saying, "Some of the Bishops are paid by the government fifteen thousand pounds sterling a year and live in palaces while some of their clergy are almost starving." They spoke of the sale of livings, which, I am sorry to say, is a matter of common occurrence. You will see livings advertised, the prices of which rise in proportion as the population diminishes. There are such advertisements as this: "Only three hundred in the parish; income twelve hundred a year." They quote such notices, and nobody can defend them. Good men in the Episcopal church mourn over this abuse, and there is a great movement going on amongst the godly in the Established Church to do away with this disgrace. The

Bishops have seats in the House of Lords, and it is a fact that hereditary legislators have always been disposed to oppose great popular reforms. This has generated a spirit of alienation in the minds of the masses, and of the reformers and radicals, who do not limit their prejudice to the Establishment, but include all religious denominations. Many of our working-men say, "Religion is only a political scheme; it is worked by the government, and is designed to keep down the people. We know what priest-craft and king-craft have always done together, and we will have nothing to do with religion." Then a feeling of injustice is cherished by all intelligent working people against the Established Church in *Ireland*, where there are nine Roman Catholics to one Protestant, all of whom are taxed to support the Establishment. This wrong they attribute to religion, instead of to the false policy of the church. Then the exacting church rates, where the whole community is taxed for the support of the incidental expenses of worship of one denomination, produces a feeling of injustice. Persons who are not favorably disposed towards religion, are not likely to be won by having first to pay in order to be converted afterwards.

Another objection pretty commonly adduced by these persons for not attending church is, that parsons are paid for preaching. I have often talked to large assemblies of working-men on the subject, and it is evident that the more intelligent of them think nothing of this objection. I had the pleasure of preaching early one morning before breakfast, in a large factory connected with one of our railways, to the men employed in the machinery department at Rugby. They sit

around in all sorts of places and eat their breakfasts out of tin cans; and if any clergyman comes to town from a distance, they are sure to ask him to give them a sermon. It is extremely interesting to see several hundred men with dirty hands and faces going on with their breakfast, while the preacher stands upon a pile of iron preaching. He must not lose a moment, for when the half hour expires these men must go to their work. I was advised of the objection made against ministers receiving pay for their services, and said, "Those rails are shockingly made; they are certain to break when the engine goes over them, and the train will be badly smashed." The men did not like it, and thought I was criticising them in an unseemly manner. I said, "Of course these rails are bad, because you were paid for making them." They saw the point I wanted to make, and had a very good laugh over it. I told them of a friend of mine who was preaching out of doors when a man in the crowd cried out, "Halloa, parson! you are paid for it." "Yes, my friend," he replied, "and like an honest working-man, I am doing my work." I told them that I was riding on an omnibus one day in London and began to talk with the driver about religious subjects; I was afraid that he never heard a sermon on Sunday, and thought I would lead him to think about God. He said, "It is all very well for you to talk, but it is your trade." "Yes, it is, and a very good trade too. Driving an omnibus is your trade." "Yes." "Do you charge people for riding in it?" "Yes." "Suppose you didn't, what then?" "My employer would soon discharge me if I did not make them pay." "You are driving me to the Bank of England and I shall pay you for it. I am driving an omnibus to

the kingdom of heaven and I want to take you along with me, and you need not pay a farthing." I said to those railroad men, "Suppose you made the proposal to one of your fellow-workmen who could earn five shillings a day, 'If you will read the newspaper for us, we will pay you for doing so.'" If he read you a good article, you would not say to him 'that is not a fine article because you are paid for reading it.' So, if the preacher ceases to work at other things to instruct you, he ought to be paid."

At this convention the men said they did not go to church because they had no seats. I think that seats should be provided at a price within the means of poor men. I don't like a church full of rich men alone and another filled exclusively with poor men; for poor men do not like to be classed as poor and put into poorer seats. The payment should be small, however, which may be much greater in their case than the large sum paid by rich men. They should feel that they had as much right to their pew as the rich man to his.

Some said at this conference, "You have such a lot of sects, we do not know which to belong to." It is a lamentable thing that the differences of the christian church should be magnified in appearance beyond what they really are. When the working-men see places of worship called, "Baptist chapel," "Methodist chapel," "Primitive Methodist chapel," "Reformed Methodist chapel," and "Congregational chapel," they think that there are so many different religions; whereas, if you were to enter them, you would hear substantially the same gospel. I think our business should be to come together and not keep distant from one another. I hope to see the day when all Wesleyans will form one

Wesleyan church, all Presbyterians one church, and when Baptists and Congregationalists, who are one in doctrine and church government, shall be one church. When this takes place, although christians may not worship together, or have the same outward organization, they will, nevertheless, have inter-communion with one another, and the world will see that the followers of Christ are no more at variance than different regiments in the same army, each carrying their own regimental standard, but all bearing the same national colors.

Some of the members of this conference said, "The reason why we don't go to church is, we have no time for a religious life." That is only a subterfuge. I have often addressed working-men on this subject, and said, "You are not required to give up your time, but to give up your hearts to God, who does not exact of anybody beyond his ability to perform." When a man is very much pressed with toil, he is not expected to spend hours upon his knees, nor is he required to read just so many chapters in the Bible. He may be compelled to rise in the middle of the night to go to his work, and only have a minute or two for prayer, but all the day he may be communing with God. I now recall the case of little Polly, three years old, who was going into bed one night without saying her prayers. The lady attending her said, "Little Polly must say her prayers." She got out of her crib and proceeded thus: "Please, God, remember what Polly said last night, she is too tired to-night. Amen." I call that a first-rate prayer. Working-men must be instructed that religion does not consist in giving several hours of each day to reading religious books and

engaging in devotional exercises, but that they may make their whole work worship if they will only give their hearts to God ; that while they are employed about their necessary avocations, they may be serving God all the time. Not long before I came away a very interesting circumstance occurred, illustrating how God may be served in the midst of work. A man called upon me, desiring to become a member of my church. I asked him the means by which he was led to Christ, and he proceeded to give me an interesting account of his conversion. There is a factory very near my church where they make steam-engines, and the noise, by the way, in these boiler-factories is extreme. This man and a fellow-workman were inside of a large cylinder which they were making, both of them hammering away, when for some reason or other there was a pause in the work. They had to wait some time, he said, and while waiting his mate took a little hymn-book out of his pocket and began to sing a hymn. My informant remarked that all at once he remembered when he was at Sunday school he used to sing that very hymn to the same tune, and it went to his heart. He was very miserable ; and his companion, seeing that it affected him, began to talk to him, and implored him to give his heart to God, and then proposed prayer. "We kneeled down in that boiler," continued the man, "and while the hammering was going on in the factory, we prayed and I gave my heart to God, and now I have come to join the church." That is an illustration of what may be done by working-men as missionaries to the masses, even in the midst of the tumult of their daily labor.

Another reason which was assigned by the working-

men at the convention already referred to for not attending church was, that the service was so dull and unsuited to them. I thought there was something in that objection. A service that is appropriate for a congregation of intelligent christian people, cannot be appropriate to persons who are not yet christians. The beautiful service of the Episcopal church, which I use myself, I believe to be admirably adapted to a religious congregation and to spiritually-minded people. It takes us about an hour to pray, sing, read the scriptures, and respond to the psalms. For such an exercise to be profitable it must be participated in by persons who are in a course of religious training, and who love worship for its own sake. A person who does not love to pray would feel it tedious to engage in such a service as this; and what he would consider a long prayer, would not be thought lengthy by those who love devotional exercises. It is scarcely possible for a minister to present to God the various petitions required by a large congregation, in less than twenty minutes. If an individual entered the church who did not know anything about practical devotion, he would not be likely to feel the exercise attractive if compelled to listen to such a lengthy prayer.

The representatives at the convention said, "Your sermons are so dry and dull." Of course it is not so in America. [Laughter.] Some of our sermons at home are very dull things. If a barrister were to plead with a jury in the same way that some of our ministers plead with their congregations, they would certainly lose their verdict, and would not get another brief. If our members of Parliament were to speak in the same way that some of our preachers preach,

they would be talked down and fail to get the ear of the house again. If a candidate who wanted to be returned to Parliament were to address a multitude from the hustings as some of our preachers speak to their congregations, he would not be likely to get a vote. People are constantly listening to good speaking in public meetings, and they are accustomed to it; they are reading short and racy articles in the penny newspapers day by day—articles not having long prefaces, but coming right to the point, and saying a good deal in a short time. So that, when the working people come to hear a respectable gentleman in the pulpit read for some time before he comes to the subject, and go on with his “firstly, secondly, thirdly, fourthly, and now to finally conclude,” there is a sense of unreality produced. They hear words of a technical character, and do not know the meaning of them. We theologians are apt to use our grand terms as if we were preaching to persons versed in theology, and not to working people. We ought to improve this state of things; not that we should make the worship of the church less intelligent and devout than is required by enlightened christian congregations, but when we go out as missionaries to the masses we should provide something that is attractive, lively, and short, rather than an elaborate system of worship, which would not be so likely to impress and benefit them. They should be spoken to in the way they are addressed upon any other matter, with earnestness, fervor, and simplicity, and in that manner they may be brought forward until they rejoice in the more cultivated worship of the church itself.

Another objection amongst workingmen to the

house of God is the tyranny which the workingmen themselves exercise over each other. I have often said to them, "You know I am a lover of freedom and a hater of despotism, and of all the despotisms in the world, the vilest is that which those who complain of despotism exercise over one another; and you workingmen are sometimes dreadful despots to one another. You have a right to combine if you like and sell your labor for any sum you choose to ask for it, but you have no business to compel your neighbor to join your association, and if he refuse to do so, to deprive him of the means of livelihood. Nor have you any business to persecute people because of their religious opinions and sneer at your companions because they become "Methodists." Some of the workingmen of England are great cowards in this respect, and are afraid of being laughed at if they should attend the house of God.

Some of the working classes say, "We have not sympathy amongst the church-goers." There is a good deal of truth in that. The masses of the people do not want charity but sympathy. It is all very well to help them when they need assistance, but they will value sympathy much more than charity. There is no real charity without sympathy. Christian people often subscribe to charities while they fail to let the recipients of their gifts feel the loving hand. The rich people of London live in the suburbs, and the poor are left to themselves; this does the rich people harm. If you rich New Yorkers go to live near the Central Park and leave the poor by themselves, you will be doing yourselves an injury. Although you may subscribe to your missionary societies, which is a very necessary duty,

yet these benefactions should not supercede personal effort, the reflex influence of which will conduce to the development of your moral nature. You should sit down by poor children and teach them, and visit the sick and say kind words to them. This would do a great deal towards removing the alienation existing between the poor and the rich, and assist in allaying the prejudice which the former class entertain against religion. There seems to be a great gap between the ordinary religious services of the church and the poor masses of the people.

We have opened our theaters and public halls for service on Sunday; and we find that multitudes of people who would not go to church will visit St. James and Exeter Halls and the Britannia theater to hear a sermon. People go out of curiosity, and multitudes are converted in these places who become members of churches. I have often been grieved to think how the devil keeps his temples open all the week and the Christian church only opens hers once in that time. Most of the churches are shut up week evenings and meetings are held in obscure rooms. We imagined that the great God would not be very much displeased if we opened the church on a week night for the reception of some of his poor wandering children; and therefore we opened it for a secular meeting on Monday nights. The first lecture delivered there was on Garibaldi. Since then we have had lectures on other topics. The choir and organist furnish music. I open the meeting at 8½ o'clock by offering a short prayer of three minutes, and request the people to join in vocal response to the Lord's prayer; then I propose some gentleman of rank as chairman, for our people are

very fond of seeing distinguished men in the chair ; and after a pleasant speech from the presiding officer, we have a lecture on chemistry, or travels, or biography, or history, or else readings from the poets and the exhibition of a magic lantern, closing with the doxology. My church is crammed every Monday night by working-men and their families six months in the year, and hundreds enjoy these entertainments who would otherwise be in the public house. They thus receive culture and are brought under moral and religious influences, and by and by many of them go on Sunday to various places of worship to hear the preaching of the Gospel.

Another method of reaching the multitude is open air preaching. In London people have the habit of listening to anything. Whatever rubbish is said earnestly, they will stop and listen to it. If a person is speaking good sense, they will not only stop and hear what he has to say, but they will remain till he gets through. I preach out of doors three times a week, and sometimes I learn most admirable lessons in preaching there ; for if I am dull, the passer-by comes up and listens to a sentence or two and then marches off. It would be a good discipline for preachers if they stood up in the open air and tried to preach to a multitude ; for they could often judge of their preaching by the movements of the crowd. Earnestness is requisite for success in this field of labor ; for some of those who are in the public highway may never hear another sermon, and the preacher is bound to do them good at that particular time. Among the advantages of outdoor preaching may be mentioned, capital ventilation and exemption from the payment of rent. We have

services every night in the week for six months of the year in part of our church on Blackfriars road, which is a great thoroughfare. Sometimes half a dozen preachers take part in the exercises, for we invite any person to speak who is interested in religion. If our worthy chairman were at Surrey Chapel, although I might not risk putting him in the pulpit, I would invite him to participate in the out-door service. He could speak for five minutes, and if he did not get on very well, there would be others near by to follow him; and if there are three or four good preachers in attendance, it is quite a relief to have a rather dull one. I do not intimate that the chairman would be a dull speaker. [Laughter.] This kind of service is very impressive to the outsiders, many of whom say, "When the parson preaches, that is his trade and what he is paid for;" but if they hear a number of laymen get up and utter a few hearty words, such as, "Now friends, I want you to attend to this religion, it is a capital good thing. I was not religious once, but I thank God I am now. It has made me a happier man and my family are better; I am not afraid of dying; I should like you to be as happy as I am." They are impressed with the sincerity of the speakers. These short speeches often have more effect than a long sermon. There is an open air preaching society in London, the secretary of which is Captain McGregor, a man full of daring courage; and agents of that society preach the Gospel in all parts of London. It is sometimes said that poor and ungrammatical "stuff" is spoken by out-door preachers. If that is so, those who are better qualified to speak and are Christians should take their place. I wish our poets and legislators and

judges would preach in the open air; I would give them an opportunity to do so at any time from my street pulpit. I do not know how the masses of London can be reached except by out-door preaching. The masses of the people go to your Central Park on Sunday, and some individuals may be apt to say, "O how wicked a thing to get fresh air on Sunday!" It is much more wicked if you do not follow them with the Gospel. I believe we ought to pursue people on week days and Sundays to their haunts, and preach the Gospel to them. There is a delightful field for tract distribution in connection with open-air preaching. Nine-tenths of the tracts distributed promiscuously are wasted, but if people stop and listen while some one is talking earnestly about Jesus, they will eagerly ask for a tract. One of the most useful men in my church is a convert from a sermon preached out of doors. Another similar instance occurs to me of a man, who five years ago was almost without shoes, and is now a commercial traveler and drives his carriage.

