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THE  
RELIGIOUS CONDITION  
OF  
CHRISTENDOM.

BALLANTYNE, PRINTER, EDINBURGH.



THE

# RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF CHRISTENDOM,

EXHIBITED IN

A SERIES OF PAPERS,

PREPARED AT THE INSTANCE OF

THE BRITISH ORGANISATION OF THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE,

AND READ AT ITS

FIFTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE, HELD IN FREEMASONS' HALL, LONDON,  
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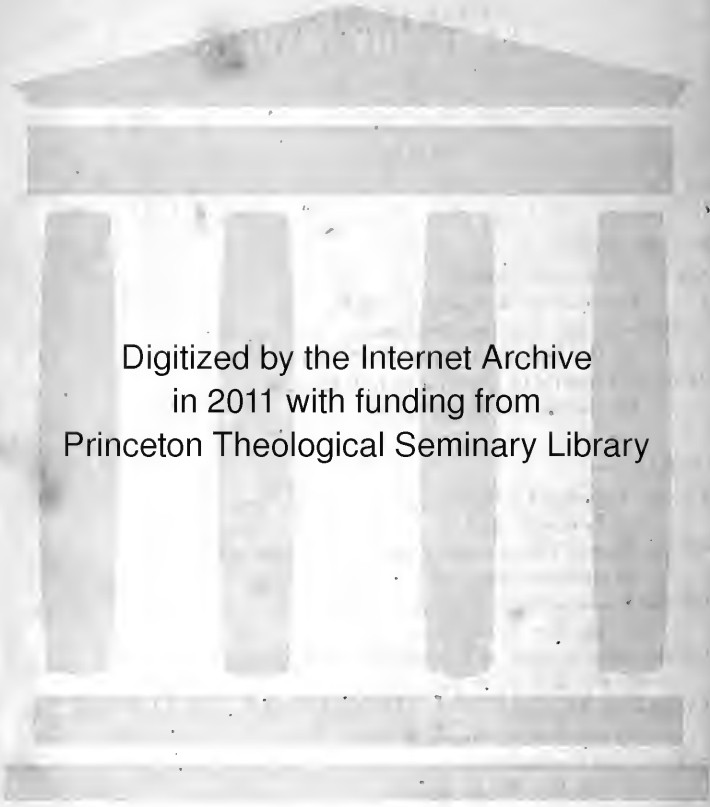
REV. EDWARD STEANE, D.D.

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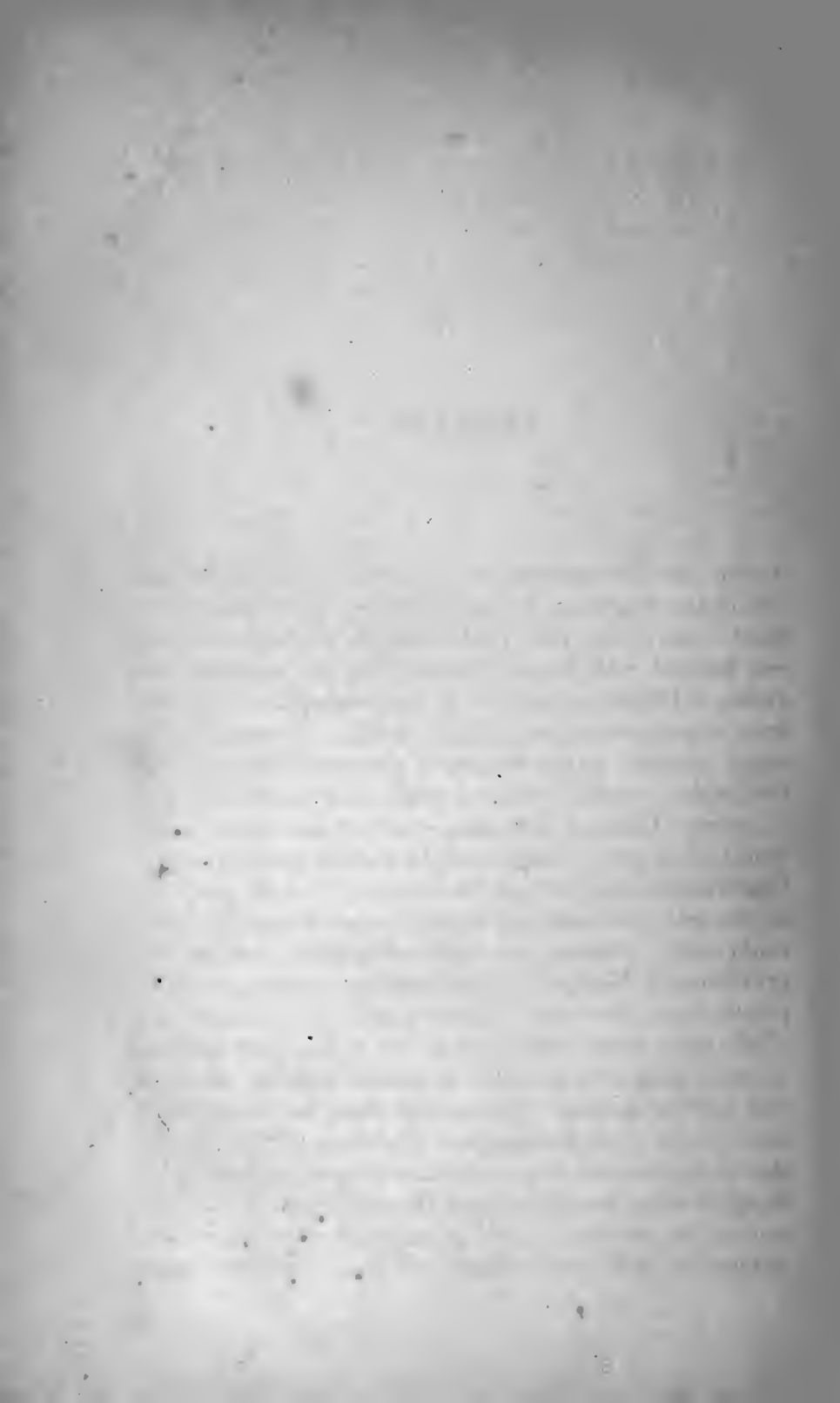
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## PREFACE.

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AMONG the consequences of that unprecedented Exhibition of the Works of Art and Industry, which formed the great event of the year 1851, none, to a Christian mind, was fraught with deeper interest, than the gathering together of Christian brethren, in the metropolis of Britain, from almost every part of the world. An assembly in many respects similar had been convened five years before, which resulted in the formation of the Evangelical Alliance. Little, at that time, was the expectation entertained, that, after so comparatively short a period, a second Conference would be held, as œcumenical in its character as the first, and more numerous in its attendants. Nor could such a circumstance have taken place had not the providence of God, in an extraordinary manner, made it practicable. But when it once became known that men of all climes would certainly visit our shores, and facilities of every kind were provided to enable them to do so, it was neither doubted that among them would be found many of the most distinguished Christians of the age, nor that it became the duty of British Christians not merely to afford them hospitality, and the opportunities of intercourse, but to bring them formally together for mutual recognition with each other and themselves, for united

prayer, and for deliberate consultation on the state of Christianity throughout the world.

Arrangements were accordingly made by the Council of the British Organisation of the Evangelical Alliance for accomplishing this design, since there appeared to be no other body either prepared to take the necessary steps or able to carry through so great an undertaking. Upon them, moreover, it seemed naturally to devolve, both because their relations were already so extensive, and because one of the objects contemplated by the Alliance, and provided for, by resolution, when it was formed, was the "receiving such information respecting the progress of vital religion in all parts of the world as Christian brethren might be disposed to communicate."

It was a design, as they felt, of no common magnitude, and encompassed with no ordinary difficulties. But they had acquired much experience; and the object meeting with general sympathy, their efforts were cordially supported both at home and abroad. An active correspondence was accordingly commenced, letters of inquiry and invitation were despatched to all quarters of the globe, opinions were gathered from all accessible countries, long journeys through the principal Protestant states of Europe were made for the purpose, plans of procedure were digested, special subjects selected on which information should be sought and an interchange of sentiment elicited, parties appointed to prepare papers upon them, various committees organised and charged with different branches of the common duty, funds raised, the time and place of meeting fixed, and all other preliminaries settled. Through all these preparatory measures, demanding much foresight and great labour, the Council were carried with unbroken harmony, and with such evident proofs of the Divine blessing, as afforded no uncertain omen of the character of the contemplated meetings.

At length the appointed day arrived for the opening

of the Conference. Every hope was realised, every toil compensated. The spacious hall was filled. Christians greeted their fellow-Christians from many lands, and enjoyed in a measure the blessedness which awaits the whole company of the redeemed when they are gathered together "out of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues," into their eternal home.

It was an august assembly. Nearly two thousand persons attended its various sessions, being double the number which took part in the Conference of 1846. But if, in addition to the numbers attending it, the object of the Conference be considered, the character of its members, the motive which brought them together notwithstanding their ecclesiastical and even doctrinal differences, the freedom which reigned in their deliberations, and the perfect unanimity which marked all their conclusions, it will not be deemed too much to say that the gathering of this great assembly denotes an epoch in the history of the Church. It was not a congress of princes and statesmen—those who composed it were, for the most part, little known in the high places of the world; nor was it an association of men of literature and science—the philosophers and *savans* of the nations. There were, indeed, present some distinguished by profound learning and varied philosophical acquirements, the lights and ornaments of their respective countries; but the distinction which all coveted, and by which each sought to be known to all the rest, was that he was a Christian, and *that* not in the modern sense of the designation, whether geographical or sacramental, but in the signification which attached to its first use at Antioch. It was an assembly of Christ's disciples, many of them Christ's ministers, some of them confessors and sufferers for Christ, all loving Him, and all for His sake loving one another. From the east and the west they came, from the north and the south, speaking diverse languages, and exhibiting

many ethnological peculiarities; but every distinction was merged in the common brotherhood of Christians, while they took united counsels for the common Christian cause.

The series of Papers of which this volume consists, were prepared by their respective authors at the request of the Council, and were read to the Conference. Most of them have already appeared in *EVANGELICAL CHRISTENDOM*, abstracts of them in the *CHRISTIAN TIMES* and other journals and magazines, and some in separate pamphlets. Their intrinsic value, as well as the strongly expressed desire to possess them in a united and less fugitive form, induced the Council to collect and reprint them. It would be difficult, even if it came within the province of the Editor, to indicate their individual, and still more, their comparative, merits; but no hesitation need be felt in saying, that, taken as a whole, they constitute a volume as valuable for its materials as it is novel in its character. Never before, it is presumed, was the attempt made to bring together from the various countries of Europe, and from the United States, such a collection of facts and historical documents on the state of Evangelical Christianity, with its two great antagonists, Infidelity and Romanism. The names of the Authors are a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy of the statements, as well as for the enlightened and Christian spirit in which they are written. It is proper, at the same time, to say that the responsibility, both for the facts and the sentiments, rests with them, and not with the Council.

It ought also to be mentioned that the papers now given to the public are not all that were read at the Conference. Those omitted from the volume, with one or two exceptions, are reducible to two classes; the first, consisting of papers read at the devotional meetings, and the other of papers relating to the progress of the Evangelical Alliance in foreign countries. With regard to the former of these,



they amount to nearly twenty in number, and would form a volume by themselves. It was altogether impossible, much as it was desired, to include them in this. The latter, although they could not be given in their entirety, it was hoped, might, in a condensed form, have been interwoven with other matter into an introduction which the Editor originally intended to prefix to the following pages. From fulfilling this intention, however, he is deterred by the size to which the volume has already grown. For the principal of them, and for many of the devotional papers, he may refer the reader to **EVANGELICAL CHRISTENDOM**.

Most of the following papers referring to the Continent were written in the language of the country to which they relate, and were translated by various hands. Diversities of style will of course be apparent, but the Editor fears also that, in some instances, passages will be found which are open to criticism for the absence of elegant construction, and perhaps even of perspicuity. These blemishes, however, he trusts, will be visited with no great severity when it is added, that the translations could not always be made with that leisure which is necessary to secure a style at once free and polished; and that, in no case, so far as he is aware, has a fact been misstated, or the sentiments of the writer been inaccurately rendered.

The Editor must, in conclusion, be permitted to offer his congratulations to the members of the Alliance on the volume which is now put into their hands. Of its kind, it stands alone. Regarded in its origin, its composite authorship, its materials, and its object, it has perhaps no compeer. He ventures to indulge the hope that it is only the first of a series. What nobler end can the Evangelical Alliance pursue than that of periodically bringing together Christians of all nations, not simply to exchange affectionate greetings, and in some sort, by their catholic love and combined devotions, to antedate the praises and the joy

of heaven,—though that alone were a sublime conception, and worthy for its own sake to be often realised;—but conjointly to survey the state of the whole Church on earth, and to take counsel together for the advancement of the great Christian commonwealth? That Church is assuredly one, and that commonwealth admits in reality of no divided aims or interests. How should we mourn that it has been torn and rent into so many parties, and how earnestly should we pray and labour that its primitive unity may be restored, and its primitive triumphs! They will return together when they return at all. For never till the disciples of the Intercessor are “made perfect in one” will his intercessory prayer be answered—“that the world may know that Thou hast sent me, and hast loved them as Thou hast loved me.”

THE  
RELIGIOUS CONDITION  
OF  
CHRISTENDOM.



## INTRODUCTORY PAPERS.

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I.

ON THE CAUSES OF SCHISM.

BY THE REV. ROBERT BUCHANAN, D.D.

II.

ADDRESS ON THE PRACTICAL RESOLUTIONS  
ADOPTED AT THE FIRST CONFERENCE IN 1846.

BY THE REV. EDWARD HENRY BICKERSTETH, M.A.

III.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE  
EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

BY THE REV. D. KING, LL.D.



## INTRODUCTORY PAPERS.

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### ON THE CAUSES OF SCHISM.

BY THE REV. R. BUCHANAN, D.D.,

GLASGOW.

CHRISTIAN FRIENDS AND BRETHERN,—The grand characteristic object of the Evangelical Alliance is to promote Christian union. It has seemed to me, therefore, to be not unsuitable, in this opening address at our annual meeting, to consider what it is that has so extensively and injuriously divided the followers of Christ—that has split into so many discordant parties a body which the Saviour prayed might be one, as he and the Father are one. The name of the spirit of schism may indeed be called “Legion;” but, perhaps, the divisions that have so long and fatally rent the Church of Christ may find, in a comparatively limited number of causes, their chief spring and source. It is to some of these I purpose shortly to turn the attention of this meeting, in the hope, and with the prayer, that by studying the origin and nature of the disease, something may be learned that will aid us in promoting its cure. It has seemed to me that in this way our time, by the Divine blessing, may this morning be more profitably occupied than in pronouncing eulogies on Christian union itself, or in idly longing to see it realised.

I. The first cause of schism in the Church of Christ to which I shall advert is *party spirit*. This evidently was the main source of the divisions which, even in the apostolic age, were rending the church at Corinth, and threatening it with dissolution. One said, I am of Paul; and another, I am of Apollos; and a third, I am of Christ. Some members of the Corinthian church, dwelling too

exclusively on the labours of the great apostle of the Gentiles, who had been the first to preach in that community the words of eternal life, were disposed to undervalue all who had succeeded him in exercising the ministry among them; others, again, to whom the gospel had been first published by Apollos, captivated by his eloquence, and attaching themselves more immediately to his ministry, were tempted to disparage Paul, whom, perhaps, they had never seen; while a third number, despising all human agents alike, and priding themselves in a supposed superiority of knowledge and spiritual discernment, claimed for themselves—not in the spirit of humble and enlightened attachment to the Saviour, but in a self-righteous spirit of sectarian exclusiveness—the name of the *party of Christ*. In all ages of the Church, this disposition to form a party has been lamentably prevalent, and out of it schisms innumerable have sprung. It has its root in that desire to magnify and glorify self, which is so deep-seated in man's breast. In this way he seeks to make some amends to himself for the humiliation which the gospel inflicts upon him, in pronouncing him to be a poor, perishing sinner. *His* religious teacher is far superior to others; his views of Divine truth are more exalted; his powers of mind more wonderful; his character and life more spiritual; his ecclesiastical discipline more strict and holy; and thus, under the guise of lavishing encomiums on his instructor, he is quietly extolling himself—identifying himself, as he does, with the object of his professed admiration; and, in virtue of his connexion with a leader so eminent, being ready to say to the followers of every other religious guide—"Stand aside, for I am holier than thou."

Nor is it difficult to understand how such a spirit, spreading in the first instance among the members of the Church, should gradually make its way *from them* to their ministers. The adulation, the exclusive preference, thus given to an individual minister, feeds his vanity, and tends, at the same time, to make him an object of jealousy and dislike to his brethren. Feelings of estrangement, ripening into enmity, too often follow; and, from a state of disagreement and dissension within the same church, the schism gathers force daily, till, matured by mutual provocations and injuries, it ends by parting them asunder into separate and hostile communions. But, long before the schism has been thus completed—nay, in many cases in which, owing to the influence of certain external restraints, it may never assume this public



form at all—it is, nevertheless, in busy and mischievous operation. No attentive observer of the state of things around him can be blind to the fact that, at the present day, the cause now named has much to do with the divisions and separations of the Church of Christ. In virtue of his party connexion, each thinks himself better than his neighbour. It places him on a higher level, and the smaller his party is, the nicer its peculiarities, the more exclusive its character, the more superciliously does he look down from his fancied elevation upon all who follow not with him. The real secret of the distance at which he stands from other communions is not that, by joining with them in any common declaration of faith, or act of worship, he would be compromising the truth, but that he would be compromising himself. The truth might be safe enough, but his own superiority would be thereby practically surrendered, and this he cannot endure.