But the chief curse of Great Britain is intemperance. Seven-tenths of the insanity, and a great proportion of the pauperism, accidents, and suicides, are traceable to the use of intoxicating liquors. Intemperance is the chief cause of ignorance and of the neglect of the means of grace. On an average, I receive once a month to the holy communion some persons who had been drunkards, but who became Christians primarily through the influence of the total abstinence society; and I only know of one case where a drunkard was converted except in connection with total abstinence. The change that is often effected in reformed drunkards is so great that it reminds me of a tale that is told

of a commercial traveler in the old coach days. He was given to taking a little too much wine. On one occasion, when dining with his commercial brethren, he indulged to excess, but before becoming insensible he had given directions to "Boots" to call him early. He said, "You know I have paid my bill; don't call me too early, but have me up just as the coach is coming to the door, for I will finish dressing myself when I get to the next town." His companions thought they would play him a trick, and while in a state of insensibility they painted his face black, and carried him up to bed. The following morning "Boots" woke the traveler up, who, by the way, was an Irishman. He did not light his candle, but tumbled down stairs, threw himself into the coach, and resumed his sleep. It was still dark when the coach reached the next town, for it was in the winter season. The Hibernian traveler asked for a light, and was shown to a bed-room, and upon looking in the glass, exclaimed, "By the powers, the 'Boots' has called up the wrong man!" [Laughter.] The fact was, he did not know himself. When a drunkard becomes a teetotaler, he turns from black to white. There is such a change in his circumstances and character that he does not know himself. If you want to do good in a quiet way, and have immediate returns, it is not necessary to go as far as China, or even California, but you may accomplish great good by going down among the poor drunkards, and persuading them by your own example to give up drinking. Souls are perishing, and we have but little time to do good. The night is far spent—the day of account is coming. Each one of us should ask, What is there for me to do? There are very few who

make much sacrifice. Those who give money for charitable purposes do not eat the less, nor have fewer comforts and luxuries. Let us ask ourselves, What do we sacrifice for CHRIST? Do I give up that which costs me something? Do I *feel* when I give. How many there are who will do everything but give up personal indulgence! How many there are who will do anything in the way of giving money, which they can easily spare, rather than sit by the bedside of a sick person, rather than teach a ragged school, or stand by the roadside to speak a word for Christ and give away religious tracts!

There is no pleasure like the pleasure of doing good. O the joy of being instrumental in leading some poor sinner from the error of his ways! How much of our work perishes! How much there will be in a year's time, when we think of it, that we will wish we had not spent any money or time or labor upon it! But nobody will regret the work he has done for God and for his fellow-creatures. No one will ever regret any sacrifice of money or of time expended in restoring the poor prodigal, and leading into the way of righteousness those who have erred and strayed from it. Let us all try and do something, and do not let us be deterred from doing anything because we can only do a little. The great ocean is made up of little drops. Your great army was made up of single men, and if one man had said, "I won't enlist, because I am only one," where would have been your army, your Union, and your universal liberty? The most beneficent agencies that visit our physical world come in little things. The rain that fertilizes the earth, in what little drops it comes! and so God compares with these the ines-

timable blessings of his grace. "My doctrine shall distil as the dew. My speech shall come down as the rain, as the small rain upon the tender herb, as the showers upon the grass." Do not despise the day of small things. Our influence, if not exerted for what is good, may be exerted for what is bad; and our little influence may go to augment the greatness of something that is bad, as well as that which is good. We may not be able ourselves to do some great thing, but we may put forth a little effort toward accomplishing a great result, which is only achieved by the multiplication of littles; and so, by our neglect, we may do a little toward the propagation of enormous evil. What a little thing is a flake of snow! Watch it, flying backward and forward, long before it can settle. Look up yonder on those mountain slopes, where some of you love to wander, and where I have often met American travelers in my own mountain rambles. The snow falls there during the months of winter, flake by flake, each so small and gentle; but the avalanche is gathering, and that vast snow-field is falling. Now as the spring advances, the sun gets a little hotter, and the snow gets a little looser; at the bottom there is some little influence added to preceding influences. Now the avalanche is in motion, slowly at first, and now with rapidly accelerated speed, it descends—it overleaps the chasm, sweeps away the pine forest, thunders down the glen, and overwhelms the village. That avalanche was made up of single flakes of snow. So is it with the avalanche of drunkenness and irreligion which is sweeping through the world, and destroying tens of thousands of precious lives, and the souls of immortal beings—the eloquent

man, the cunning artificer, the prattling child, the daring youth, the delicate maiden, and the tender woman! O what multitudes are being hurried down to destruction by this terrible avalanche of drunkenness that is made up of little things!—the single glass of the moderationist, as well as the twenty glasses of the drunkard; champagne as well as gin; the polite banquet, as well as the rude revel; the approving smile of the virtuous lady, as well as the drunken shriek of the abandoned outcast! I call upon you, my friends, to unite your energies, however feeble they may be, not to augment the murderous avalanche of intemperance, ignorance and wickedness, but to come down as the small rain and tender dew of temperance and godliness.

Dr. HALL was loudly applauded at the close of his address.

This lecture was substantially repeated in Philadelphia on the following evening. There was one feature, however, of the London mission work described there, to which no allusion was made in New York, viz., the midnight mission. Speaking of that, Dr. HALL said:

There are multitudes of poor wandering girls in our streets. Some of them are from France, and some from the country. Many of them have been led to adopt this course of life by the harshness of their employers, and some by the treachery and cruelty of those who led them astray. These girls were fast going to ruin, and this midnight mission was started for the purpose of reclaiming those outcasts. I will give you

a description of a scene that I witnessed on one occasion. A large restaurant was opened in Regent Street, a bountiful supper was prepared at twelve o'clock at night, of which the girls were invited to partake.

I saw these same kind of girls come in to the number of one hundred and fifty or two hundred; they sat down at well provided tables; their behavior was very appropriate in almost every case; a number of kind Christian gentlemen and ladies would sit down with them at the tables, and then would enter into a kind conversation with them—not necessarily referring to their peculiar circumstances, for they knew well enough what they were. But their conversation was fraught with kind and sympathizing words, until they had gained the attention of the girls, and finally their promise to stop in their course, or at least a promise to call again. These girls range from twelve to thirteen up to thirty and forty years.

In conversing with several of them I found that most of them had been at Sunday schools. I remember on another occasion when a similar meeting was held, an address was delivered, during which many of them were in tears. While prayer was being offered two or three of the girls laughed, but most of them wept. They were asked if they would like to go to good homes. Carriages were at the door and persons were ready to take them away at two o'clock in the morning. You should have seen how some of them lingered; they were standing between life and death, and could not make up their minds which to accept. Sometimes, after painful hesitation, they went off into the current of sin again, but some of them resolved to accept the invitation to reform their mode of life. Twenty-two of them

were carried into homes provided for them. There is a door of hope open for at least some of these unfortunate ones, and on the whole, there is great encouragement in the effort to restore some of the daughters of respectable families to their homes again.

Christian Liberty.

AN ORATION DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON,

SUNDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 24, 1867.

Mr. Speaker, Senators and Representatives of this Great Republic: It would indicate an insensibility which I do not claim, if I did not deeply feel, if I did not at once relieve my mind by acknowledging, both the honor and responsibility which your distinguished kindness has this day conferred upon a stranger and foreigner by inviting him to occupy this desk, especially on the first Sunday after the reassembling of Congress. But it would indicate, also, great presumption if I accepted this position as a personal compliment to myself rather than as an expression of your good-will toward that kindred nation of which, in some like measure, I may be regarded as a most humble representative. Although I feel myself inadequate to discharge competently the duties of such a position, I venture to make the attempt, most heartily thanking you, in the name of my countrymen, for that good-will which, as in a multitude of other methods, you thus express. I earnestly invoke the help of Almighty God in one of the most important duties I have ever been called on

to discharge in the exercise of my sacred ministry. And I cast myself on your generous indulgence. I cannot be expected, as though I were an American, to be versed in those questions which agitate yourselves in domestic politics; and, therefore, if I should utter a word which is capable of being interpreted as addressed to a party rather than to the whole American nation, united and free, I implore you to attribute it to ignorance and inadvertence, and not to a disregard of that neutrality in respect to your own affairs which it would be a most ungrateful breach of courtesy, as well as a desecration of the sanctities of the Sabbath and of the church, were I intentionally to violate. At the same time, you will grant me that freedom of speech which both Americans and Englishmen are accustomed to employ, and that unembarrassed liberty which the sacred desk inspires and which every minister of Christ should exercise, while I venture to address you on the words of the Apostle Paul, recorded in the 5th chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians, at the 1st verse:

“Stand fast, therefore, in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage.”

Christianity is a sublime act of union and emancipation. Its Founder is the greatest Liberator of mankind. The Gospel is perfect freedom. Its object is to bring men into union with God and one another. This makes us free. The means it adopts are characterized by the ends it designs. Liberty is the result, and Liberty is the process.

Liberty is not lawlessness, but harmony between the law and the nature and inclinations of its subjects. Law is essential to freedom, but freedom requires that

the law shall be such as comports with the best interests and highest reason of those who have to obey it; for then their best desires will concur with their obligations, and, wishing to do only what the law requires them to do, they will be conscious of no restraint. The whole universe is under law. From the loftiest archangel to the tiniest insect and the grain of sand, all things are included in a grand system of government. Only thus the universe is sustained. It would be self-destruction for any particle of that universe to break away. Only in obedience is there safety. And with moral agents only in voluntary submission to the perfect law of the Supreme Ruler is Liberty.

Freedom is not properly an attribute of the will; for a will which is free is simply a will which wills, and a will which is bound is no will at all. But freedom is harmony between the mind and its actions, taking into account all its capacities, convictions and desires. The angels are free, not because they are without law, but because between them and the law there is perfect agreement—so that, desiring only what the law allows, and loving all that the law commands, they are conscious of no restraint.

Sinful man is in bondage through the lack of this harmony. Duty points in one direction, inclination in another. With capacities for glorifying God, degenerate desires prompt to sin. Conscience places the double stigma of ingratitude and rebellion on conduct which nevertheless is pursued. The carnal mind is not subject to the law of God; yet cannot ignore it. The law is there, speaking, commanding, confessed by the higher reason, yet dishonored by the depraved will; and these are contrary the one to the

other. Bondage is the result. The removal of this antagonism is the establishment of freedom. Two methods are conceivable. Either the law may be brought down to the depraved inclinations, or the inclinations lifted up to the holy law. In the former case, sin would cease to be punished; in the latter, it would cease to be desired.

The body, for its own health, is subject to certain physical laws; and pain is the penalty of disobedience. While we desire no indulgence beyond the limits assigned by God and Nature, we are conscious of no restraint; bondage ensues only when the desires and the law are at variance—when we wish that from which the fear of penalty deters, or when we are checked in the act of indulgence by the consciousness of folly and pain or the dread of it. “The law was not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient.”

As with physical law, so with spiritual. Our allegiance to God is a first principle and necessary obligation. Its impress on the soul cannot be obliterated. The keenest pen of sophistry cannot over-write the lines of it—the fiercest flames of lust cannot burn out the traces of it—the wildest storms of passion cannot sweep away the memorials of it; the ceaseless flow of the stream of evil habit may for a season fill up with mud, but cannot wear off the God-engraven characters of it. Misery, ruin, death, must follow the continued violation of it—yet, tied and bound by the chain of its sin, the unregenerate soul refuses obedience. It is evident that harmony, and thus freedom, must be effected, not by any change in a law which, as its Divine Author, is immutable; but by a change in the carnal mind, so as to bring it into union with the law. Emancipation

from the thralldom of this spiritual disunion is effected by making our desires harmonize with our duties, not by degrading the law which frowns on those desires. And, as all the laws of God tend to purify, ennoble, and render happy those who obey them, he confers liberty of the highest kind by bringing us into willing subjection to those laws; that is, by restoring us to union with himself.

The gospel is his instrument. The liberty it aims to produce characterizes itself. Mere law, viewed alone, gendereth to bondage. Confessing the justice of its claims, we are conscious that we shall ever fail to satisfy them. Perfect obedience as a ground of salvation is not in harmony with our present state of sinful infirmity. Though we strive our utmost, we are oppressed with a sense of deficiency and a dread of punishment. "When we have done all, we are unprofitable servants." The law was a schoolmaster for the Jewish nation until salvation by faith in Christ was revealed. "When we were children, we were in bondage under the elements of the world"—that is, under the rudiments of religion—"but when the fullness of time was come, God sent forth his Son, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons." Here was liberty. The full penalty of sin was now paid, perfect obedience was now rendered—not by the sinner but by the Saviour. There is harmony between our desires and our condition, for the salvation we seek is freely bestowed. We long for complete deliverance from guilt, "and the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin." Baffled in every attempt at self-deliverance, for "by deeds of law shall no flesh living be justified,"

we are set at liberty by the assurance, "By grace ye are saved." The handwriting of ordinances which was against us is nailed to the cross of Christ, canceled by his death. The vail of the temple is rent in twain; the way to the holiest is opened, and liberty of access to the mercy-seat is proclaimed to all. And now a new motive, constraining love, is imparted. Mightier than fear, it prompts to a better obedience. Our strongest desires are now in harmony with our highest duties. Union is restored, and freedom—holy, blessed freedom—results. When the Son makes us free, then are we free indeed.

The external system of the gospel is characterized by the freedom of its life-giving doctrines. No burden of ceremonial injunctions hampers our spontaneous activities, and harasses the conscience with scruples and fears. The Levitical system, having served its purpose, merges in a higher development of life. Circumcision is no longer demanded as a title to membership. The distinction of clean and unclean disappears. All places, all times are now holy, and all believers, as "kings and priests unto God," may minister before him. Worship, ministries, the government of the church, are not the exclusive function of a privileged caste, but the privilege and duty of all. Self-action and voluntary zeal are developed. Life takes the place of form. Great principles of action are inculcated, but no minute observances are prescribed, no act of uniformity enforced; and that which God has himself left free he forbids man to enclose. Unshackled by legal enactments, bound only by those laws of love which its renewed nature makes it a delight to obey, the soul is free to exult in the joys of salvation and in the service of its Lord.

But the pride of the heart rebels against the free grace of God, reluctant to relinquish all claim on the ground of self-merit; and the love of power urges men to fasten on one another chains of their own device, under pretense of decency and order—as if disorder were more incident to the freedom God bestows than to the presumption which would fetter it! Thus false teachers early arose in the church, who insisted on the observance of ritual precepts as essential to the efficacy of faith in Christ. St. Paul, the zealous champion of religious freedom, was prompt to warn against the rising heresy. With this view he wrote the epistle from which our text is taken. Rebukes and entreaties mingle in his earnest appeal, “O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you, that ye should not obey the truth? How turn ye again to the weak and beggarly rudiments whereto ye desire again to be in bondage?” And so, reminding them of the thralldom from which they had been rescued by the gospel, and appealing to them as the children not of the bond-woman, but of the free, and as those into whose liberated hearts God had sent, not the spirit of bondage again to fear, but the spirit of his Son, crying Abba, Father! he exhorts them to “stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and not be entangled again with the yoke of bondage.”

In these remarks I have referred first to liberty *spiritual*; then to liberty *doctrinal*, as the means of attaining it; and then, incidentally, to liberty *ecclesiastical*, as associated with and conserving it. By way of illustration, let me remind you of the arrangement of the ancient temple. In the center was the sanctuary, with the altar of sacrifice before it, and the altar

of incense within; and, beyond the veil, the Holy of Holies and the Mercy Seat. Here worship was offered; here atonement was made; here the presence of God was manifested. Let this represent to us *liberty spiritual*—the union of the soul with its Maker, the temple of the Holy Ghost, where alone acceptable service can be rendered to the Most High. Beyond the sanctuary, and enclosing it, was the Court of the Jews, through which access was obtained to the inner shrine. Let this represent to us *liberty doctrinal*—that revealed truth by which the soul obtains admission into the liberty of God's children. This is not the temple itself; but it is the immediate entrance to it. Beyond the Court of the Jews was the Court of the Gentiles—further from the Holy of Holies, but connected with it, surrounding and defending it. Let this represent to us *liberty ecclesiastical*; by which doctrinal truth is best conserved, and thus spiritual liberty best attained. But, besides these outer courts, the temple had its exterior defenses—its outer walls, its towers and gates, and the lofty rock on which it was upreared. Let this represent to us *liberty national*. It is by this that liberty ecclesiastical is guaranteed. Civil and religious freedom are conjoined. The former is the guardian of the latter. Despotical governments have never understood perfect toleration. Where all other actions of man are unduly restrained, unlimited freedom in the exercise of religion has been forbidden as an anomaly and a source of danger to the ruling power. But where civil freedom has been asserted and maintained men have ever claimed freedom of conscience as the most sacred of rights, and have resented interference here as the most flagrant violation of civil freedom itself.