While party spirit has thus largely contributed to erect and uphold, in all their frozen rigidity, those icy walls of partition which so endlessly and unhappily divide, and disgrace, and weaken the churches of Christ—the same cause is fruitful of a spirit essentially schismatical within individual churches that are still outwardly entire; breaking asunder the bonds of mutual sympathy, restraining mutual prayer, hindering mutual co-operation, and cherishing feelings the very opposite of those that should reign among the followers of the meek, and lowly, and loving Redeemer. Our own minister, our own congregation, our own meetings, and labours, and sacrifices in the cause of Christ; these, instead of being regarded simply as considerations that may and ought to bind a particular body of fellow-Christians more closely together, are too often dwelt upon as mere occasions of boasting—so considered, in a word, as to cultivate feelings of disaffection to others, and to awaken in these others feelings of dislike to them. How opposite is all this to the spirit of that religion which commands us not to think of ourselves more highly than we ought to think, but to think soberly, in honour preferring one another! How much of party spirit, and, along with it, how much of both concealed and proclaimed dissension would the practical and habitual observance of this one precept do away—“Let nothing be done through strife or vain-glory; but, in lowliness of mind, let each esteem other better than themselves.”

II. *Heresy* is another leading cause of division. Under the former head we have seen how, without any doctrinal difference,

mere party spirit may, and does, mournfully divide the Christian Church. There can be no doubt, however, that where unsound opinions are embraced, they have a powerful tendency to create party spirit, and greatly to inflame and imbitter it where it previously prevailed. They have, in truth, so strong a mutual affinity, that the one seldom exists long without producing the other. Party spirit will seek to justify itself by some doctrinal distinction; and the heresiarch will seek adherents to his new views by cultivating party spirit. At the same time, as party spirit and heresy, in their own proper nature, are separate and distinct things, they will be better understood when thus considered apart. And here it may be observed, that as there is such a thing as *party spirit* in general, distinct from any one particular sect—a proud, selfish, contentious disposition, of which party spirit is the appropriate designation, and which is prone to seek its indulgence and to find its enjoyment in the forming or fostering of party divisions—so there is also such a thing as a *heretical spirit* in general, distinct from any one particular heresy;—a conceited, disputatious, speculative, querulous state of mind, prone to split hairs, to see things differently from other people, and bent on magnifying its own crotchet, at the expense of losing sight of the very essentials and grand interests of the truth. Indeed, the word *heresy*, in its strict and proper meaning, and also in the use made of it in Scripture, applies rather to the state of mind with which the doctrinal opinion is connected, than to the doctrinal opinion itself. The literal translation of the Greek word is *election*, or *choice*, and is most frequently rendered in our version of the Scriptures by the word *sect*. As, for example, the *sect* (*ἀίρεσις*) of the Sadducees, the *sect* of the Pharisees, the *sect* of the Nazarenes. From these examples it is obviously to *separation*, rather than to error, the term specifically and directly applies. The heretic of Scripture is literally a separatist; one that insists on having a party of his own—that will rather take up his position alone upon the one solitary atom of opinion, in regard to which he differs from his Christian brethren, than stand together with them upon the mountain of truths in which he and they are agreed. He is one of those of whom Paul speaks in the seventeenth verse of the sixteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, when he exhorts the brethren thus: “Now, I beseech you, mark them which cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them.”

Such a disposition of mind is essentially schismatical, tending, as it continually and inevitably does, wherever it is indulged, to break up the unity of the Church of Christ. There can be no reasonable doubt that a close examination of the rise of most of those doctrinal errors which we now commonly understand the word *heresy* to express, would shew conclusively, that, with few exceptions, they grew out of the state of mind I have been endeavouring to describe. Gross and destructive as many of these are, in the form they have come gradually to assume, they were most of them comparatively trivial in the outset of their history. But as all error is upon a slope, the opinion that deviates in even the most slender and all but imperceptible degree from the truth, has only to be advanced in the direction of those consequences which it logically involves, in order to carry the man or the party that holds it into the most proclaimed and palpable heresy.

It is not, therefore, simply the man who is teaching Socinianism, or Tractarianism, or Popery, or any other notorious and soul-destroying form of doctrinal error, that is marring the peace and breaking up the unity of the Christian Church. The breaches so made are too wide and conspicuous to be unnoticed by even the most careless eye, and accordingly it is not into these, or such as these, that men are most likely to fall. The chief danger lies in what I have called the heretical spirit—the captious, opinionative, cast of mind—that is the great breeder of heresies; that will insist on having its own Shibboleth, and on condemning all who cannot mouth it in the same way. So long, indeed, as the peculiar notion of the man of this spirit remains in its first form, as the mere conceit of a disordered fancy, or wire-drawn distinction of a subtle and speculative mind, it may perhaps do little harm to any one but himself. But by and by, being pertinaciously persisted in, agreeably to the man's nature and habit, either he himself, or some one else whose mind it has cast off its balance, will extract from it the full amount of the latent error which it contains; and very soon what had been nothing worse and nothing more than a one-sided or distorted view of truth, will be found expanding into the dimensions of a broad and pestilent heresy; becoming, it may be, by the multitude of its misguided disciples, the means of inflicting a fresh and fearful wound on the unity of the Church, flaming across her firmament like the tail of the great red dragon of the Apocalypse, that drew after it a third part of the stars of heaven.

III. The third cause of division in the Church of Christ which

it is proposed to consider, is *intolerance*, or an undue assumption of authority, *on the part of the church rulers*.

“Ye know,” said the Lord Jesus, addressing his apostles, “that they which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, and their great ones exercise authority upon them. But so shall it not be among you: but whosoever will be great among you, shall be your minister (servant); and whosoever of you will be the chiefest, shall be servant of all. For even the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.” The Saviour needed not that any should testify to him of man, because he knew what was in man. Foreseeing how that selfish lust of power, which is so deep-seated in the human heart, would seek and find occasion to display itself, even in the Church of God, he lifted up his voice, to pronounce upon it, by anticipation, the pointed and powerful rebuke which the foregoing words contain. He did not mean, it is true, to intimate that there was to be no such thing as authority or government in his Church on earth; for, on the contrary, he delivered to his apostles the keys of the kingdom of heaven—the commission to bear rule in the house of God—and expressly engaged to sanction and confirm the exercise of this delegated power, by binding in heaven what they bound on earth, and loosing in heaven what they loosed on earth. Furthermore, by the pen of an inspired apostle, he gave this solemn injunction to the members of the Church: “Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves; for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account.” In contrasting, therefore, as he did, the lordship of the Gentiles with the conduct to be pursued by those invested with office in the Christian Church, his design evidently was to indicate the form and spirit which he would have all church authority to assume. As to its *form*, it must be purely ministerial. The lords of the Gentiles framed their own laws; their will was oftentimes their only law. The rulers of the kingdom of Christ must have no other laws but those of Christ himself. That which belongs to them is not a legislative, but simply an administrative power. It belongs to Antichrist “to think to change times and laws,” to usurp a lordly supremacy, “sitting in the temple of God, and shewing himself that he is God.” But further; the *spirit* of church authority was to be altogether different from the spirit in which authority was asserted and exercised by the rulers of the kingdoms of this world. It was not to be put forth in that

pride of place and power in which earthly potentates domineer oftentimes over their subjects; but in the gentle and humble spirit that was breathed by Paul, when he said to the church at Corinth, "Not that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy."

These that have now been stated may be regarded as two great Scripture canons for the regulation of church authority; and for the rulers of any church to set them aside, is to be justly chargeable with lording it over the heritage of God—with the exercise of a spiritual despotism, which has been one of the most fruitful sources of division and separation in the Church of Christ. And here it occurs to say, that it is not always the party that separates that is guilty of the schism. By no means. In deciding the question to whom that sin, in any given case, belongs, attention must be given to the causes and grounds of the separation; and certain it is, that in no way have the separatists been more frequently or more fully justified than by the despotism of the rulers of the Church.

Of this spiritual despotism, this lordly authority, it has been already explained that there are two kinds—the one consisting in the assumption of unlawful power; the other, in using power, whether lawful or unlawful, in an oppressive and tyrannical spirit.

The rulers of the Church are justly chargeable with the former of these offences, when—not contented with simply administering the laws of Christ's house laid down in his own great statute-book, the Bible—they usurp the power of making different or additional laws, and of binding them upon the consciences of men, by making them terms of church communion. This species of spiritual despotism, the leaven of which was already working in the apostolic age, reached its *acme* in the Papacy, when the Man of Sin came at length to substitute his own pretended infallibility for the revealed will of God, and to oppose, and exalt himself above, all that is called God, or that is worshipped. In the exercise of this spiritual despotism, the Papacy has not only perverted, from their proper use and meaning, the two sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, which alone are of Divine institution, but has added to these five others, under no authority but its own. It has sealed up from the people those Scriptures which Christ commanded them to search, and in which we have eternal life; and, furthermore, to make the yoke of this spiritual despotism more galling and intolerable, it declares that out of the Papal Church there is no salvation;

and pursues, with the most formidable temporal penalties, and with the most appalling threats of eternal damnation, all who dare to disown either its teaching or its authority. Not satisfied with the first form of despotism—that of assuming unlawful power—it has thus, in all ages, and often with fiend-like ferocity, exercised the second also—the form, viz. of practical tyranny and cruel oppression in the use it has made of its power. The dark records of its terrible Inquisition—its terrible “acts of faith,” as it blasphemously denominated its public murders of the servants of God—its remorseless persecutions, as of those faithful witnesses the Waldenses—those

———“slaughter’d saints, whose bones  
Lie scatter’d on the Alpine mountains cold;”—

in wholesale massacres, like that of the St Bartholomew, in France;—these inhuman deeds, dyeing, as they have done, the scarlet-coloured robe of the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth in the blood of the martyrs of Jesus, have fearfully illustrated the spiritual despotism of the Church of Rome. From such a system, to separate, so far from being a sin, is a paramount duty—is nothing more than the due response to that appeal which the Lord himself hath uttered, “Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.” Those who either all along resisted the Church of Rome, like the Waldenses already named, or who fled from it, like those who formed the Churches of the Reformation, so far from being schismatics, were the true Churches of Christ. To have suffered themselves to be absorbed in the Church of Rome, would have been to preserve the unity, not of the Church of Christ, but of the great apostasy of the Man of Sin; it would have been to suffer, not the unity merely, but the very existence of the Church of Christ to be destroyed.

But the cause of division and separation now under consideration has not been always and exclusively confined to the Church of Rome. Protestant churches have too often been chargeable with a measure—small, indeed, in comparison of that now spoken of, but still most sinful and pernicious—of the same intolerance, and with a similar usurpation of unlawful power. It is well known what lamentable and lasting divisions have resulted, subsequently to the Reformation, in this noble realm of England, from the authority put forth by the Church to decree rites and ceremonies,

and to bind them as obligatory upon its members. I know that, in touching this subject, I am touching what can only be handled safely, when it is handled with the utmost deference and delicacy. But surely our Evangelical Alliance is little worth—surely we have made little progress in that spirit of Christian forbearance which it is our great object to cultivate—if we have not yet learned to hear those things spoken of regarding which we are not at one. The grand instruction the Lord Jesus gave to those who were to bear rule in his house, was to teach men to observe all things whatsoever *he* had commanded. True, indeed, there are points of external arrangement respecting which he hath given no express command, and which, with a due regard to order, decency, and edification, it does lie fairly within the province of Church rulers to regulate. But no pains and no care can be too great to avoid transgressing, by a single hair's-breadth, the legitimate bounds of that very restricted field.

To multiply rites, ceremonies, and offices, by mere church authority, is to provide either burdens or snares for the consciences of men. How much error and evil may by such means have been retained or fostered in the venerable Church of England—a Church which I sincerely love, for the many great and noble services she has rendered to the cause of truth—it may be difficult to tell; but that they have created painful and disastrous divisions, is unhappily too well known. They drove, in the seventeenth century, the Puritans—the very heart and soul of evangelical religion—out of the pale of the national Church; and have largely contributed to perpetuate those religious divisions and separations which continue to this hour. A few years will, in all probability, shew whether within the Church of England they be not still nursing elements of discord, destined to lead to schisms and separations wider and more alarming still. For surely no intelligent Christian, who has had his eye on the progress of recent religious movements in this country, can be blind to the fact, that rites, ceremonies, and offices—matters in their own nature purely external—have to a large extent been rooting out, among a certain party, the very life and soul of spiritual religion—turning it from a principle of faith into a thing of sense—withdrawing it from its empire over the inner man, to enthrone it amid the pomps of an outward show—a show only surpassed by, and rapidly tending towards, the splendid but soul-destroying ritualism of the Church of Rome.

Were I addressing an audience which contained any consider-

able number of the ministers and members of my own Church, or of the other sections of the Church of Christ which chiefly prevail in my native land, I should not be slow to speak, not with equal merely, but with still greater freedom than I have now used as regards the Church of England, in adverting to some of the grievous forms in which Churches in Scotland have been deserving of blame. In the department especially of administrative power, our hands assuredly are not clean. They have been stained, alas! on too many occasions, with ecclesiastical deeds of cruel intolerance; and to the exercise of that oppressive and unrighteous authority we must trace up, as to their bitter source and fountain, not a few of those mournful divisions which have rent into fragments a once religiously united country—divisions which have filled men's minds with feelings of mutual alienation and hostility, dishonouring to the Christian name, and pregnant with deep and deadly injury to the souls of men. For, alas! while these divided parties have been jealously watching, and often counteracting each other's movements, and opposing each other's plans, thousands and tens of thousands, especially in our great cities, having none of any party to care for their eternal interests, have been going down to the grave unsought and unsaved. I bless God that these evils are in progress of being mitigated; and I feel it to be both a duty and a privilege to declare that the better understanding and the greater amount of Christian sympathy and co-operation that now exist among us, are in no small degree attributable to the influence, both direct and indirect, which this Evangelical Alliance has been recently exerting on the hearts, and habits, and modes of thinking of leading men, in all the various branches in Scotland of the Church of Christ.

IV. But I must hasten to advert to another leading cause of the Church's divisions. If the origin of these divisions is sometimes to be found among the rulers of the Church, it is also not unfrequently to be found among the Church's members. *Impatience of sound doctrine and discipline* has, beyond all question, had much to do with the breaking up of the unity of the Church. In introducing my remarks on the immediately preceding branch of this address, I was at pains to remind you that our blessed Saviour, in discouraging and condemning as he did, in the words then quoted, everything like lordship over his heritage, never meant to convey or to countenance the idea that there was to be no such thing as government or authority in his spiritual kingdom. His kingdom



is not, indeed, of this world. The officers, therefore, of this kingdom are not, like civil rulers, to exercise authority or to get obedience by the sword. Their weapons are not carnal, but spiritual. It is not a sword, but a key, which the Church's Head hath put into their hands—a key, by virtue whereof, to use the language of the good old Westminster Confession of Faith, “they have power to shut that kingdom against the impenitent, both by the word and censures, and to open it unto penitent sinners by the ministry of the gospel, and by absolution from censures, as occasion shall require.” Their right and duty to exercise this spiritual government, free from secular control, flow directly from the grand doctrine of the supremacy and sole Headship of Christ over his Church. But while, in the exercise of this government, so long as they confine themselves to the spiritual things which belong to it, the rulers of Christ's Church are accountable to him alone, it is a government to be exercised, not only with wisdom but with the meekness of wisdom—not only with equity and candour, but with tenderness and charity. Nor would I by any means desire to forget, but would on the contrary be forward to avow and maintain, that the absence of these gracious dispositions in the government of the Church has often had much to do with that impatience under discipline among the Church's members of which I am about to speak.

Still, it is not to be denied, that after making every allowance on that side which the most rigid justice can demand, it will be found that a proud reluctance to yield to church discipline, or a carnal aversion to the restraints which it imposes, is the only cause to which many could ascribe their separation from the particular communion to which they had previously belonged. We know that when the Saviour himself unfolded the spiritual and self-denying nature of his service, multitudes who before had followed him went back, and walked no more with him. Precisely similar has been, and ever will be, the experience of his Church. The more it is conformed to the world, the more numerous will be its worldly friends. If it be of the world, the world will love its own; but exactly in proportion as the fact becomes manifest that it is not of the world, will the world hate it—will the men of the world forsake it—if they do not actually turn again to rend it.

The apostle Paul foretold the coming of a time “when men would not endure sound doctrine: when, after their own lusts, they should heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears; should

turn their ears away from the truth, and be turned unto fables." This was, in other words, predicting and portraying that very cause of schism with the consideration of which we are now engaged. To present a full view of its operation in the Church of Christ, is what the limits to which I must confine myself entirely preclude. Suffice it to say, that whenever and wherever the Church of Christ has been visited with a time of reviving and refreshing from the presence of the Lord, and has begun to reflect his image in her character and ways, *there* the schismatical spirit, in the form now in question, might be found busily at work. The heterogeneous mass which before had cohered under the freezing influence of religious indifference, might straightway be seen breaking asunder—parties forming where all had seemed to be agreed—a sudden and gathering commotion, like the hurrying to and fro in the camp of Israel, when Moses stood in the gate to separate the precious from the vile, and cried aloud, "Who is on the Lord's side?—let him come to me." And because this is the case, because this stir and noise never fail to arise where the Church of Christ is quickened into unwonted life and energy by a more abundant effusion of the Holy Spirit, there are multitudes ever ready to cry out against a living, witnessing Church—to denounce it as a troubler of the public peace, and a destroyer of their own personal repose. Such men would rather lie all their lifetime smitten with spiritual impotence, beneath the porches of Bethesda, than endure that ruffling of the Church's waters in which their healing virtue is found. They would rather sleep on, amid the deathlike stillness of an atmosphere loaded with corruption, listening complacently to prophets who prophesy smooth things, who prophesy deceits, than be startled and terrified by the thunder of some Boanerges preaching the word with sin-condemning power, and flashing its lightnings into the inmost and darkest recesses of their polluted hearts; although the storm which thus alarms be the indispensable precursor of that peace and purity which give light and life, health and joy, to the soul; the only means, in a word, of sweeping away the clouds from the face of the angry heavens, and of bringing back the sweet sunshine of God's reconciled countenance to a perishing world.