As true freedom is one of the best gifts of God—as we ought to render praise to him for it—as we are bound to guard it as a sacred trust—it cannot be inappropriate on this his day, on this occasion of worship, and especially in this august temple, whose countless columns of unstained marble are surmounted by the most majestic throne ever reared to liberty, whose image surmounts the whole, holding forth her hand in praise to him who gave her on this continent such a home and such an empire—I say it cannot be inappropriate to refer to every kind of liberty—especially as political liberty is so essential to the preservation of religious liberty—and this so instrumental to the securing of liberty doctrinal, and thus to the attainment of that liberty spiritual wherein consists our eternal salvation.

But let me premise that, in employing our text in reference to the liberty which is here enthroned, I am not speaking, as the apostle did to the Galatians, in a spirit of warning and exhortation, but rather in that of congratulation and sympathy. If I may be permitted to speak, not for myself alone, but for the masses of my countrymen, I do not presume to ask you to do what you are already resolved and well able to do—I do not exhort you to stand fast—I rather would express the heartfelt gratitude to God of the British nation that you have stood fast—our satisfaction at beholding that you do stand fast—our conviction that you ever will “stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made you free, and that you will not be entangled again with the yoke of bondage.”

Permit me then, as a stranger—nay, on behalf of the people of Great Britain let me say—let *us* as friends and brethren go round about your Zion, mark

well her bulwarks, consider her palaces, and tell the towers thereof. For your God is our God forever and ever, and he will be our common guardian and glory even to the end of the world.

I. NATIONAL FREEDOM.

In alluding to your national freedom, allow me to say that Englishmen as well as Americans rejoice in the memories of Bunker Hill, and honor Washington and those who co-operated with him in the establishment of your independence. It was not England that you vanquished ; but the ignorance, obstinacy, and injustice of a faction. English loyalty, English freedom, English bravery, are commemorated in all those national monuments which refer to the foundation of your republic ; and there is not to be found in Great Britain, from the highest to the lowest, one individual who does not now rejoice in the issue of that strife. I need not say stand fast in a liberty which no power on the earth would venture or would desire to assail. In that independence, and in the greatness and glory arising from it now, none, next to yourselves, rejoice more than the people of the mother-land.

As regards civil freedom, if I were not so familiar with it in my own country, I should be surprised as well as delighted to see order maintained with so little show of authority that a stranger to our common liberties might suppose that there were no laws and no magistrates. Personal freedom is enjoyed to such an extent that every one may do just as he pleases, until he begins to trespass on the equal rights of others. In this civil liberty, in the upholding of law only for the conservation of freedom, we will stand fast. And

so also we will maintain social freedom—nor allow, within the enactments of the legislature, any such intolerance of party as would hinder the fullest utterance of opinion or the most unrestricted freedom of action. Both as regards civil and social liberty, we will stand fast. Until recently, owing to difficulties with which you could not at once cope, difficulties which were entailed on this country by my own, this civil freedom was enjoyed by only a portion of your people. It was not that an alien race was oppressed ; it was that some millions of your own citizens, born in your own land, nurtured under your own flag, contributing by their labor to your national resources, declared by the fundamental principle of your act of independence to be free and equal, could not call even their bodies their own, but were bought and sold as though they were chattels, and not persons. By the undue influences in a certain direction, your laws were controlled, your freedom limited, your generous impulses checked. At length, after long struggles, that opposition to freedom culminated in open rebellion ; its object being avowedly the maintenance of that yoke of bondage. I feel I need make no apology now for such a reference. A few years ago it would have been a breach of neutrality ; but now there are no longer two parties in the nation. There is no longer slavery and freedom, there is no longer secession and union, there is no longer rebellion and loyalty ; all are unionists, all are loyal—and, therefore, upholding the proclamation of your late martyred President, all are now advocates of freedom. There is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond or free ; but all are one in upholding union and emancipation, the integrity of your

empire and the freedom of all its people. By means which few could foresee, by a pathway which was not known, controlling and overruling for his own wise and gracious ends whatever elements of human infirmity mingled in the contest (and in what of man's doings is there not to be found man's infirmities?) Christ has made you free. Now, endeavoring in a loyal spirit to reconstruct your political system on the new order of things which events have established, endeavoring to heal old wounds, to forget past differences, to combine together for the welfare of your common country and the best interests of all its inhabitants, you will stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made you free, and not be entangled again with the yoke of bondage.

II. ECCLESIASTICAL FREEDOM.

This national liberty is the outer defense of the more sacred temple within. Of that temple the external court is liberty ecclesiastical. This has always been conserved in proportion to the strength of those political defenses; for, as already observed, there is no department of freedom in which men so demand that civil freedom shall manifest itself as in preservation of the rights of conscience. True political liberty is incompatible with any restraint here. All religious persecution has resulted from interference of the political power with the domain of the soul. Ecclesiastical liberty depends on the full recognition of our Saviour's solemn declaration, "My kingdom is not of this world." Driven forth by tyranny and persecution, the Pilgrim Fathers, the founders of this great republic, landed on Plymouth Rock; and though at first not altogether cleansed from the slime of the dungeon from which

they had escaped, established such a free church in a free state as the world had never before beheld. Having had trials of bonds and imprisonments, "they went forth not knowing whither they went," and wandered about in caves and dens of the earth. In like manner struggled the Puritans and Covenanters of the Old Country. They labored, and we have entered into their labors. We shall not value lightly what cost them so much.

Happily we are no longer in danger of bondage from persecution; but liberty may be imperiled by smiles when frowns have lost their force. O that the church throughout the world would, as here, refuse to sell its birthright for a mess of pottage! that she would refuse to receive the treacherous boon within that citadel which open assault could not capture. She should fear the state, even when offering bribes—nay, chiefly then. Religion, like Atalanta, is invincible in the race; but if she stoops to pick up the golden apple which worldly policy throws down before her, she will come in but second at the goal. Alliance with the political government can only be effected by hindering her in her career of usefulness, and must ever result in the curtailment of her liberty, the corruption of her purity, and the enfeebling of her strength. "The whole history of Christianity," as expressed in classic words, well known, but so beautiful as to bear repetition, "shows that it is in far greater danger of being corrupted by the alliance of power than crushed by its opposition. The ark of God was never taken till it was surrounded by the arms of earthly defenders. In captivity its sanctity has sufficient to vindicate it from insult, and to lay the hostile fiend prostrate on the threshold of his

own temple. It can add no dignity to such a system to make it part and parcel of the common law. Those who thrust temporal sovereignty on her treat her as their prototypes treated her author. They bow the knee, and spit in her face; they cry 'hail,' and smite her on the cheek; they put a scepter in her hand, but it is a fragile reed; they crown her, but it is with thorns; they cover with purple the wounds which their own hands inflicted on her, and inscribe magnificent titles over the cross on which they have fixed her to perish."

Yes! Christianity has not so much to dread from the blows as from the embraces of the world. Like the oak, which the hail and the wind cannot harm,

"Moored in the rifted rock,
Proof to the tempest's shock,
Firmer he roots him the ruder it blows;"

but if you take the sprouting acorn, and, instead of planting it on the mountain side, inclose it in a flower-pot, and nurse it in a hot-house, if it do not assert its own nature, and burst its trammels, spreading its branches to the winds of heaven, it will be a puny, sickly thing, utterly unlike that noble tree which it would otherwise become—aspiring to the sky, stretching its mighty branches to every land, foliaged with whatsoever things are honorable and of good report, and sheltering beneath it every form of beneficence and beauty.

Not under the influence of long-established customs, nor trammled by the enormous difficulties which large endowments to corporate bodies place in the way of improvement, you have escaped the evils resulting from this usurpation by the temporal power. Those

evils are manifold. Citizens who are not adherents of the church which is established complain of injustice in the appropriation of national resources. The elevation of one class of religionists tends to produce in them an arrogant assumption of superiority over their less honored brethren, which these in turn are often tempted to resent. Thus class distinctions and social jealousies are engendered in that very region where especially brotherly love and harmony of spirit should be cherished. Besides this, individual liberality is repressed by the support afforded by the state, and thus the chief source of vitality in the church is frozen at the fountain. That which the state undertakes to do it will be left to do; and never did any political government provide for any church as its own members would if they felt that the church depended, as in the early days, on their own voluntary service. Besides, the spirit of self-government is repressed; for where the state supports it will also control, and who will care to exercise a function which becomes a mere form and shadow? Thus discontent and disunion are produced in the nation at large, liberality and self-action are discouraged in the church, by this invasion of liberty ecclesiastical. A political atmosphere surrounding the church will always blight its fertility and check its growth.

From this you are free. A stranger from the Old World cannot but be astonished at the great results accomplished among you by Christian willinghood. The most conspicuous monuments of your cities are the numerous spires which shoot up above the scenes of common toil and traffic to testify of God and point to heaven. And in every village and hamlet, among the very first buildings erected is the house of prayer.

None who visit your country can say that religion must decay where the state does not endow it; that churches will not be built, or clergy be maintained, except by a general tax levied on the community. Unless you wish to see religion in general injured, and especially the particular church selected for state support; unless you wish to see the inducements multiplied to seek sacred offices from corrupt motives; unless you wish to have Christian liberality discouraged, the provision for the religious wants of the people diminished, another and the worst spirit of sectarianism evoked, and a wide-spread discontent created, together with a new argument against Christianity lodged in the hearts of many, you will stand fast in this liberty wherewith Christ has made you free.

Some may say that the absence of a state church as a standard encourages religious differences and multiplies sects. This is not the case. Such differences exist as much with an establishment as without, and arise from original differences in mental constitutions and the varying circumstances and wants of men. Such differences are to be valued as an evidence of life and freedom. Christ has delivered us from the yoke of an external uniformity in the expression and working of the great essential principles of Christian life which are always the same under differing forms. And this freedom he taught his apostles to establish. He reproved the disciple who forbade some for not following in their company, though they wrought miracles in their Lord's name. What bitter controversies and cruel persecutions would have been spared had the tolerance of St. Paul ever regulated the church! He was not for "crowding free consciences and Christian

liberties into the canons and precepts of men." One man esteemed one day above another; another man esteemed every day alike. There were diversities; but "let every man be fully persuaded in his *own* mind," and let "no man judge his brother."

"What charter," says an eminent bishop of the English Church, "has Christ given to bind up men more than himself hath done? He that came to take away the insupportable yoke of Jewish ceremonies certainly did never intend to gall the necks of his disciples with another instead of it. Without all controversy, the main inlet of all the distractions, confusions, and divisions of the Christian world, hath been by adding other conditions of church communion than Christ hath done. The unity of the church is a unity of love; not a bare uniformity of practice or opinion." * This bare uniformity, this "yoke of bondage," has never succeeded in securing harmony, though it does its best to crush spiritual life. "How goodly and how to be wished," says the author of *Paradise Lost*, "were such an obedient unanimity! What a fine conformity would it starch us all into! Doubtless as staunch and solid a piece of frame-work as any January could freeze together." You will not take alarm at those diversities which indicate mental activity, and result from the exercise of religious freedom. Each citizen, respecting his own conscientious preferences, learns to respect also those of others; and, recognizing unity in diversity, and striving together for the common welfare of mankind and the glory of the one God our Saviour, you will "stand fast in the liberty," etc.

* Bishop STILLINGFLEET.

III. DOCTRINAL FREEDOM.

Ecclesiastical liberty is the outer court of the temple, and is to be valued not simply for its own sake, but for that DOCTRINAL LIBERTY which it tends to conserve. We do not assert that uncorrupted doctrine is always associated with ecclesiastical freedom, nor that truth cannot live under the shadow of human authority; but that, on the whole, this tree of life flourishes most in the bracing atmosphere and beneath the fostering sky of freedom. Experience abundantly testifies that where personal conviction is respected, and the rights of all the people of God recognized—where there is freedom of thought and action, and the only binding law of the church is the New Testament—that there gospel truth is most carefully guarded, most zealously proclaimed.

In the commencement of our discourse it was indicated how doctrinal liberty is identical with gospel truth. Under the law, sinners are in bondage because there is a work of harmony between what they do in order to be saved and what they feel they ought to do. Harmony is restored by removing all legal barriers between the soul and salvation, and thus prompting to holy obedience. We were in the bondage of fear when the salvation we sought seemed out of reach; but it has now been “brought nigh by the blood of Christ.” By faith we pass from death into life. We are delivered from guilt and from the sentence of a broken law. “There is now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus.” Our bonds are loosed, and the soul is free. “The spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made us free from the law of sin and death.” All are invited to share in the blessings of salvation “without

money and without price." No previous qualification is required, except our very necessity and our inability to supply it ourselves. Doctrinal liberty opens the most precious store-house of an infinite God, and proclaims to all mankind that they have freedom to enter in and fill their empty vessels from the boundless store of love. "Weary and heavy laden" we find "rest" in him who says to every one, "Come unto me." Divine favor is given not as the reward of service, but as the answer to the cry of the sinner whose obedience is to be the result, not the condition, of accepting it. Thus there is liberty from the galling sense of guilt and the divine displeasure. Thus, "being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." This doctrinal liberty, this true gospel, is preached and prized throughout your vast empire. In churches of various orders and denominations the preacher has been welcomed, and everywhere the same substantial truth has been announced to congregations evidently expecting and loving it.

You have proved that it is not "the wicked front which lifts itself in courts and parliaments," nor wealthy endowments, nor the smiles of kings, that are the surest safeguards of religion; but truth, enshrined in humble and brave hearts. Truth, which, however its adherents may sometimes be despised, raises its head on high amongst crowds of foes, "shakes its invincible locks," and laughs to scorn the opposition both of crowned and mitered brows. Truth and Freedom—it is these which are the best bulwark against the tide of false doctrine, standing like a granite cliff, which, unshaken, flings back the broken wave in impotent spray.

'Twas thus when, in the hands of a few poor fishermen, this freedom of the Gospel broke the trammels of Jewish prejudice, and shamed the pride of Grecian sophistry, and defied the armies of Imperial Rome, and overturned the altars of a widespread, wealthy, and potent paganism. This sword of the Spirit has lost none of its heavenly temper. Those weapons of our warfare are still mighty through God for the pulling down of strongholds. In the name of Gospel liberty ply them well. In this cause the glorious company of the apostles labored, and the noble army of martyrs bled. For this, Deity became incarnate, and the man Christ Jesus died. By the memory of former champions in this strife; by our love for the perishing souls of men; by our zeal for the glory of the only Saviour, let us "stand fast," etc.