No man, as I humbly judge, who looks abroad with an intelligent, spiritual eye, upon the present aspect of things, both in this country and in other lands, can fail to be impressed with the conviction, that the cause of schism now under review is one that

is fast coming upon the scene, and whose influence is already manifest in countless ways. Some of the Churches in their collective capacity, and others in many of their individual congregations, and all in multitudes of their individual members, have begun, not only to live and breathe with the freedom and energy of a more healthful spiritual existence, but to come forth, in the face of the world, as faithful and uncompromising witnesses for God, in the midst of the crooked and perverse nations. They are looking with other feelings, and speaking with other words, than heretofore, in surveying the errors and evils that prevail in the world. They are beginning to cry aloud, and not to spare. Abuses *within* the Churches, that were not only tolerated but loved, are openly and loudly condemned; while the ungodliness of the world around—its infidel tone, its luxury, its selfishness, its love of gain, its encouragement of error and sin, its invasion of the sanctity of God's holy day—against these sins many of the Churches, and of the people of God, are lifting up their voice with at least some faint measure of the power and faithfulness of that Divine Spirit whose office it is to convince the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment. He must be deaf indeed that does not hear, in many quarters, the world's angry tones in reply. The husbandman seems to be coming with his fan in his hand, and ere long, to all appearance, there will be a mighty sifting on his threshing-floor. The world will not endure the Church. Its more spiritual teaching, its more faithful discipline, its purer communion, will be an offence everywhere to multitudes within her pale. They will seek shelter in some lower and laxer denomination of Christians than their own, or join, perhaps, with the Romanist or the infidel, in undisguised warfare against all Churches that cleave unto Christ as their only Lord. It is in that direction things are evidently tending. Already, if the truth were told, there have been separations from particular church communions not a few, of which no better account could be given than that they had become too faithful to Christ. And in studying Scripture's prophetic page, there are many things written therein, which, to him who devoutly searches it, seem not indistinctly to foretell that this sifting process will gradually go on, till all the branches of the true Church are brought into a closer bond of brotherhood, and till the Church and the world are, by the same means, put fairly asunder, and are made ready for the battle of the great day of God Almighty. And though, in the shock of

that terrible encounter, the witnesses may be slain, and their dead bodies dragged about the streets of the city, ere long they shall arise and mount up to heaven, and the great cry shall be heard, "Now are the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ."

V. There is but one other cause of division in the Church of Christ to which I propose to allude, and I shall do it in few words. It is the *love of novelty*. Unworthy, nay, contemptible, as such a motive must appear to every devout and thoughtful mind, yet has it been always sufficient with multitudes, wherever Christian liberty has been enjoyed, to break asunder the bonds of church communion, and to multiply the divisions of the Christian Church. It is told of the Israelites in the wilderness that they grew weary of the manna. True, it was provided for them by a merciful God, in circumstances in which otherwise they must have inevitably perished. True, it was given them without money and without price. True, it was good and salutary in its nature and effects. But, with all this, there was a certain sameness about it, an absence of those pungent and stimulating qualities for which they had acquired a relish when they sat by the flesh-pots of Egypt and fed to the full. Accordingly, with the impatience of a vitiated taste, and the petulance of a perverse mind, they turned contemptuously away from it, exclaiming, "Our soul loatheth this light bread." There have always been many such murmurers in every branch of the visible Church. The plain gospel, preached in its native simplicity, and administered through the spiritual and unostentatious services of the New Testament economy, appears to the insatiable cravers for novelty like the light bread of the wilderness. It has nothing in it to gratify the fancies of a dis-tempered imagination, or to feed the humours of the carnal mind. Its doctrines are too homely and practical—its ritual too bald and unadorned—to suit the depraved appetite of those whom nothing in religion can please, unless it be seasoned with the excitements and tricked out with the decorations of the world. It avails nothing to offer them what will nourish their souls—their senses must be tickled too.

This hungering after stimulants, this thirsting after an exciting beverage, has not unfrequently broken out in the form of extravagant heresy, or sought its indulgence in the darkest delusions of superstition. But even when restrained by circumstances, or withheld by the secret monitor of conscience within, from going

into excesses like these, it may still be found, in cases painfully numerous, running to and fro after every new preacher that appears—the mark of unstable souls, ever learning and never coming to the knowledge of the truth. To such minds, the unity of the body of Christ is a thing of nought. Their likings, yea, their very caprices must be indulged, at whatever cost of separation and division. The solemn obligations of church-membership, under which they have spontaneously come, are thrown off as lightly as the votary of fashion lays aside a dress that has ceased to please.

It is well and truly said by the prophet Jeremiah, that the heart of man is not only desperately wicked, but that it is deceitful above all things. Those who exhibit the spirit and follow the course now in question will be found, for the most part, eager to persuade others, and will sometimes succeed in persuading even themselves, that what they are in quest of is food for their souls. Where this is really the case—where there is a felt want of the means of spiritual edification under any given ministry or church communion—we are not of the number who would severely condemn at least a temporary separation. But over how many far different motives is the mantle of this goodly pretext thrown! Were those who are most given to yield to this love of change narrowly to examine themselves, perchance it would appear that not *food*, but *fashion*—not *edification*, but *entertainment*—were the real attractions to which they were giving way. What renders it the more necessary to notice this *novelty-loving* spirit, is the undoubted fact that it is an influence which operates powerfully at the present day in perpetuating and multiplying the divisions of the Church of Christ. No intelligent Christian can have failed to remark the latitudinarian style of thinking and acting, on the whole subject of church communion and church organisation, which is abroad in the present day—a spirit which it becomes us to be careful lest even by our very Evangelical Alliance we seem at all to encourage. There are those who call this contempt for church organisation, liberty and independence. Viewed in the light of Scripture, and tried by the tests of experience, sober and spiritual-minded men will think it deserving of less honourable names. It is not licence, but law, which is the guardian of liberty; and a spirit of the fear of the Lord is the only real independence. There is no liberty in true religion but that which is defined and regulated by the Word of God, and no independence but that

which is characterised by implicit submission to the Divine will. All unregulated freedom has an inevitable tendency towards despotism, in the case both of temporal and spiritual things. The anarchy, the utter confusion and disorder, which is its first and necessary consequence, finds its terrible corrective and its just retribution in the speedy rise and ascendancy of a grinding tyranny, beneath whose iron sway the liberty that refused to be governed by law soon finds itself loaded with the chains of an abject and helpless bondage. There are men who imagine—who are ignorant enough of human nature, and sufficiently forgetful of the lessons of history, to dream—that the reckless impatience of all restraint, the haughty determination to please themselves, so prevalent among too many professing Christians in the present day, in all that concerns the truths, the duties, and obligations of religion, is the sure token that the reign of superstition and spiritual tyranny is gone by for ever. My deliberate conviction is, that that which is the ground of their confidence is one of the sources of our most imminent danger. Those who are the readiest to cast themselves loose from the ties of any particular church communion, and who, in the very wantonness of freedom, run hither and thither, from one preacher and from one Christian society to another, as their own fluctuating taste or the fashion of the day may dictate, are the very individuals most likely to give way before the rising tide of Tractarianism and Popery, now coming in like a flood upon these lands. Wearied at length of changes which have brought them no rest, and satiated with excitements which have imparted no spiritual health to their souls, they are, of all others, in the greatest danger of sinking, without a struggle, into the arms of a system whose infallibility will settle all controversies, whose authority will compose all differences, and whose opiates will cure all spiritual anxieties and cares—a system beneath whose placid surface religious liberty and religion itself would lie buried and lost.

I must not venture, however, to trespass any further on the time and patience of this assembly. Already, I fear I have, in these respects, exceeded the limits within which such an opening address ought to be confined. I hope, however, that I have not exceeded in another sense—in the sense of going into fields of discussion unsuited to the place I occupy, and to the occasion which has called us together. It has seemed to me, that we shall gain little by our Alliance, unless it enables us to look calmly and

candidly at such questions as I have now been treating of. That Christian union which we seek to promote cannot be realised in the present divided state of the Church of Christ. Churches must see eye to eye, in those matters in which they differ, to a far greater extent than now they do, before the cause of Christian union can triumph; and hence the importance of carefully considering the causes which chiefly hinder this blessed consummation. Surely it is not the mind of Christ that his professing people should go on differing to the close. Surely his memorable and affecting prayer, that his people might be one, meant something more than that they should agree to differ. The evils which result from the Church's divisions are too many and too mournful, and stand too manifestly in the way of the conversion of the nations unto God, to make it possible that these divisions can be meant to continue. Our position, indeed, may be too obscure—our resources too limited—our influence too feeble—to leave us room to hope that, directly and personally, we can do much to bring these divisions to an end. But something we can do. We can each of us do our utmost, in the several sections of the Christian Church to which we belong, to discourage and repress, by our example and our influence, those pernicious principles and practices out of which divisions so often arise. And we can pray for the peace of Jerusalem, that the envy of Ephraim may depart, and the adversaries of Judah be cut off—that Ephraim may no longer envy Judah, nor Judah vex Ephraim—that a spirit of healing may be poured out upon the Churches—that in the light of Christ, their common Head and Lord, they may see light more clearly—and that, blended into one by the fire of Divine love, they may at length, with one mind and one mouth, glorify God.

ANNUAL ADDRESS  
ON THE  
PRACTICAL RESOLUTIONS.

BY THE REV. EDWARD HENRY BICKERSTETH, M.A.,  
CURATE OF BANNINGHAM, NORFOLK.

IT is, my Christian friends, with feelings of peculiar distrust in my own strength that I venture to accept the invitation of your Committee, and to read and enforce the "practical resolutions" in the presence of so many elder and more able brethren. Yet two things constrain me not to shrink from the privilege: first, a full persuasion that the cause of the Alliance is the cause and the truth of God;—and then I knew that the request was urged for the sake of my beloved father, now in glory. It came to me, therefore, with a sacred compulsion, for I could not but remember some of his dying words—"If we rally round our Saviour's truth, He will make us strong to support it."

The "practical resolutions" are as follows, and were passed with the greatest unanimity at the first Conference, 1846:—

"1. That the members of this Alliance earnestly and affectionately recommend to each other in their own conduct, and particularly in their own use of the press, carefully to abstain from and put away all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil-speaking, with all malice; and, in all things in which they may yet differ from each other, to be kind, tender-hearted, forbearing one another in love, forgiving one another, even as God, for Christ's sake, hath forgiven them; in everything seeking to be followers of God, as dear children, and to walk in love, as Christ also hath loved them.

"2. That, as the Christian Union which this Alliance desires to promote can only be obtained through the blessed energy of the Holy Spirit, it be recommended to the members present, and absent brethren, to make this matter the subject of simultaneous weekly petition at the throne of grace,



in their closets and families ; and the forenoon of Monday is suggested as the time for that purpose. And that it be further recommended that the week beginning with the first Lord's day in January in each year, be observed by the members and friends of the Alliance throughout the world, as a season for concert in prayer on behalf of the great objects contemplated by the Alliance.

"3. That, in seeking the correction of what the members of the Alliance believe to be wrong in others, they desire, in humble dependence on the grace of God, themselves to obey, and by their practice and influence to impress upon others, the command of Christ, to consider first the beam that is in their own eye : that they will therefore strive to promote, each in his own communion, a spirit of repentance and humiliation for its peculiar sins ; and to exercise a double measure of forbearance in reproving, where reproof is needful, the faults of those Christian brethren who belong to other bodies than their own.

"4. That, when required by conscience to assert or defend any views or principles wherein they differ from Christian brethren who agree with them in vital truths, the members of this Alliance will aim earnestly, by the help of the Holy Spirit, to avoid all rash and groundless insinuations, personal imputations, or irritating allusions, and to maintain the meekness and gentleness of Christ, by speaking the truth only in love.

"5. That, while they believe it highly desirable that Christians of different bodies, holding the Head, should own each other as brethren by some such means as the Evangelical Alliance affords, the members of the Alliance disclaim the thought, that those only who openly join this Society are sincere friends to the cause of Christian union : that, on the contrary, they regard all those as its true friends who solemnly purpose in their hearts, and fulfil that purpose in their practice, to be more watchful in future against occasions of strife, more tender and charitable towards Christians from whom they differ, and more constant in prayer for the union of all the true disciples of Christ.

"6. That the members of this Alliance would therefore invite, humbly and earnestly, all ministers of the gospel, all conductors of religious publications, and others who have influence in various bodies of Christians, to watch more than ever against sins of the heart, or the tongue, or the pen, towards Christians of other denominations ; and to promote more zealously than hitherto a spirit of peace, unity, and godly love, among all true believers in the Lord Jesus Christ.

"7. That, since all the disciples of Christ are commanded by the Holy Spirit to add to brotherly-kindness, love, and are bound to pray that all who profess and call themselves Christians should be led into the way of truth, it is earnestly recommended to the members of the Evangelical Alliance, to offer special prayer for all merely nominal Christians, as well as for Jews and Gentiles throughout the world.

"8. That the members of this Alliance, earnestly longing for the universal spread of Christ's kingdom, devoutly praise God for the grace whereby, in late years, Evangelical Christians have been moved to manifold efforts to make the Saviour known to both Jew and Gentile, and faithful men have been raised up to undertake the toil : they would offer to all evangelical missionaries their most fraternal congratulations and sympathy ; would hail

the flocks they have been honoured to gather, as welcome and beloved members of the household of God; and above all, would implore the Head of the Church to shield his servants, to edify his rising Churches, and by the outpouring of his Holy Spirit, to enlighten Israel with the knowledge of the true Messiah, and to bring the heathen out of darkness into light. They would also record their confident hope, that their beloved missionary brethren will strive more and more to manifest, before the Israelite and other classes who know not the Redeemer, that union in their blessed Lord, the spirit of which the members of this Alliance would gratefully acknowledge they have generally cherished."

Time would forbid to expound closely so copious a text; but I think the spirit of these resolutions may be expressed in four words—humiliation, brotherly-kindness, prayer, praise.

And, O may the blessed Spirit of our God be with us while we meditate on them, dispensing the dews of his grace, and diffusing the glow of his love through every heart!

1. HUMILIATION.—So we resolve, in Resolution 1, "to forgive one another, even as God, for Christ's sake, has forgiven us." And in Resolution 3, "to consider first the beam that is in our own eye, and that we will therefore strive to promote, each in his own communion, a spirit of repentance and humiliation for its peculiar sins."

It is this aspect of self-abasement that seems to me to give its peculiar blessedness to the Alliance; while, at the same time, it will ever prevent it from being a favourite with the world. For, as good John Bunyan says of the Valley of Humiliation, "This is a valley that nobody walks in, but those who love a pilgrim's life;" yet, he adds, "I must tell you that in former times men have met with angels here, have found pearls here, and have in this place found the words of life."

It is good for us as individual Christians thus to humble ourselves. Do we not daily come forth from the presence of our Lord, like the servant of the parable, having been forgiven ten thousand talents; the least item of which sum, if exacted from us, would consign us to everlasting chains, but whose uttermost farthing our Saviour paid in his precious life-blood? We come forth forgiven men, pardoned criminals, redeemed sinners, under unspeakable obligations of grateful love to our God, and of forbearing love to our fellow-servants. What believer is there who has not felt it good for him thus to lie low at the foot of the cross; to feel that language fails to speak his own depravity, and to tell the surpassing grace of his Redeemer? At such times we shall be the first

to acknowledge, "Others may speak evil of me, perhaps unjustly, in the things they blame; but, oh! if they knew my inner heart of corruption, they could not paint me vile and sinful enough." Such are blessed seasons for the soul. The balm of Gilead, the oil of the Spirit, is poured into such a crushed and contrite heart. "For thus saith the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy; I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones."

Now, is not this spirit of contrition, so blessed for private Christians, also good for churches and communities? When, in the pride of its own imagined superiority, any church looks down upon others, and says, "I am holier than thou; stand thou there, or sit here under my footstool," it is a dark sign for that church; it is likely to be a barren season; for the dews of the Spirit, the showers and floods of grace, descend to and gather in the lowliest valleys. But when a community is convinced by the Almighty Spirit of its own sins, when it becomes deeply sensible how little has been done compared with its opportunities, and how many its transgressions in His sight who walks amid the seven golden candlesticks, and whose eyes are as a flame of fire; when the heads of its members are bowed low in contrition and prayer, then may we expect blessed pentecostal effusions, for "God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble."

Such is the humiliation we promise to cultivate and promote. And, indeed, the foundation is wisely laid; for can we imagine such a forgiven man, such a repentant church, indulging in unbrotherly asperities, while overwhelmed with the sense of its own guiltiness and of a Saviour's grace? It would be impossible; we must leave the green valley of humiliation before we climb the thorny mountain of religious animosity. Which leads us to consider our next resolution of

2. BROTHERLY-KINDNESS.—The first thing which brotherly-kindness will insist upon, is forbearance. And it is no easy task always to forbear, to forget and forgive. All truth, even non-essential truth, being so closely connected with the glory of God, and with eternal interests, is so unspeakably important, that when we see a brother contending against what we are contending for, it is most difficult to abstain from one irritating word, from one successful sarcasm, from one triumphant exposure. Human nature

will fail here; and only as we are partakers of the Divine nature shall we attain that pure and peaceable charity which endureth all things, hideth all things, hopeth all things, and never faileth.