IV. SPIRITUAL FREEDOM.

Reversing our steps, we have now come back to that spiritual freedom whence we set forth. In bondage, by a sense of guilt we are made free by the reception of that Gospel message which assures us of pardon through the atonement of Christ. Inspired by new hope, we come forth from the dungeon of despair. Animated by love for our benefactor, we strive to obey him. Our desires being brought into harmony with our duty, we are no longer in bondage—"we freely serve because we freely love." "For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God, sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh," broke its power, destroyed its supremacy, "that the righteousness of the law should be fulfilled in us who walk not after the flesh but after the spirit."

Recalling our former illustrations, we have now passed through the outer fortifications—that civil liberty which is the guardian of religious liberty; we have penetrated the outer court of ecclesiastical freedom, and thus have reached the inner court of doctrinal truth. But we must not rest even here. That Gospel by which the bondage of sin is to be broken must be applied to the heart, if we are to become free indeed. It is spiritual liberty which is the holy place, and which conducts the sinner to God's own presence, the holiest of all. In vain we stand in those outer courts, zealously defending them, enthusiastic in their praise; in vain we gaze admiringly on their stately columns and swelling arches, the polished marble and glittering gems; if we pass not onward to present ourselves as a living sacrifice on the altar of God, if we enter not the penetralia to offer the incense of grateful love and to hold communion at the mercy-seat with him who sitteth between the cherubim, we shall never be enrolled in the citizenship of the free. In vain our boast of political liberty, in vain of ecclesiastical, if strangers to the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit in our own soul. There is no genuine liberty in the absence of genuine piety.

“He is the freeman whom the Truth makes free,
And all are slaves beside.”

When Jesus said to the Jews, “Ye shall know the Truth and the Truth shall make you free,” they replied, “We be Abraham's seed, and were never in bondage to any man; how sayest thou, then, Ye shall be made free?” Jesus answered, “Verily, verily I say unto you, whosoever committeth sin is the

servant of sin." A willful transgressor sells himself to a master who wields a usurped but most imperious scepter. He becomes a slave. And a nation demoralized is a nation enthralled and degraded, no matter what its freedom of government, no matter what its external wealth. Righteousness is the true stability of any empire. Political corruption, selfish ambition, dishonest motives in public men, untruthfulness and unfairness in commercial transactions, undutifulness, unchastity, uncharitableness in domestic and private life—these will bring any nation into bondage of the worst kind; and no guarantees in forms of governments can prevent the inevitable catastrophe. The words of Milton to the people of England in the days of the Commonwealth are worthy to be enshrined in the hearts of both nations: "Instead of laying the blame on any but yourselves, know that to be free is the same thing as to be pious, and wise, and temperate, and just, and frugal, and abstinent, and, finally, to be magnanimous and brave. So to be the opposite of these is the same thing as to be a slave; and it usually happens that those who will not control themselves are given over to those who love them least, and are made the victims of an involuntary servitude." If, as we may hope, there is a general prevalence of righteousness amongst both nations, yet if we would have those nations permanently prosperous and free, there is reason to be on our guard against a thousand corrupting influences—there is reason for the exhortation, "Stand fast."

But let us apply this subject to ourselves individually, remembering that what is required is not simply an outward morality, but that union of the soul with

God, that condition of reconciliation through faith in Christ and by the power of the Holy Ghost, without which there will be no morality worthy of the name and no true freedom of the soul. If we are living impenitent, neglecting the salvation of the Gospel—"without God"—we are still slaves, in spite of our knowledge of doctrinal truth, in spite of our possession of civil and religious freedom. Not to love and serve God, though incapable of resisting the assurance that we ought; not to yield ourselves to Christ as his loyal followers and friends, though knowing that he redeemed us with his precious blood—this is to be in bondage as regards our convictions. We are also captives as regards our pleasures. There is want of harmony between the infinite capacities of the soul and those lower delights of the world which can never satisfy it. As the lark, imprisoned since it burst the shell, though it has never sprung upward to salute the rising sun, will often manifest how cruel is its captivity by instinctively spreading its wings and darting upward, as if to soar, but only beats its head against the wires and falls back upon its narrow perch; so the soul of man, designed to soar and utter its raptures in the rays of the great central sun, will sometimes even in its cage attempt to rise and breathe a loftier atmosphere, but falls back vainly struggling against the bars which sin and death have framed around it. Sinners are in captivity as regards their *hopes*. Unless they banish reflection, they must needs be "through fear of death all their lifetime subject to bondage." This intellectual being, "these thoughts that wander through eternity," will not end at the grave. "Shrinks not the soul back on herself and startles at destruction?" Does

not heaven itself "point out a hereafter and intimate eternity to man?"

But, if we are violating the laws of our Creator, can this eternity be contemplated with joy? Are not our hopes shut in by the narrow prison of the present life? Is not all beyond darkness and despair? Does not the judgment even now thunder its condemnation, and the trumpet of the archangel proclaim our doom? Is such "fearful looking for of fiery indignation," instead of "a hope full of immortality," no bondage? And this captivity is but introductory to one more terrible hereafter, when the chains of sin will no longer be hugged because they glitter; but when the gilding will have disappeared, and the corroding iron will eat into the soul.

O, tell us not of captives pining in the dark dungeons of some despot prince, nor of slaves goaded to their task beneath a burning sun. The slavery of sin is far more terrible. Death soon releases from that; it confirms and perpetuates this. Shall we let fall on the page of history a tear of sympathy for the oppressed, and shall we not weep for ourselves if thus in bondage? Shall our bosoms glow as we read of the struggles of patriots; and shall Marathon and Thermopylæ, Bunker Hill and Saratoga, Gettysburg and Richmond, be charmed names as associated with the sacred cause of Liberty; and shall we be so sunk in slavery ourselves as to refuse deliverance when deliverance is at hand? We may be free. Jesus, the great Liberator of the enslaved, draws near. He is anointed to "preach deliverance to the captive and the opening of the prison to them that are bound." He comes to break every fetter, and to bid the oppressed go free.

Let us listen to his voice! Let us accept his aid! Let us escape from the bondage of corruption! Let us "flee for refuge to lay hold of the hope set before us!" Many here have done this. You have accepted and acted on the proclamation of universal freedom. The key of promise has unlocked the dungeon-door. The light of the Gospel has dispelled its gloom. At the touch of Jesus your fetters fell. You find that his yoke is easy and his burden light. No longer limited to the pleasures of earth, yours is the bliss of communion with heaven. No longer in bondage to the fear of death, you can contemplate as far better than life here the departing to be with Jesus. No longer limited to the narrow horizon of the present, your hopes can expatiate over the boundless prospect of Canaan, which stretches forth in indescribable loveliness, and melts away in the blue distance beyond the swelling waters of Jordan. What a blessed freedom is yours! Forget not him to whom you owe it. Christ made us free! Let that enfranchised heart at every pulsation beat his praise. Let those unshackled feet joyfully run in the way of his commandments. Let those unfettered hands diligently labor in his free service. And let us guard well our liberty. Every hour we are in danger of being "entangled again." The world, the flesh, the devil—ah, how many a net do they spread for our recapture. Let us stand fast. Let us watch and pray that we enter not into temptation, and thus *stand fast*. Let us keep the heart with all diligence, and thus *stand fast*. Let us crucify the flesh, with its affections and lusts, and thus *stand fast*. Abiding in Jesus, continuing instant in prayer, putting on the whole armor of

God, let us *stand fast*. By the memory of that degrading bondage from which we were rescued ; by the glorious liberty which has been conferred ; by the blissful prospects which eternity unfolds ; by the value of that immortal spirit which if enslaved is lost ; above all, by the countless price of its redemption and the love we owe to him who died to burst our chains, let us "stand fast," etc.

Again thanking you, Mr. Speaker, Senators and Representatives, for this opportunity of preaching in the Capitol of the American Republic the gospel of union between God and man, allow me to refer to that message of union between the two nations which unofficially and very humbly, yet very earnestly, it is one chief object of my visit to deliver. It would be very inconsistent if I professed to vindicate that appearance of British hostility which, throughout your struggle, many of us earnestly protested against at home. But I do wish to explain that what appeared hostility was, in the great majority of cases, simply the result of erroneous views of American policy ; not of lack of kind feeling toward America itself. I do also wish to assert, whenever occasion is presented, that the great mass of the people did most heartily sympathize with your policy, and do most profoundly rejoice in the preservation of your nationality, and the extirpation of that system which threatened its disintegration. One proof of this is in the fact that, whereas thousands of popular assemblies were convened to express sympathy with your government and its illustrious chief—since fallen a martyr in the cause so near his heart—not one such popular assembly was so much as attempted for the purpose of expressing

sympathy with the cause of disunion and slavery. On behalf of the great mass of my countrymen, I wish to testify that the sentiments they cherish toward America are such as the most ardent American patriot and the best friend of Britain would desire. If aught that has been said in this discourse indicates admiration of your nation and good-will toward yourselves, you may confidently accept such sentiments not as those of the humble individual imperfectly uttering them, but those of the great nation he desires, though unworthily, to represent. Your increasing stability, union, freedom, prosperity, greatness, happiness, is an object of desire and delight with us. Nothing would be more grievous to the great masses of the people—I am sure that nothing is more deprecated by our wisest statesmen—than any rupture between us and you. All material, all commercial, all political interests plead for union. I would say, as Abram said to Lot, his kinsman, “Let there be no strife, I pray you, between us and you, for we be brethren.” We are one in race, one in language, one in love for that great principle of liberty which I have endeavored to expound. Because the subject of this morning’s discourse is dear to our two nations as to no other on the face of the earth, we two should ever be allied in their defense and propagation. Alike we cherish civil liberty; alike we testify for religious liberty; alike we value doctrinal truth; and alike we enter the holiest of all, and in unison with God himself experience the bliss of the noblest freedom. This Gospel our allied missionaries publish throughout the world. This freedom they proclaim to all nations. Approaching it may be in different directions, yet entering through the same courts of the temple of lib-

erty, we meet before the mercy-seat of Jehovah. There we unite with him who dwelleth between the cherubim. There let us swear eternal union with each other. And, as our discord would be mutual bondage, in the name of that one Saviour, whom we adore as our common Liberator and Lord, let us "stand fast in the union wherewith Christ has made us one, and not be entangled again with the yoke of bondage."

Reception

BY THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB.

On Friday evening, November 29th, the Rev. **NEWMAN HALL** was received by the Union League Club, at their elegant rooms in Union Square. The spacious reception-room was crowded by the members. Shortly after eight o'clock, Dr. **HALL** made his appearance, accompanied by the President, **JOHN JAY, Esq.**, which was the signal for loud applause. When silence was restored, Mr. **JAY** rose and said :

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT.

GENTLEMEN : This Club, which has so often assembled to honor our own citizens, who in the army, the navy, or the State, served the country in the recent struggle between freedom and slavery, meets to-night to render a like honor to an Englishman who in his own land bore a distinguished part in that world-wide contest. Circumstances which have become historic rendered the aid of our European friends of profound importance, and entitle them to our sincere gratitude. We are indebted to them not simply for their sympathy and their firm faith in American institutions, but for their enlightenment of European opinion by a

persistent exposure of the fallacies touching the character and object of the rebellion, for their successful attempt to prevent their government from allowing the escape of other iron-clads besides the Alabama, and for assisting to defeat the hope of the Emperor of France to involve England in a scheme of intervention. The attempt of the slave power to overthrow the American republic was, as the whole world now knows, an attempt to overthrow the American principle that all men, without distinction of race, are equally entitled to life and liberty. This grand feature of the rebellion was one that from the start Mr. Jefferson Davis endeavored to conceal from the mind of Europe. He confidently counted upon the assistance of its aristocratic governments. He well knew that those aristocracies were inevitably unfriendly to the greatness of a republic whose prosperity was a refutation of their theories, and whose influence threatened the permanence of their order. He knew also that so soon as the object of the rebellion should be clearly understood, the public opinion of Europe would check any government, however bold, that should propose to intervene in behalf of slavery. His clever envoys, therefore, protested in advance, and with great earnestness, that slavery had nothing to do with the dispute; that they were seceding to establish free trade, and for other reasons equally innocent, and that our National Government had neither the right nor the power to forbid secession.

These two points were strangely met by Mr. Seward in his dispatches to our Ministers, written, it is said, without the knowledge of Mr. Lincoln, not with an exposure of their falsehood, but with an admission of their truth. He affirmed that the revolution was

without a cause, a pretext, or an object; that slavery would remain the same whether the revolution should succeed or fail; and that the President, so far from rejecting, willingly accepted the cardinal dogma of the rebels, that the Federal Government could not reduce the seceding States to obedience by conquest.

These assurances from Washington, alike erroneous and suicidal, were instantly responded to by France and England with proclamations recognizing the rebels as belligerents. The English proclamation was issued in advance of Mr. Adams's arrival at London, and I was told in England on high authority that it was so issued with the concurrence of Mr. Dallas. Such an announcement at the time would undoubtedly have transferred to Mr. Dallas a large share of the indignation which the proclamation aroused in the breasts of his countrymen against the English government; although, as Mr. Dallas had already advised Lord Russell that he represented only the retiring administration of Mr. Buchanan, and that he was not in the confidence of Mr. Lincoln, his concurrence, if the fact were so, offered no real justification for that ill-timed act. So long as the delusion thus officially sanctioned obtained in Europe, and slavery was regarded as having no part in the rebellion, foreign recognition of the new confederacy and foreign intervention, was liable to occur at any moment; and it was in this strait that our European friends in France and England, whom we greet in the person of our guest, their bold, fearless, and eloquent representative, stood forth in our defense. [Applause.] They showed Europe that, so far from the rebellion being without a cause or an object, its cause was the cause of slavery, and its object the erection of a slave

empire. Then turning to America they wisely suggested, as they had a right to suggest, that the duty, the honor, and the exigencies of the nation demanded a policy of emancipation.

With reference, therefore, both to the establishment of the Union, and the act of emancipation, it is with great propriety that Lincoln looks down upon us from these walls, supported by Cobden and Bright representing the truest statesmanship of England, and by Laboulaye and De Gasparin illustrating the noblest thought of France. But their action did not stop here; no less than seven hundred and fifty French Protestant pastors sent an address on the American question to the ministers and pastors of England, and that address was responded to by four thousand English ministers, and these two bodies representing a moral force so wide and deep, protested against the recognition by the governments of Europe of a Confederacy with slavery for its corner-stone. It was as the bearer of a message from those thousands of clergymen to their American brethren that Dr. Massie came here in 1863, and did us the honor to address this Club in October of that year; and in November, 1864, we were favored by a visit from another of the ablest of our guest's associates, whom we recall with regard and affection, Prof. Goldwin Smith. [Renewed applause.]

Prominent also among our friends in France were Prévost Paradol, Cochin, who so admirably grouped the results of emancipation; Henri Martin the historian; the Guizots, father and son; Auguste Langel, whom we cordially greeted in these rooms; Thiers, Berryer, the greatest of living orators; Malespine, Forcade, Lanfrey, the able representatives of a manly

press; and the Pasteurs Monod and their reverend associates, who signed the address to their English brethren, and whose course was such as became the descendants of the Huguenots—those heroic champions of christian truth and civil freedom.