Yet clearly our brotherhood with each other, and our common union with the Lord Jesus Christ, demand this. How tenderly does one member of a family conceal the failings of another from the censorious world! Granting for a moment that those Christians who oppose us betray the greatest pride, or the greatest weakness—so that, from our higher standing, as we suppose, we feel inclined to number them among the least of the brethren—still they are the representatives of our Saviour here on earth; for he says, “Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.”

I know there is a lower alternative; to which our hasty zeal may stoop, suggesting, “Surely our opponents cannot be Christians, or they would not be so inconsistent.” But far be such a thought from us! If we were judged by our inconsistencies, where should we appear? Only let us know from mutual brethren that others love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, and grace be with them all!

Forbearance, then, is the lowest gradient of charity which we are bound to attain. This moulds our own conduct and affects our own spiritual standing. But is this all? No; we resolve, “in all things wherein we may yet differ from each other, to be kind and tender-hearted, and to promote more zealously than hitherto a spirit of peace, unity, and godly love.” This stretches beyond ourselves. It goes out of the immediate circle of our own interests. Brotherly-kindness walks abroad and finds another believer of a different denomination, of divergent opinions, but still a fellow-believer; and brotherly-kindness takes such an one by the hand, saying, “Welcome, my brother in Christ Jesus!—the children of one Father, the redeemed of one Saviour, the sanctified of one Spirit, the inheritors of one kingdom, the sharers of one home—are we not one, indissolubly one, and shall we not manifest our union?” Faith works by love, and love works by fraternal acts. If Jacob’s submission melted the icy heart of an Esau, shall a Joseph be unmoved in the presence of a Benjamin?—nay, his bowels did yearn upon his brother. He sought where to weep. He refrained himself for a while, but he could not for long. He made himself known to his brethren. He kissed them all and wept upon them, and after that his brethren talked with him. Such fraternal conversation is ours to-day.

Nor does this largeness of heart produce laxity of creed. There are two most instructive sermons of that highly-gifted and now sainted man, Professor Vinet—one upon that text, “He that is not with me is against me;” in which, with the strictest fidelity, he proves how intolerant the gospel is of a cold neutrality on vital principles, and how such neutrality is hatred against the Lord Jesus. The other sermon is upon that contrast truth, “He that is not against us is for us;” wherein he shews how forbearing the gospel is of the diversities of Christian brethren. The whole sermon breathes the very spirit of the Alliance, as in the following extract:—“I say, then, to every intolerant community, You condemn that man because he follows not Jesus with you; but is it necessary to be with you, in order to confess the name of Jesus? This, however, is evidently done by the man whom you condemn. . . . He confesses the name of Jesus. The consciousness of his misery has led him to Christ; he has cast himself into the arms of his Saviour. He has loved him with all the love of which his heart is capable, . . . and it is the name of Jesus which he loves to whisper in the silence of his closet, and delights to honour before men as the only name by which he can be saved.” And who of us will not join in his closing prayer—“And thou, eternal God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou who art clothed with all perfection, and whose eyes are too pure to behold iniquity, but who art full of patience and long-suffering, breathe thy indulgent Spirit into those who themselves need it so much from thee—teach them tolerance to them whom thou dost tolerate; . . . enlarge our heart; tear away the prejudices and pride which have narrowed its entrance, and grant that all those whom thou hast given to us as brethren may find there an asylum and a home!”

3. PRAYER.—The Evangelical Alliance is often charged with having no practical object; I believe, if we could only reply that Christians of various communions have met in earnest supplication at the throne of grace, that the annals of eternity would witness that this alone produced abundant and enduring results. Often, I believe, shall we hereafter discover how, in answer to our united prayers, the treasures of heaven were opened, and the angels of God descended on their ministry of love. Though never before privileged to attend one of the larger assemblies of the Alliance, I can with grateful joy record how my soul has been refreshed by our little monthly gathering at Norwich for prayer and praise. I have been fed from the lips of a Dissenting brother with food con-

venient for me ; and there has been, from time to time, an unction and an earnestness in those little gatherings, as if the Holy Spirit delighted to honour these victories of brotherly love. I believe, if nothing more had been done than to establish mutual prayer-meetings in all the great cities of our land, a mighty work would have been accomplished, enough for heaven to rejoice in, and hell to tremble at and oppose.

The two great objects we resolve to plead for are, first, Christian union itself ; and then, general Christian revival and missionary success. In praying for the union of the Church we must, indeed, feel in the beautiful words of Montgomery :—

“ Nor prayer is made on earth alone—  
The Holy Spirit pleads ;  
And Jesus, on the eternal throne,  
For sinners intercedes.”

We are breathing his very prayer when he prayed for his disciples, before his crucifixion, that “ they all may be one ; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us ; that the world may believe that thou hast sent me.” How bright an atmosphere is this—the love of God in Christ, the love of Christ in God : and we, poor sinners, invited to enter and to share that bliss—“ that they also may be one in us.” How is every flickering flame of disunion quenched in that excess of light ! Shall we not pray for it ? Again, how closely here are the triumphs of faith connected with the union of the Church of Christ—“ that the world may believe that thou hast sent me.”

The Lord honours united simultaneous prayer for Christian revival even on a small scale. I believe it is said that at Kilsyth, in Scotland, before the blessed effusion of the Spirit on that place, there had been a prayer-meeting for sixty or seventy years, though sometimes it had dwindled to two members, to pray for such a revival. And how many congregations could witness the same, that earnest struggling prayer preceded the ingathering of souls ? But, my friends, has the Church of Christ Universal used this mighty engine of united prayer, that the Holy Spirit may be poured forth upon our thirsty vineyards, upon our fallen world ? O that this resolution were perseveringly carried out ! The windows of heaven would open, and pour us out a blessing beyond our room to contain it.

Such pleading together of Christian brethren, of different churches, and in distant lands, enlarges our contracted heart, and refreshes

our drooping faith. We cease to regard only the progress of our little "corps," and rejoice to feel we are all fellow-soldiers in the Church militant here on earth. And if it will not seem like presumption, perhaps I might venture to throw out a suggestion, from which we have found much comfort in our own circle, viz. to remember some branch of Christian enterprise, every morning of the week, in family worship. The fields of exertion are so varied in the present day, that without a plan of this kind, we may easily pass by some altogether. The plan I would suggest is as follows, though doubtless capable of much improvement and enlargement:—

*Sunday.*—Israel, whose receiving shall be life from the dead to our world.

*Monday.*—Christian union.

*Tuesday.*—All missionary societies to heathen.

*Wednesday.*—Bible and religious book societies.

*Thursday.*—All home societies, as Church Pastoral Aid Society, London City Mission, Ragged School, &c.

*Friday.*—Protestant defence—the overthrow of Popery in Ireland and elsewhere.

*Saturday.*—All Christian ministers preparing for Sabbath, and a waiting spirit in the Church for second advent.

I can conceive such a plan, improved and enlarged, proving a firm link of union betwixt us, and a fortress of strength to our great societies.

4. PRAISE.—The last delightful resolution is one of praise. It has been remarked, that the most advanced believers dwell most in thanksgiving and blessing and praise. Doubtless it is, that as we draw nearer to the gates of glory, we catch more of its holy, invigorating joy, and march, as it were, to the rhythm of its heavenly hallelujahs.

And surely, if any age of the Church has been called to thanksgiving, we are. True, the conflict is more intense, the assaults of Infidelity more subtle, the aggressions of Popery more seductive and Satanic; for are we not beginning to see realised what was sagaciously observed by a faithful watchman, twenty years ago?—"I should not be surprised to see Europe again overspread by a refined, but not reformed, Popery." True, there are many things which make the heart of the Christian patriot sad, whatever be his father-land. True, the clouds seem gathering for the final storm. Still we are called to praise. At what age, since the apostolic and

the glorious Reformation, has Jesus been winning such triumphs for himself, and pouring so largely his Spirit on his Church? Converts are being gathered in every land, by hundreds and by thousands; the Scriptures are circulated in unprecedented numbers; light is breaking in upon Papal kingdoms. Antichrist, indeed, is reseated on his throne in Italy; but will he ever crush the living energy of the 3000 Bibles disseminated during his flight? Even Ireland is yielding to the preaching of the cross. The empires of heathendom are shaking to their foundation; a chieftain from the South Sea Islands never saw an idol, till he saw one as a trophy in the museum of the Bible Society; China is opening its gates; in India, the giant fortress of idolatry is crumbling into decay; poor degraded Africa is stretching out its hands to God, and its mighty slave-king, like another Sennacherib, has been repulsed from the walls of Abbeokuta. I believe it is the ingathering of the harvest before the return of our Master. For these results, all denominations have laboured, and are labouring. All hands are needed. We ask not, Were you trained in our school? but, Will you work with us, will you weep with us, will you pray with us? Then welcome, heartily welcome! we shall soon rejoice together before the throne.