Of our English friends, besides Cobden, and Bright, and Goldwin Smith, Americans are familiar with the names of Forster, Taylor, Hughes, Mill, Cairnes, Newman, Beesly, Baptist Noel, Guthrie, Massie, Ashworth, Cossham, Thompson, Peronet, Thompson, and a host of others who in Parliament, at public meetings, in the pulpit, and through the press, maintained the cause of the American people. In England, the Anti-Slavery Society at London, and especially the Union and Emancipation Society of Manchester, issued by tens of thousands speeches and documents in which they did not hesitate to denounce the partial neutrality exhibited by their own government, and soon throughout Europe the real issue of our war came to be understood, and then, instinctively, as it were, sovereigns and subjects, the aristocratic classes and the working classes, ranged themselves, according to their sympathies and interests, on the side of Freedom or of Slavery, and the progress of the contest was thenceforth watched almost as closely at London and Paris as at Richmond and New York.

The recognition of the rebels as belligerents, and the supplying them with ports and ships, had directly introduced the international question into European politics. It became for a season the question of the world, engaging not alone the counsels of statesmen but the minds of the people, and occupying in England the press, the lecture-room, and the pulpit. So

complete has been our triumph over Slavery and its European allies, and so engrossed have we since been in reconstructing our Union on a basis of permanent peace, a work in which we are again opposed by the same influences that sustained the rebellion, that we have hardly appreciated the imminent danger in which we stood, so long as the connection of slavery and the rebellion remained in doubt, of foreign intervention under the pretense and in the name of humanity, but in reality to accomplish the downfall of the republic and of republican institutions. The first recognition of Mr. Davis as the official head of the new Confederacy came from Rome. Pius IX. hastened to greet the downfall of freedom in America, and to hail as "*Illustrious President*" the slavery propagandist, who was endeavoring to replace our national liberties with a despotism as dark and relentless as that which, to the sorrow of Italy, reigns to-day in the Eternal City.

The voice of the papacy resounding through Europe and America, was heard above the din of war, recognizing with the authority of the Romish Church the official head of the Richmond Government. The Emperor of France, reversing the policy of his uncle who assisted to enlarge the boundaries and advance the greatness of America, had already assumed to conquer Mexico and elevate the Latin race, and he now only waited for the coöperation of England to give the *coup de grace* to the Republic of Washington. On the voice of England it depended whether the aristocracies of Europe—always excepting Russia, our true friend, and I ought to add Italy and Germany—should combine for our destruction; and although at the first we had

anticipated with great confidence what would be the course in such a contest, of the land of Milton and Hampden, of Clarkson and Henry Brougham, we became less confident when the rebels, though without a ship or a port, were recognized as belligerents, and we were told that the sons of Wilberforce, and Sharpe, and Buxton, favored the rising of the Southern Confederacy. It was in those days of strange delusion, when on both sides of the Atlantic we witnessed a collapse of statesmanship and an anarchy of morals; when men accustomed to trace humanity through the ages, confounded oppression with chivalry, barbarism with civilization, and slavery with freedom; when Englishmen were thanking God for the supposed downfall of the nationality which is destined to bear to the distant future the language of Alfred, and all that is excellent in English Liberty, Literature and Law—it was then that our guest and his associates, whose names and services we will teach to our children and cherish in our hearts, rose up to vindicate at once American right and English honor. [Loud applause.]

To-day, so successful has been our success, that Lord Lytton amid the applause of a London dinner appeals to "Our American Kinsfolk," and declares that they will "irresistibly feel how much there is of fellowship between the hearts of America and England." The noble author, in his gushing enthusiasm for a closer fellowship with his American kinsfolk, had perhaps forgotten, that, but the other day, when he mistook the uprising of a great nation for the death struggle of a doomed Republic, he gleefully predicted our speedy dissolution into petty sovereignties, treating it as a matter pleasing to Heaven, and which should bring joy

to the heart of England. It was when our cause in England was most in disfavor with the aristocracy and the government, that our guest and his associates were prompt, active, and defiant in protesting against the infringement of international law, and in demanding for us fair play and a strict neutrality. [Applause.] In April, 1863, at a great meeting at Manchester, they aroused all England against the furnishing of war ships for the Southern Confederacy; and their indignant protest against the course of the British cabinet was a warning not to be ignored. "The Federals," they said, "have blockaded the Southern ports; the Southern cannot wage a naval war from their own ports. They are allowed to use our ports for the purpose. No nation ever inflicted on another a more flagrant, a more maddening wrong." Their circular to the Chambers of Commerce, inclosing the dignified resolutions adopted by the Chamber of New York, showed, on trustworthy information, that there were then building for "the Emperor of China"—the *nom de guerre* of Davis—"eight iron-clads and one screw mortar boat at Liverpool, and other iron-clad vessels at Glasgow, and on the Clyde, and at Stockton-on-Tees, and that about forty more vessels were being built on the Clyde, the Mersey, and the Tyne, under the same suspicious circumstances, for imaginary owners, so peculiar in their construction, as in the course of a very short time to be adapted for freighting or fighting purposes."

Had another iron-clad followed the *Alabama*, it would have resulted in war between England and America. That war did not thus come, is due in large measure to our guest, who assisted to teach England the true issue, and who closed one of his

magnificent speeches, in which he graphically pictured the slavery that the rebellion was intended to perpetuate and extend, by declaring, amid the immense enthusiasm of his audience—"England may alienate the North; she never can embrace the South!" [Loud cheers.] Impressed with this conviction, jealous of the honor of Great Britain, and defying the pro-slavery influences that prevailed around them—influences so powerful as to embolden *The London Times* to essay a vindication of slavery from the Bible—our English friends sent a petition to the House of Commons protesting "against any direct or indirect intervention or recognition of a foul Confederacy against human rights, unfitted to sit in any council of the civilized nations of the earth."

In thus acknowledging our obligations to our guest, and to the great body of the English people whom he represents, we would not willingly do injustice to any others of his countrymen. The gentle spirit of the Queen has never been impeached by us; the last act of the Prince Consort in modifying the Trent dispatch is not and will not be forgotten; the fair and moderate tone of Argyle, Stanley, Haughton, and a few others of the nobility, is cordially remembered; but that that tone generally characterized the language and action either of the aristocracy or the government, never has been and never can be seriously contended. Lord Russell embraced a recent opportunity to acknowledge his grave mistake, and no Englishman, however sensitive about his country, need complain, if Americans, after their recent experience, acquiesce in the verse of Tennyson :

"Kind words are more than coronets,
And simple faith than Norman blood."

Dr. Newman Hall, on behalf of this Club and of our countrymen whose principles it represents, I bid you welcome, and return you thanks. You will please say on your return to your friends and associates, who, like yourself, early espoused and steadfastly maintained the cause of the American Republic against the Rebellion of Slavery, that we are profoundly sensible of their sympathy and their services. You may add, sir, that whether we regard the clearness of their perception, the soundness of their principles, the bravery of their utterance, or the wisdom of their acts—all going to form that broad and enlightened statesmanship which rescued England from direct complicity with the work of erecting a slave empire—we honor them as men deserve to be honored who are true to their country, to freedom, and mankind. Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in presenting to you our distinguished guest.

REPLY OF DR. HALL.

REV. NEWMAN HALL, on rising to respond to the address of the President, was greeted with loud and protracted applause; he spoke as follows:

Mr. President and Gentlemen:—I feel profoundly the distinguished honor which you are paying me this evening, for I know the nature and the achievements, in some degree, of this Club. I have some idea of the social influence and of the high intelligence of the members of the Club, and I have some conception of the great work which you performed in the hour of your country's peril in maintaining the Union, the name by

which your Club is known. And, therefore, I feel that amongst the many honors which have been showered upon a most humble individual, with so much profusion, since I have been in this country, not the least is that honor and kindness which you are doing me on this occasion. [Applause.] I am not so foolish, Mr. President and Gentlemen, to take this to myself. Of course there is kind feeling towards myself individually, but I should be indeed presumptuous and foolish, if I attributed this act of yours to-night as a mere compliment to myself as an individual, but I take it as an acknowledgment, in my humble and unworthy person, of the great services that were rendered to America by a large number of men as zealous, and some of them far more influential than myself, and especially those services which were rendered by the great mass of the nation that I represent; which nation, as separated in thought from certain politicians and from the acts of the government, I maintained at the time, and shall always maintain, was true, not only in sympathy and affection for America, but in concurrence of opinion as to the policy you should maintain in upholding the Union in connection with the destruction of slavery. [Applause.] You are the Union Club, and the maintenance of the Union is your leading idea.

There are two principles in government. There is the internal principle of free action, and then there is the external principle which has relation to security from other nations. Most important is it in connection with any nation to maintain these two principles: local self-government and protection from abroad. If you have that, you have the two elements of national security. There ought to be local self-government.

Different localities have different necessities, arising from the difference in their circumstances ; different localities have different traditions and different customs ; and therefore it is necessary that there should be differences in the legislation of these respective localities. Who so able to legislate according to the circumstances of a particular locality as those that live on the spot ? who so likely to preserve the local institutions as those who share in these local sympathies. Moreover when a people are governed by strangers, they bear the yoke without much congeniality. The government may be very wise ; it may not be possible to improve the laws which they adopt ; but when they are acts done by strangers, the benefit of them is not appreciated as it might be. There is, also, in every one a burning desire for self-government. Minds are injured when the desire to assist in governing a nation of which they form a part, is repressed. For example, France may be governed with the utmost wisdom ; but there are thinking men, philosophers, and patriots there, who have opinions they wish to express growing out of their desire as philanthropic men to help in doing good. Grant that good is being done by laws, they also want to share in doing it. Hence, supposing it were true that the best possible government existed in France, it is equally true that the best mind and heart of France feels itself degraded and depressed, and is anxious to throw off a yoke which, however beautiful, in itself is not its own. [Applause.] There must, then, be local self-government as opposed to centralization, which exercises its influence from afar. But then, when you have different localities governed according to their different circumstances, and by men living in these spots, you

have different interests. This nationality will have interests not altogether identical with that, and there will be causes of difference. Quarrels may ensue and wars may break out. It is necessary that they shall defend one another from the aggressions of their neighbors by fortifying their coasts and by cultivating the art of war and of self-defence. Standing armies and navies are requisite, so that they may not have only local self-government, but that they may be able to defend that particular locality and its individual members from aggression. The result is heavy taxation and the withdrawal from the productive classes of some of the best and ablest of them for the purpose of training for the exigencies of war when war shall arise. What an injury to any nation this must necessarily be! And therefore it was not surprising that in the olden time the idea should have suggested itself of combining the principle of local self-government with that of a large empire or confederation; so that in local things each might have its independent self-action, and yet, in all things appertaining alike to all, there might be unity; thus enabling the government to do away with the danger of collision, and, consequently, with the necessity of arming against it. But circumstances prevented the realization of this idea in the old world. Mountains interposing their lofty and icy pinnacles, seas floating between lands, and the entire difference of races and of languages, rendered such a combination impossible, and every attempt failed. On the American continent it seemed possible to attempt it. The territory of the United States seems marked out for one government. The position of the mountains, the vast course of the

rivers, the continuous coast, seemed to show beforehand that these must constitute one great nation. For if it were split up into many nations, how difficult it would be to defend each particular nationality when there is no natural boundary ! The greater the natural division, the less the cost of artificial defense ; but the less there is of this natural division, the greater the cost and the toil of carrying out this principle of protection. The attempt was made. Each different State and county and town, with its peculiar circumstances and its differences, has its own government ; there is the fullest spirit of personal freedom. No population in this continent can say that they are governed from without ; it is local self-government everywhere. In all matters that have to do with their special circumstances of life, they have their own governments, but in all those things by which they are connected together in mutual interest, there is a common government. So that you have one postal arrangement by which you can communicate with one another ; one system of money, and one government connected with foreign relations. The system is so framed as to do away as far as possible with the probability or the possibility of difference between State and State, and thus you are saved from what we have in Europe, great standing armies and heavy taxation, bristling fortresses, and the liability to frequent wars. It is a glorious system, Mr. President, one worth maintaining. I do not wonder when this was in danger a Union Club should arise, and Union Clubs all over the land, to preserve a principle so essential to your continued nationality, your prosperity, and your peace. [Loud applause.]

This Union was threatened. A faction arose influenced by a spirit entirely antagonistic to the fundamental principle of your great republic. That fundamental principle recognized the equality of all men, and this faction, from the beginning, determined that that principle should not have free course and be glorified, looking upon a large class of men, not as men, but as mere chattels. This system of slavery was winked at: the days of this ignorance God winked at. The evil has been tolerated for a season, but it was never in harmony with the great principles of that Declaration of Independence which has Washington and such men for its author. It was easily seen that the theory of the working out of the principles of your republic would in the end put a stop to slavery. One State after another in the North gave it up, and the working out of this constitution was so certainly tending to the destruction of that slave spirit, that at last the slave States determined no longer to be connected with the Union, the constitutional ground of which they soon found out to be destructive of what they called their peculiar institution. [Applause.] And so it was that they seceded—not because of tariffs; they never complained of them. Whatever there was peculiar in tariffs, they themselves were principally the authors of that peculiarity. Strange that people in England should imagine a grievance which was never pretended by themselves! The proclamation of South Carolina went simply and solely on the ground of slavery. The encouragement of runaway slaves; the hindrances to the propagation of the system, which needed an extension of territory, so effectually did it exhaust the land, cursing and ruining it, wanting fresh lands to ruin;

when you determined that there should not be that scope for the extension of it, then they set themselves to the destruction of the Union.

Then the objections culminated in this, that you had elected a President whom they pretended to be willing to elect fairly. They went in for the election. Does not every man, when he gives a vote, agree by giving it to abide by the decision of the majority. Suppose I said, "If I win, I will accept the vote; if I lose I will oppose the vote," would my vote be accepted? It is dishonorable to vote and not to accept the decision. They voted, and would not they have maintained the decision if it had been in their favor? It was against them, and this oligarchy rose up against republicanism, and tyranny against freedom. It was not simply the abolition of slavery; it was Republicanism, it was free institutions, it was the views of the people against a little company of despots. If they had conquered, it would not have been their slaves which they would have held in bondage, but you, free-men of America, would have been no longer free, but would have been classed with some of those miserable despotisms to which we look back in the middle ages as being the very perfection of bad government. [Applause.] If they had succeeded, the principle would have been introduced of disintegration—one confederacy against another confederacy, and then one State against another State. If the South had gone off, why might not the Northwest have gone, and one State after another? What a position would this great republic and continent have been in! Instead of being one great nation, you would have been like the little nationalities of Europe, bristling with fortresses, groaning under debt, and perpetually stained with blood.

It was a noble object for which to contend, but grievous was the cost. We mourned over the cost. Often in Great Britain my companions and myself, ministers of peace, were denounced as blood-thirsty and lovers of war and cruelty, because we sanctioned the great struggle in which you were engaged. Was it because we did not feel? I did not need to go to Washington Cemetery the other day, on Arlington Heights, to behold those long rows of tombs—which I cannot think of without tears—where your young men by thousands lie, each separate tomb telling of great prospects and a noble life cut off, and telling of mourning homes and breaking hearts. Did not we feel it as it was going on? And while we were exulting in victory—in any victory that was achieved by you—did not we feel at what a wonderful cost that victory was won? But, Mr. President and gentlemen, never feel that the cost was not worthy of the result. It was a terrible war, and tens of thousands of precious lives were sacrificed; but it was something done for all generations to come. If you had not fought that fight, you would have had a war year after year; you would have been living in a constant state of discord; you would have become familiar with battle and with bloodshed. God grant what we may well hope for, that this was one war, and one war forever. [Great applause.]

Now there was great danger at one time of this Confederacy being recognized. The government of my country did many things over which I blush, and against which at the time I contended with many others. I do not wonder that Americans feel as deeply as they do. I was told when I came to America it was unnecessary to say words of peace; it was

a thing gone by and forgotten. Gone by but not forgotten in the hearts of many good men everywhere; but evidently, from what I have heard from some of the best of your own citizens, by no means forgotten. And when things are forgiven but not forgotten, and fresh troubles arise, it is found that the thing that is forgotten is not quite forgiven. [Laughter.] I am not going to say one word in defence of the actions that were done, but I want to say a few words that may induce you to think a little more gently of the doers. As I was not a participant in the doing; as I protested against it; as I looked upon those as my political enemies who did it, I may be allowed to say a few words in mitigation of your judgment. One great thing to be considered is, as, Mr. President, in your address, you so ably stated, that agents of the South were diligently at work during several months, producing a false impression on the public mind, and especially on the minds of the agents of the press. There was a season during which there was a state of doubt, there was a dubiety in public sentiment; it was uncertain which way the balance would turn. All this time the agents of the South were busy. I remember reading an extract from a Richmond paper recording the fact that the agents that it sent forth had reported that they were progressing very favorably, especially with the leaders of the press in London. They were producing generally in society the idea that the South had real cause of grievance, and moreover, that the North would never be able to bring them back into allegiance. Under the presidency of Mr. Buchanan—and I suppose Mr. Buchanan would be regarded as having his sympathy with the

Southern States rather than with the North; rather with the system of slavery than with the system of freedom—his ambassadors were all through Europe. During that presidency those ambassadors were diligently propagating the secession sentiment. When President Lincoln came into power, what was done? An instant change of ambassadors? No! You might say it would be difficult at once to find suitable men to send over. Was this done? Was an order sent forth directly for the ministers of the diplomatic corps, especially in London, where the agent of your Government was known to be a secessionist, immediately for those gentlemen to surrender their portfolios into the hands of the Secretary of Legation, and instantly to go home and leave with the Secretary of Legation the management of the business until a new minister was sent out? That was not done. I know for many weeks—two or three months—the agents that had been representing the “secessionist” government were allowed to remain at their posts when President Lincoln came into power. They were pledged in the discharge of their duties, and were looked upon as the representatives of course of the new Government, because they were allowed to remain there. They were gentlemen of influence, men who had been trusted for the preceding years, men whose opinion on American politics was to be taken and ought to have been taken. These men, saying that the South, if they pleased, had a right to secede, and that this right would be recognized by the North; that it might be protested against, but that the North would never forcibly bring them back, and could not if they tried, so that the minds of our leading statesmen were im-

bued with the idea that if the South did secede the North would not attempt to force a return. Can not you make allowance for those who were under such influences as those representatives of your President—for we were bound to take it as the representatives of your own President, when they continued under his administration. Was it then so surprising that our government should be willing to recognize that Confederacy; though they did not wait until Mr. Adams came out, Mr. Dallas might have been withdrawn before. I think that this may in some degree account for the haste with which our government classes in England recognized the fact that the Southern States had made themselves into a separate empire. But that was not recognized by government. The only recognition was their condition as belligerents; and as our people were diligently instructed that the North would never attempt to bring them back forcibly in the event of their secession—that they were really and in fact separated—I do not think that it is so surprising that the English government should have recognized their belligerency.

It was then that efforts were made to prevent any act on the part of our government that might bring about that recognition of the States of the South in such a way as would effect collision with the North. I can assure you that never was a great nation stirred more than our nation was stirred at that time. The vision came up before us in all its horror of British navies allied with slaves, the British power supporting, aiding and abetting a Confederacy that had the daring atrocity to declare that slavery was its corner-stone; that we should have engaged in war with our own

brothers, whose principles we loved. This was an idea so horrible in the minds of the great mass of the nation, that there was no wonder that we were stirred with an enthusiasm that I have never seen equalled about any domestic or ecclesiastical questions, grievous as we feel the exacting of church rates and tithes; never any question of free trade, much as at one time our people were longing for deliverance from that which prevented them from having cheap bread at a time when they were starving; never any questions of political reform and increased representation; never was there any such excitement about any domestic question as was produced with reference to this great question of America. Year after year it continued. Meetings were held, not only by the hundred but by the thousand, always crowded and enthusiastic. Every kind of meeting seemed to be eclipsed in the presence of Union and Emancipation meetings. People were never tired of coming and going, never tired of passing resolutions, never tired of cheering the principle of Union and the United States along with the destruction of slavery [applause], never tired of protesting against any act on the part of our government which might lead to the encouragement of a company of States who were denounced by us as a company of pirates and assassins rather than as worthy to be recognized in the list of nations. And so the excitement went on until the close of your war. It was impossible for any government to have stood a week that would have taken any hostile measure against you. Our government did not wish it. I do not understand Lord Russell. He is a champion of civil and religious freedom. We honor him for his personal character

and for much that he has done in the good cause of liberty, but I cannot understand some of his letters, and I cannot understand his American diplomacy. I have not a word to say in defence of it; but his government, as a government, could not have been hostile to America, really and practically, with such men in it as the Honorable Milner Gibson, who in Parliament, at the beginning of the war, declared that he could never wish to see established an empire that made slavery its basis; with Argyle, who said "A nation that will not fight to maintain its independence is not worthy of being called a nation." [Applause.] This same Duke of Argyle, who occupied a high place in the cabinet, who also said, he being a Presbyterian Scotchman—and when you have united both you have a rather strong combination of orthodox principles—if Colenso wrote a hundred years, and wrote a book of heresy every year, he would not do as much damage to the Bible as those who dared to prove slavery out of it. I may mention another, with whom I esteem it a very great honor to have personal friendship, I mean Mr. Gladstone, a man who has a combination of marvelous qualities, certainly our leading statesman and sure in a very little while to be Prime Minister of our country. You were grieved at a speech he once made in which he said that "the South had been constituted a nation." I know from the very best authority that he said that, not from the slightest sympathy with the cause of the South, but only in the interests of humanity. He felt, from the results of reading old history—history is always new—he came to the conclusion that such an insurrection as that could never be quelled; that the result of the war was inevitable, and would

cost ten thousand precious lives. In the interests of the North and South, and of humanity generally, he thought it was best to recognize an event which was inevitable before there was so much useless sacrifice of life. He was mistaken in opinion; he rejoiced that he was mistaken; but a mistaken opinion is a very different thing from a hostile feeling. I had the honor of being shown a letter which was received only this very week by a most distinguished Senator of your country from Mr. Gladstone, which letter he concluded with these words: "I watch all your proceedings with intense interest, and most heartily desire your increasing greatness, goodness, and happiness." That is the spirit of the man who will be ruling as minister the destinies of our nation very soon.

Thus, as I have said, there was this great public opinion out-of-doors in favor of Union and Emancipation. There are names that might be mentioned which have been omitted by the President in his address. In reference to the vast circulation of pamphlets, I may name James Potter, the successor of Mr. Cobden in Parliament. I met him a little while before I left my country, and told him that Americans did not know all their friends, and that I should like to mention his name. Said I, "How much did you expend in the circulation of pamphlets amongst the working-men?" "Oh, about five or six thousand pounds" (about forty thousand dollars), was the reply. He seemed to think nothing of it. This was besides much spent in other ways, yet this was simply in the circulation of pamphlets. That was one specimen of what was done by our private citizens. Then there were men who had not money to give who worked with vigor; who had

not the credit and notoriety of making speeches; they had not the gift of speech, but they labored effectually. Mr. Chesson, one of the editors of the *Star* newspaper, a man of very small means, devoted himself night and day, for several years, gratuitously, as secretary to the Working Union Emancipation Society of London. I just mention these names as specimens of many others that might be mentioned. But especially, Mr. President, the working-men of England are the men to whom America is indebted, if you may call it so. But I do not like to be reminded of things that were done by us as if we were laying *Americans* under obligation. Gentlemen, it was not something that we did for Americans; it was something that we did for ourselves, it was to ward off from ourselves one of the most deadly disgraces that would have ever stained the national escutcheon; it was to maintain the great principle of Liberty, which, assailed in any one portion of the world, injures the friends of liberty all over the world [applause]; it was to maintain the honor of labor in the case of the colored man. Labor dishonored by slavery in one part of the world, is a dishonor to labor all over the world. There was generous enthusiasm over America, for we felt that we were your brethren. There is hardly a family of working-men amongst us who has not some kinsmen amongst you, and letters passing between them,—and they would pass more frequently if the postage were a little less, and I hope it will be soon. Almost all our homes in Great Britain have some endearing tie linking them here. It was out of love to America that they desired to help you in your great struggle, and also because the honor of the freedom of England itself was dear

to them. We were fighting our own war when you were fighting a more deadly struggle away over here. Having the honor of an interview with General Grant the other day, I said, while he was fighting here, we were fighting yonder. The General replied—he has not many words [great laughter]—with quiet humor, “It cost us a little more than it cost you!” “Quite true,” I replied, “but if we had not fought that fight, the cost to you would have been much greater than it has been.” Now, it is not worthy to be called a fight in comparison with yours; but do let me assure you, Mr. President and gentlemen, of the hearty sympathy of the great masses of our people. I attended a meeting in the Cooper Institute the other day, at which I heard words of censure and hatred against Great Britain; which words were received with enthusiastic plaudits by that immense assembly. I assure you that it is utterly impossible, at any meeting of the people of England, to say one word of hostility to America without that speaker being hissed down at once. I may moreover say, that if any speaker, in any of our great public meetings, in a meeting for any religious object, or any public political object; let there be a great mass meeting in London anywhere, in any of our large towns, and let the speaker be getting rather dry, let it be evident that the attention of the audience is being wearied, let him be anxious to get up a little excitement in his favor, and say one word of good-will and praise of America, and he will bring down the house with applause.

A Voice—“Was that a Democratic or a Republican meeting you attended at Cooper Institute?”

Dr. Hall.—“I know nothing about Democratic or

Republican.”—Reports of great meetings came over, and of certain things being said. I am far from saying that this is the general sentiment of America, but I simply wish to contrast that with the feeling of Great Britain. I do not think our government has been particularly friendly to America; but I do think that the people of England are more friendly to America than the people generally of America are towards Great Britain. I am not surprised that you looked upon the conduct of the British government as the conduct of the nation at large;—at least it appeared so to the multitude around and outside. The government has pleased neither the North nor the South; and there are very many in your nation who feel towards our nation—as it is very natural they should feel—thus, and identify the government with the nation. But at home we never identified ourselves with our government. On the contrary, we protested against the conduct of our government. I assure you, whatever politicians may say and do, on this side of the water, and that whatever hostile expressions may be used in any of your papers or by any of your speakers, it will not alter the deep love in the hearts of my countrymen—in the hearts of the masses of the people of Great Britain. Whatever may be said or done on our side of the water, do not interpret their speeches or acts as representative of the true feeling of the great masses of the British nation; for the great heart of Britain—as all through your struggle—beats in true sympathy with the great heart of America. I understand what a heart *he* had [pointing to a portrait of Cobden]. I knew him; I loved him; he struggled for us. And what a big heart *he* has, [pointing to the portrait of John

Bright.] The last man I saw when I left my country, standing on the little steam-tug waving his handkerchief as we passed away! I got a letter from my wife this week wherein she says: "John Bright was spending the evening with us last night!" It is a delight to have him as a personal friend, if you only knew him. However much you may be charmed with his public speeches, you would be still more charmed with his personal conversation. I have seen him fondling his boy in his arms, when, a few days after, that boy was taken to heaven. You should have seen the grief of that heart. For months he was unfit for public duty, owing to the grief which he felt at losing that cherished one. He was tender as well as strong, as all strong men are. I care nothing for the strength, if it have not the tenderness with it. It is a delight to see his noble face here on these walls. How I have loved to hear him in Parliament when his opponents have trembled under his denunciations! Those who may differ with him in his policy have felt the majesty of the great truths by which he has been animated. He holds with him the hearts of the great nation; and you may depend upon it that a people having such leaders as Cobden and Bright are right as regards America. [Applause.] Now especially the working-men of the cotton districts deserve commemoration. They were starving; their mills were closed. I have passed through towns during your war. I love to see Sunday well kept, to see the chimney send out no smoke, the windows of the factory dark on that day; but it was a sad thing to pass through our great towns day by day and see no smoke from those tall chimneys,—and to know what it meant! That it meant "hunger" in tens of

thousands of homes! How very easy it would have been for Southern sympathizers to have come and endeavored to inflame the minds of these men to get them to clamor for the breaking of the blockade, that they might get cotton! They never dared to call public meetings. For years there never was a public meeting called attempting to express sympathy with the South, but thousands of meetings were held in favor of the cause of the North. We should have been only too glad for the Southerners to have done so, for it would have been a Union Emancipation meeting. They knew that the masses would have passed resolutions for Union and Emancipation. If there was a spot where they might have attempted to hold such meetings, it was in the cotton districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire. But Union and Emancipation meetings of the most enthusiastic kind were held in the midst of that famine, and the working men and women said: "We are willing to wait; we are willing to be without work; we are willing to be without wages; we are willing to be without food; but never, so help our God! will we recognize the slave Confederacy—to have the blockade broken and an injury done to our fellow-workmen over yonder, because they have a darker skin than we!" [Applause.]

Now, Mr. President, it is time that I closed these too lengthy words. I will just say, through you, how thankful I feel for the very great and distinguished kindness that has been rendered me during my short visit—short in one respect, because your country is so vast and your dangers so many! During the period in which I have had the pleasure of visiting your nation, everywhere I have received the most unsurpassed

hospitality, kindness, and honor; which I received, not simply and chiefly as a personal tribute to myself, but as a tribute to my countrymen, and as a testimony of the deep affection which Americans feel towards the nation of which I am an humble representative. In the course of my sojourn, I have had the honor of visiting Bunker Hill. It was a very great delight to me to see our two flags folded together, and to hear the band of your navy there play "Yankee Doodle" and "God Save the Queen." I was determined to make a thorough Bunker Hill speech, and to feel that as an Englishman I could rejoice in the triumph of English pluck, of English truth, of English justice, over an affected, ignorant, and tyrannical faction. And all England at the present day rejoices that we were vanquished. An honor indeed I felt it last week, when I was permitted on one occasion to open the meeting of Congress with invoking the blessing of God; especially, too, when by invitation of the Speaker I was asked to preach on Sunday morning, when I saw before me a vast assembly of Senators and Members of Congress, with your most distinguished General just by, and representatives from other countries, and the galleries crowded with a mass of human beings which I seldom witnessed on any other occasion. I cannot tell you how deeply I felt the distinguished honor that was done me in being permitted, in such a place, to preach the Gospel, which I did uttering the sentiment of congratulation which England feels when talking upon American freedom—the congratulation that you, as a nation, do "stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free," and that you are determined not again "to be entangled with the yoke of bondage."

And now, sir, in conclusion, let me say that I do trust that God will give us His blessing, and that He will watch over the interests of the two nations; that He will guide the minds of statesmen and politicians, so that these two great nations shall never be seen at any serious variance with one another. It would be the catastrophe of history, a calamity to the wide world. Rather let us all be one; let the Union which is the name of your association—the union which you wish to preserve amongst yourselves—be also illustrated as regards our two nations. Let the two nations that are first in the world be one in promoting the welfare of the world; let the two nations which are first in civilization be one in promoting the civilization of mankind; let the two nations that are first in Religion and Freedom be one in promoting the religion and freedom of the world. [Great applause.]

SPEECH OF DR. THOMPSON.

Rev. Dr. THOMPSON, of the Tabernacle Church, then said:

Mr. President: I rise to offer one or two resolutions, for which, I would premise, the Club are indebted, as they have heretofore been indebted, to the facile and gifted pen of Mr. Henry T. Tuckerman. I am happy to comply with the request to offer these resolutions on his behalf:

Resolved, That the thanks of the Club are richly due and are hereby warmly tendered to the Rev. Dr. Newman Hall for his eloquent and instructive exposition of the origin and causes of British sentiment toward the United States during the war for the Union.

Resolved, That regarding Dr. Hall as an able and authentic representative of the noble class of men who, by word and deed, sought to rectify the errors and enlist the just sympathies of the English public in regard to the great conflict on this side of the ocean, we rejoice in the opportunity thus afforded to declare and record our conviction that antecedent political interests rather than personal indifference created and maintained the unworthy and unjustifiable animosity toward the North on the part of the European tory organs and officials in the memorable struggle on this continent between Freedom and Slavery.

Resolved, That we recognize and gratefully honor the humane and efficient labors of the enlightened friends of our country and her civic institutions in the hour of adversity, and of the illustrious representatives of liberal principles and progressive nationality in Great Britain, especially as manifest in the efforts of the Manchester Emancipation Society—the eloquent speeches of John Bright, the classical emphasis of Goldwin Smith, and the earnest pleas and protests of Dr. Cairnes, Dr. Newman Hall, and so many other upright and gifted men of a land so dear to us through ancestral ties and affinities of language, literature, freedom, and faith.

As I have listened this evening to the most instructive and eloquent remarks of our honored friend and guest, I have been struck, as often before, with the identity of liberal thought and progressive principles in matters of government and humanity in true minds of the English race on both sides of the Atlantic. Had we not known the name and country of the speaker to-night, could any man of us have told that he was not one of ourselves, standing up to give an exposition of the causes and principles of the American conflict illustrated from American history? [Applause.] As Dr. Hall was so clearly and forcibly expounding the fundamental principles of government, and especially developing that which with us is the first cardinal principle, to wit, local self-government, I said to myself,

had he lived in 1776, what a capital rebel he would have been with any man of that time! [Laughter and applause.] The fundamental principle of our Revolution was, the right of the people in their several localities, to govern themselves, and especially not to have their taxes imposed upon them by a distant government in which they had no representation. And he appreciates, as I had an opportunity of saying, he may remember, on the other side, that the American Revolution was nothing more nor less than a summary and convincing method of ridding ourselves of an obnoxious ministry. We had no quarrel with the English nation and never have had. We resisted certain measures of the British government, and having rid ourselves of those, we have stood by the English nation with as little cause of disruption as possible from that time to this; and I think are destined to stand by them more and more, now that they, seeing to what a height this little germ transplanted from their soil has grown, have come to respect us more; for John Bull has a very honest mind and a very open hand for any one whom he thoroughly respects. [Laughter and applause.] I remember that Tom Paine—whom I am not very apt to quote as an authority [Renewed laughter], and yet, whom I am very glad to quote when he has a really good sentiment—in a pamphlet called “Common Sense,” published during the crisis of the Revolution, made this pithy, epigrammatic presentation of the whole condition of the war: “England,” said he, “is too ignorant of America to govern it well; too jealous to govern it justly, and too distant to govern it at all.” [Great laughter.] Well, sir, we disposed—and our friends on the other side fully agree

with us in the result—of the little matter of government, and we have no further quarrel concerning that. We retained, as I have said, our living interest in the English nation, and the moral government of the English nation over the people of these United States did not terminate with the recognition of the United States as an independent nationality. We still looked, after the first asperities of the war were over, to the old home of our fathers; we still drank of her fountains of literature; we still maintained her faith; we still respected her opinion and bowed to it, perhaps too much, and yet with the confidence that was natural and worthy of respect. Still, while the government to which Paine objected on the score of distance, has passed away, and the distance itself has been almost annihilated by the invention of steam and the steamship, too much of the other elements that he deprecated have remained in the English people towards the United States—the ignorance and the jealousy; and I say this in perfect kindness; for those who have honored me here and elsewhere in listening to what I may have felt called upon to say during the war, will bear me witness that again and again have I apologized for and as far as possible vindicated our English friends in the attitude which they had taken during the war. The ignorance of the structure of this government, which made it so difficult, so well nigh impossible, for many Englishmen to understand how President Lincoln could have been elected on an avowed platform of the non-extension of slavery, and yet could declare in his inaugural address that as President he could not interfere with slavery—the ignorance, I say, which made it well nigh impossible for many in England to compre-

hend the interior workings of our government, is largely excusable. Their interests with European politics and the politics of the Eastern world have been so much more pressing and vital than any interests they had in this country—except purely commercial interests prior to the war—that they are largely excusable for having failed to comprehend the peculiar structure of our government and the workings of our internal politics.

We have a hundred reasons to one for understanding the history, the government, the institutions, the policy of Great Britain, that an Englishman has for comprehending our institutions. It had been a shame to us not to have known what was a part of our peculiar history. That ignorance has largely passed away, because these gigantic events on this side of the water have commanded attention; and our English friends, being summoned to give their attention, have brought their honest common sense to bear upon the whole question; and England is enlightened to-day by events on this side, and by such indoctrination as these very potent teachers represented here to-night have given to their countrymen. The matter of jealousy, I think, appertains not at all to the English nation as a whole. It doubtless influenced certain classes in England in their perverted judgment—a judgment in which perhaps the wish was father to the thought—concerning the tendencies and results of our war. But I would recall here a very frank and honorable admission upon this point, made to me by a clergyman of the Church of England, whose sympathies during the war, for want of previous information, had been upon the side of the South. We had traveled for several days together, and had talked more or less of American and

English affairs, and one day, in the course of our conversation, I called his attention to that distinction so admirably put by Professor Lieber, in his "Civil Liberty." I owe so many good things to him that I can hardly trace the language of the particular thought, but I think this is his: "The distinction between constitutional liberty which they invent so easily in France, writing 'Liberty' on a sheet of paper and running up a flag, and then losing it all in a few weeks, and institutional liberty, which is grounded on all the framework of Anglo-Saxon society, coming from family up through these local communities, is this very principle of self-government." We brought that from England. It was the peculiar English idea that our fathers planted here, and which Dr. Hall has so happily described as simply the working out of English ideas transplanted to this soil. I was expatiating on this to this gentleman, and expressing my admiration of those fundamental views of English liberty which we hold in common. He said to me, "It is very grateful to hear such sentiments as these from an American. Pray, tell me, are such views common in America?" "Common!" said I, "I should be ashamed of any man of ordinary intelligence in America who did not know enough of the history of his country, and the history of liberty, and the origin of institutions, to accredit these fundamental ideas to England. And therefore," I continued, "intelligent and free men in America were the more astonished when they found that men of intelligence in England had so little sympathy with the maintenance of those fundamental ideas upon which English liberty itself is established." He sat for a moment, and then turned to me in the frankest way,

and said, "Well, sir, I have nothing to say, except that I am sorry for it, and ashamed of it; and it was all because we were so confoundedly jealous of you." That was from his point of view, and the circle in which he moved. I think now that it is beginning to be understood that we have established our Union and vitalized our institutions—not for a crusade against nations, but in the interests of peace and humanity. With that, old figments of jealousy will disappear, and the whole of that indictment of TOM PAINE against Great Britain, in 1776, will have been blotted out forever. No more ignorance, no more jealousy, no more attempted interference in matters of government, but right down good-will—side by side, hand in hand, heart with heart, for the great common interests of freedom and humanity for evermore. [Applause.] I cannot sit down without saying a word, though I am embarrassed at saying it in the presence of our guest, which, of course, his modesty would not permit him to say when recounting what was done for us in a critical moment upon the other side. He has paid a deserved and most honorable tribute—as you yourself have also done in your opening address—to great leaders of thought in England, whose names are now cherished among us as household words. But, I wish to say, from a personal knowledge of facts, and a personal point of observation, that not one of those great leaders did more for the vital interests of peace and good-will between England and America than this our friend, who had certain rare facilities for reaching the popular mind which even they did not possess. For why was it that NEWMAN HALL, when he stood forward at the very first as our champion, had a hearing everywhere?

You can understand, to-night, largely why it was, after listening to his clear, discerning, and discriminating statement of facts, and his whole line of argument. He comprehended the subject, and was able to put it fairly before the people. That, however, was but a small part of the work which he did. As a minister of religion, he has made the common people of England understand that he is the friend of humanity and liberty. [Applause.] He has made the working-men understand, by lectures given to them for their social and intellectual improvement, and by appliances in every direction for their elevation, that he is their friend in every interest that appertains to their welfare. He has been their friend as an Englishman, and has been struggling for their rights as one sympathizing with them in their miseries, sorrows, and sufferings; he has been their friend on the score of humanity and justice always; and having thus identified himself with the working-men by identifying himself with man as man, he was a power when the crisis came, to help our cause as few men in England could have helped it. [Renewed applause.] And therefore it was that he ventured to do, and succeeded in doing, what any of us would find in like circumstances a most difficult and desperate undertaking—to breast the sentiment of injured nationality, the feeling that the national flag was outraged in the Trent affair. In the very height of that excitement, he gathered together the working-men, who answered to his call, around him. They were ready to hear him, for they knew that he never deceived them; they knew that he was their friend in every interest; and when he said to them, “This attempt to stir up a feeling of war against America is wrong, is a crime,”

they were ready to believe him, even without the evidence. And when the evidence came, in that simple and forcible way that he knows so well how to present truths to the working minds of England, he rallied men in popular sympathies to create a public sentiment outside of Parliament against the ruling tendencies of the hour. I feel that we owe him large thanks for the service done in such a crisis. But while I speak thus freely of the influence of our friend among the working classes, let none leave with the opinion that that comprises the whole of his sphere of influence on our behalf.

Recalling in very few words two occasions on which I had the pleasure of hearing Dr. Hall on the other side, you will see two other mines of influence hardly less efficient. It was my pleasure to attend as a delegate from this side of the Atlantic the annual meeting of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, which brings together in one mass assemblage, the ministry and a large portion of the laity of the independent churches of Great Britain. On that occasion Rev. Newman Hall was the chairman, and in presenting an American visitor and guest, he spoke of our country there in the same tones of unqualified eulogy that he used to-night in the hearing of American ears, and in that body he had battled for us when, through mismanagement or misconception, there was some lack of sympathy there in earlier years. And I felt proud of him as, on that occasion, standing on the pinnacle of our victories, he could glorify the triumph of freedom over slavery, and union over a slave oligarchy; and when the whole assembly arose in tumultuous applause, could say, "I told you so!" [Applause.] The other occasion was a breakfast, at which again Dr. Hall pre-

sided, where were present several members of Parliament and one or two from the house of Peers, where Gladstone was represented by a most eloquent leader, where the Established Church was represented in the person of the gifted and eloquent Dean of Westminster; in short, quite a representative assembly of political and influential men in England; and there again he was, as he always is, true to himself, true to his principles, true to our cause, and set forth in a few telling words the identity of interest between our victories here and the triumphs that they were making over yonder. For, sir, there is an identity of interest in the work that the two nations have before them. The victory achieved here by our war of Republican institutions against a slave oligarchy, of the principles of justice and humanity over the depredations of slavery, has wrought out a corresponding victory in England of liberal opinions, not only in the sphere of thought, not only in that those who at the first had been somewhat slighted for espousing our cause—the men in high places who came at last to be recognized as oracles and prophets—but also a victory in measures which not all the manly and honest eloquence of John Bright and Mr. Gladstone could have carried, nor what the political jugglery of Mr. Disraeli conceded,—that enlargement of the suffrage,—had they not been able to point over to the other side and say, “See how popular liberty is to be trusted, trusted to take care of itself, trusted to be true to principle, trusted to fight to the end when the interests of freedom and humanity are put in jeopardy.” [Applause.] Therefore these friends of Reform could say, “It is safe to trust the people more and more.” And now, with these great principles in common, shall we not unite.

through this our representative, as he shall go home next Wednesday, in sending our pledge of amity, of unity, of confirmed devotion to the principles of justice, freedom and humanity, to the great people of England? I trust that, whatever use Dr. Hall may make of the speech he heard at Cooper Institute, he will always be sure to remember and say that it was just on the eve of an election. I think that will make it quite intelligible to any English audience. And if he will be so good as to remember one other thing: If, somehow, on the other side, they can contrive to reconstruct Ireland, there will be no more such speeches in the Cooper Institute. If you will persuade those Celts to respect and love the people of England, and then either keep them at home and make good use of them or send them here,—for we find that we can use them in other ways than at the polls,—send them here with a truce between you and them, and there will be no occasion for petty politicians, hankering after office, to palter to that interest. And more than that, there will be no feeling in this country, that humanity is concerned in redressing the real wrongs of Ireland. The work of reconstruction *there* is the work of the English nation, in which they should have our sympathy, without carping criticism, just as the work of reconstruction in the South is *our* work, not yet concluded, in which we need *their* sympathy as well. They have the black man, also, to care for in Jamaica, as we have him to care for in the South—having those great questions of liberty, and all those as yet uncertain issues of suffrage, to watch over and nurse and develop on their side, as we to develop them here. They have a free press, a free government and a free people; and we will work with them in the same line until we can

stand together, recalling the memories of Wilberforce and Clarkson on the one hand, and of our Washington and Franklin on the other, until this great English-speaking community—though separated by the waters—shall be united by the ties of humanity and faith, and together stand, to shield the black man from all wrong, and to lift every man to the full privileges and rights of manhood.

REMARKS OF MR. DORMAN B. EATON.

DORMAN B. EATON, Esq., said:

MR. CHAIRMAN—I have too high an appreciation of the enthusiastic feeling of admiration and pleasure which pervades all our minds, inspired as it has been by the eloquent, earnest, and stirring speeches which we have heard, to mar it by any poor utterances of mine. But, after all, what is speech? It is not smoothly uttered, mellifluous words, nor the beauty of rhetoric, but it is the great characters and events which it recalls. It thrills and inspires us in noble imitation of the great characters and events to which it refers. No man ever visited Westminster Hall and looked upon those memorials to the great poets, orators, and statesmen of England, without feeling his own mind awakened to a kindred appreciation of the great principles which ennobled their lives, and which has caused their faces and their characters to be handed down to succeeding generations. No person here looks upon the portraits that adorn our walls without recalling the great events which illustrated the lives of the men represented. We, as members of this Club, wish

to surround ourselves with memorials of those great characters in England, France, and elsewhere, who have advocated the principles for which we have contended, and who have vindicated our national character in the eyes of Europe. I feel sure that it will be the pleasure of this Club to place upon our walls the portrait of another man who has so nobly battled as a fellow-laborer with those that do honor to our Club. I take great pleasure in offering the following resolution, which a distinguished member of the Club has placed in my hands :

“RESOLVED, That Dr. HALL is hereby requested to do the Club the favor, before he leaves the city, to sit for an imperial photograph to add to the galleries of our foreign friends.”

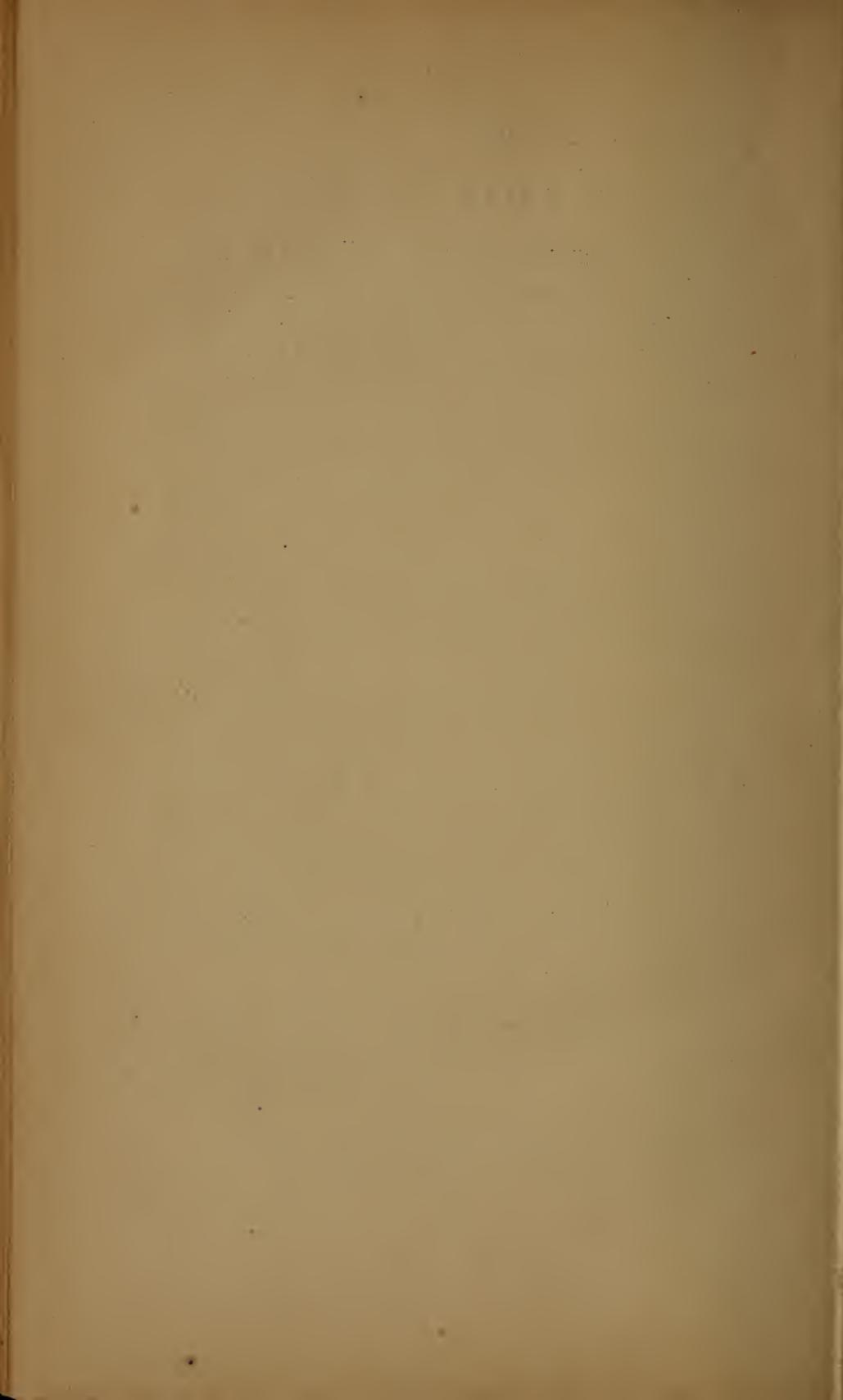
I doubt not it would be more agreeable to the members of the Club, if the time of our guest in New York would permit him, to sit for that which would enable an American artist to perpetuate his own fame in delineating the features of the distinguished orator. But when we once get him in a photograph, we can enlarge it into an oil painting, as his fame and his great reputation grows with his years and spreads over the world. [Applause.]

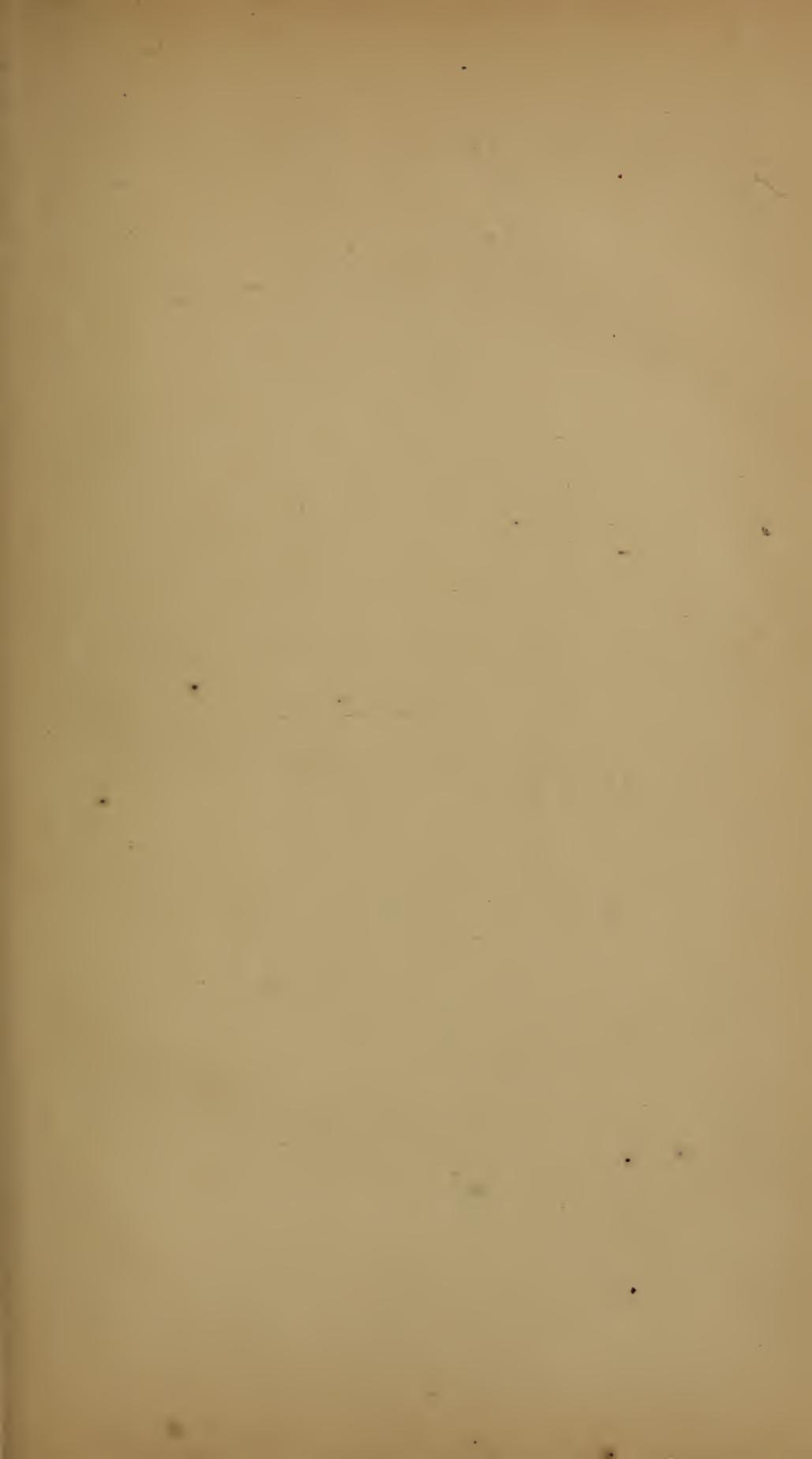
The President then put the resolutions offered by Dr. Thompson and Mr. Eaton, and they were adopted with acclamation.

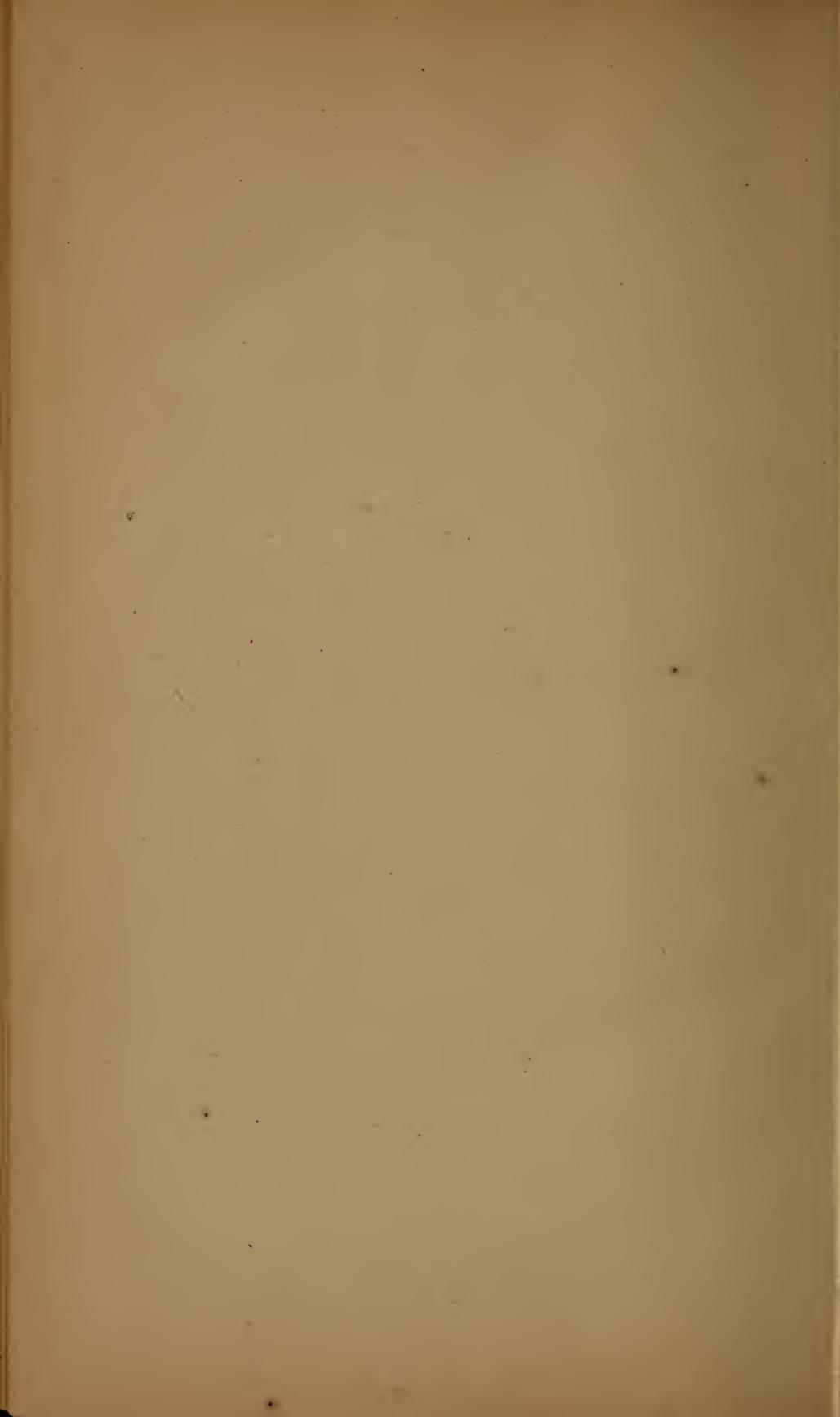
Dr. HALL was then introduced personally to each member of the Club, after which this important interview closed.

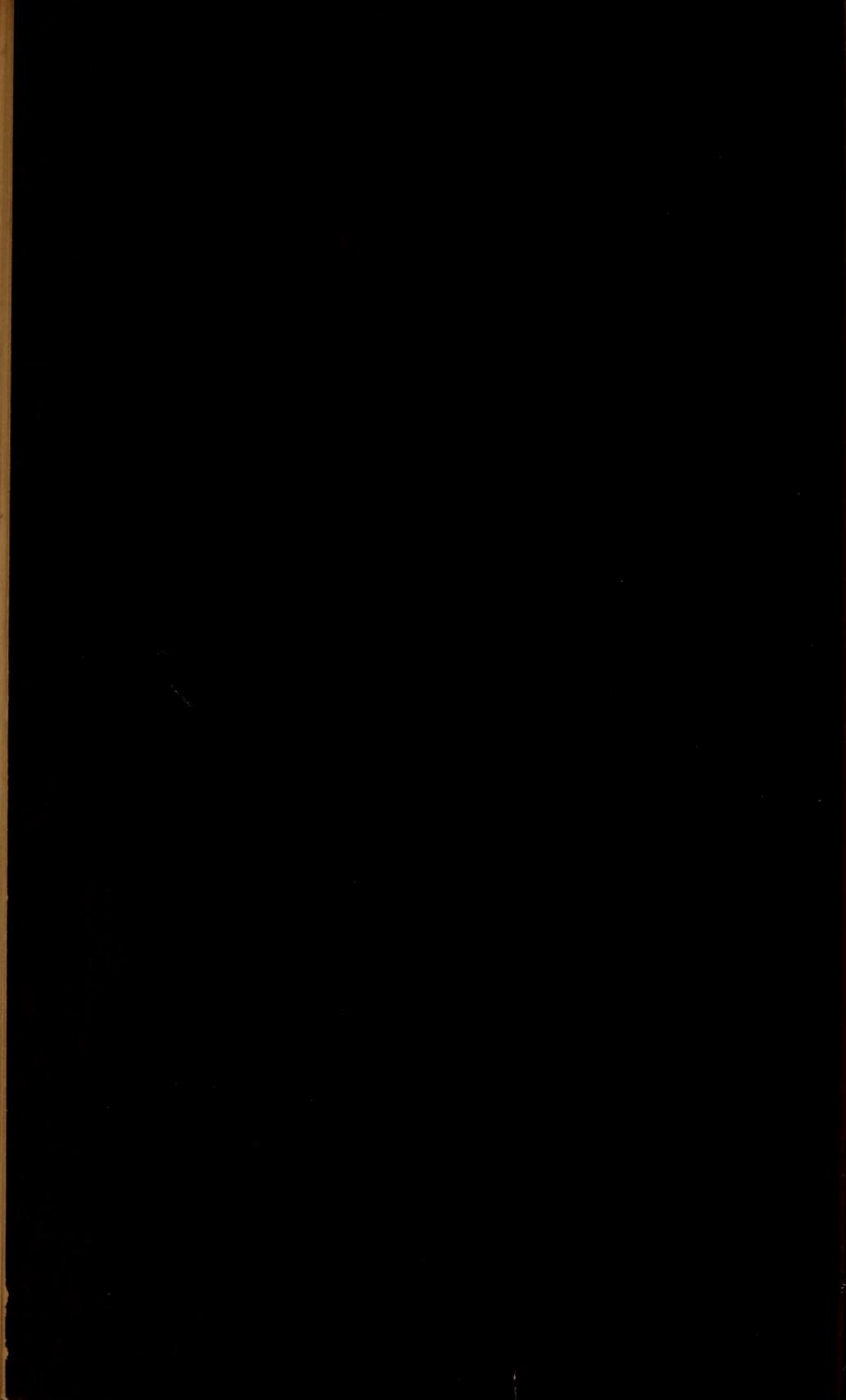
NOTE.

[The sermons extemporaneously delivered by Rev. NEWMAN HALL, were reported expressly for the *New York Methodist*, of which Rev. G. R. Crooks, D.D., is the editor, and are now appearing in that enterprising paper.]









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