With such blessed results before us, are we not called to praise? The angels rejoice over one sinner that repenteth—seldom have they had sweeter and more abundant employ; and may we not swell their harmonious gratulations, singing, “Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give the glory.”

I thank you, my beloved brethren in the Lord, for having thus permitted me, for my father’s name-sake, to enforce these blessed resolutions. How would he, and others who have fallen asleep since first these resolutions were passed, have rejoiced in this fraternal assembly! But we will not, we cannot, envy them the brighter society of glory. Theirs is unspeakable gain; although, if I may conclude with some lines of my own—

Ours is the grief, who still are left in this far wilderness,  
Which will at times, now they are gone, seem blank and comfortless,  
For moments spent with loving hearts are breezes from the hills,  
And the balm of Christian brotherhood like Eden’s dew distils;  
And we, whose footsteps and whose hearts so often fail and faint,  
Seem ill to spare the cheering voice of one departed saint.  
But, oh! we sorrow not like those whom no bright hopes sustain,  
For them who sleep in Jesus, God will with him bring again.



Love craves the presence and the sight of all its well-beloved,  
And therefore weep we in the homes whence they are far removed ;  
Love craves the presence and the sight of each beloved one,  
And therefore Jesus spake the word which caught them to his throne :  
“ Father, I will that all mine own, which thou hast granted me,  
Be with me where I am, to share my glory’s bliss with thee.”  
Thus heaven is gathering, one by one, in its capacious breast,  
All that is pure and permanent, and beautiful and blest ;  
The family is scatter’d yet, though of one home and heart,  
Part militant in earthly gloom, in heavenly glory part,  
But who can speak the rapture, when the circle is complete,  
And all the children, sunder’d now, before their Father meet ?—  
One fold, one Shepherd, one employ, one everlasting home—  
“ Lo, I come quickly.” Even so, Amen. Lord Jesus, come !

HISTORICAL SKETCH  
OF  
THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

BY THE REV. DAVID KING, LL.D.,  
GLASGOW.

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PART I.

READ IN FREEMASONS' HALL, AUGUST 19, 1846.\*

A GOOD cause speaks for itself; and the simplest account of it is its best defence. The plan of this paper will proceed on the conviction that such is the character of the EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE. We now propose to sketch it historically, assured that nothing is better fitted than its own plain and artless story to confirm friendship and disarm opposition.

THE WORD OF GOD THE FOUNTAIN OF CHRISTIAN UNION.

In what, then, did the movement originate? The grand source of this effort—as of every sincere effort—to advance Christian union must be sought in the Word of God. So long as the Bible is read and believed, there cannot be wanting desires and endeavours to advance the fellowship of saints. There is not one subject of which the importance and claims are more clearly, variously, and emphatically presented in the inspired volume. Do we turn to the predictive declarations of the Old Testament? They pro-

\* It is deemed desirable to present this valuable paper of Dr King's in its entirety, and therefore the first part of it, though not read at the present conference, is given here.—ED.

mise a period when "the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice' den; and they shall not hurt nor destroy in all God's holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea." Do we listen to our Lord's personal instructions? "A new commandment," he says, "I give unto you, That ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." Does our Lord, in addressing his heavenly Father, present prayers audible to his people? He is overheard entreating for their unity: "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me." Did the Lord of glory die, and do we ask the design of the stupendous event? Its purposes were manifold; but they are summed up in one word—*reconciliation*. "It pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell; and having made peace through the blood of his cross, by him to RECONCILE all things unto himself, by him, whether things in earth, or things in heaven." Do we seek for the distinguishing features of the Christian Church when it was most pure and most triumphant? The answer is still—*unity*. "The multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul; neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common." Do we stretch thought onwards to the heavenly Church, and inquire as to the elements of its glory? *Unity* is one of them. The worshippers, though countless, form a single and indivisible assembly, and enjoy a happiness in each other's society, only second to the bliss of being ever with the Lord. That heavenly kingdom, we should remember, is not only the object of our hopes, but the model for our imitation; and to all who are travelling towards it, there comes from its peaceful mansions a voice saying, "See that ye fall not out by the way."

In modes thus varied and impressive does God, through his Word, exhort his people to unite—to associate in a cordial, visible, effective union—a union in which great and precious promises shall be fulfilled—in which the commands of our Lord shall be obeyed, and his prayers answered, and his sacrificial sufferings recompensed by their fruits—in which the lustre of primitive times shall be recalled, and the nobler glory of heaven shall be anticipated. See-

ing, then, that we are thus impelled, what shall hinder us? Seeing that we are thus countenanced, by what or by whom shall we be discouraged? There may be many objections to Christians uniting; but were they a thousand-fold more numerous, and a thousand-fold more formidable, they would be as dust in the balance against that one saying, Have not I commanded thee? Although the command were to go and raise the dead, we dare not pronounce it grievous—we dare not decline the service as unreasonable. That commission the apostles did receive, and did execute; and if they, in the name of the Lord, restored the disembodied spirit to its lifeless tabernacle, shall we deem it a thing impossible, in obeying the same authority, and relying on the same strength, to bring together the living in Jerusalem?

CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE STATE OF SOCIETY PREDISPOSING TO  
CHRISTIAN UNION.

The Word of God, then, is the primary incentive to Christian union. But there may be combinations of circumstances which cause its instructions on this subject to be more specially considered at particular times. So it was when the Liverpool Conference was projected. The Church of Christ was menaced by unwonted and increasing hostility. The extremes of unbelief and superstition, of infidelity and Popery, were simultaneously stirred to new vigour; and, though from different points, and with dissimilar armour, they led on a joint attack against evangelical Protestantism. It would be easy to give examples, illustrative and confirmatory, of this statement. But it may suffice to say, that the danger was apparent in the prevalence of apprehension, in the alarm impressed on the minds of Christians through all countries, and in the calls which proceeded from different denominations and widely-separated regions, for a comprehensiveness of action befitting a near, trying, and inevitable crisis.

On the other hand, the leadings of Providence presented uncommon facilities for Christian union. The asperities of party which in former ages had obscured and almost concealed the catholicity of the Church, had become softened and diminished. The principle of toleration which had once no open friend, had no more a declared foe; and this single change strongly indicated a great revolution of sentiment. Religious and benevolent societies, embracing Christians of different denominations, maintained their

ground and increased in strength, shewing the stability of the foundation on which they were reared. Interesting movements had taken place expressly for the promotion of brotherhood, and the diffusion of its blessings.

#### MOVEMENTS TOWARDS UNION ABROAD.

To notice a few examples, and to begin with the remotest—much praise is due to Dr Schmucker of America, for his zealous endeavours to associate Christians of different denominations across the Atlantic, and to concentrate their efforts on subjects of common interest. Whatever may be thought of his scheme of union, all Christians must admire the spirit by which it was dictated, and rejoice in the practical good of which the proposal and discussion of it have been confessedly productive.

In Switzerland, too, there has been much co-operation among Christians who differ on minor points of ecclesiastical polity; and an effort was made a few years ago, under the guidance of such men as Dr Merle D'Aubigné, and Dr Gausson of Geneva, to institute a fraternal confederation, considerably analogous in its nature and aim to the proposed Evangelical Alliance. The Rev. Dr Kniewel, archdeacon of Dantzic, made a tour in 1842, through England, France, Belgium, Switzerland, and Germany, in order to institute friendly communication between Christians of different churches, both established and dissenting. He published in 1844, an account of his travels, and more especially of his benevolent endeavours to promote the unity of God's people. In France also the spirit of union has been manifested, and honourable notice is specially due to the Rev. George Fisch, pastor of the Evangelical Church of Lyons, for pressing the importance of this subject on the attention of his brethren.

These, and like advances towards union, in America and on the continent of Europe, are of high importance and interest. They can be best related, however, by friends who have come from the quarters in which they occurred; and leaving them to tell what God has done in their several countries to cement the mutual affection of his true worshippers, we think it best to inform them of what Providence has accomplished here in the same cause, and by what steps we have been led to convene Christians of so many churches and nations in this comprehensive, this œcumenical assemblage.

## MOVEMENTS TOWARDS UNION AT HOME.

The subject of union is not new to British Christians. Above twenty years ago the Rev. J. H. Stewart of Liverpool called together several leading ministers of different denominations, to promote a spirit of united prayer for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. There were present, on that first occasion, the Rev. Dr Bunting, the Rev. E. Bickersteth, the Rev. J. Pratt, the Rev. Dr Waugh, and others of like mind and heart. Such meetings continued to be held; and Mr Stewart likewise published annually an address to Christians, exhorting them to follow up, and widely exemplify that devotional fellowship which he and his brethren had so happily commenced—to unite and to persevere in prayer, that the Spirit might be poured out from on high, till the wilderness should be a fruitful field, and the fruitful field be counted for a forest. These meetings and addresses must have disposed Christians to keep the “unity of the Spirit;” for God has promised “the Holy Ghost to them that ask him;” and of all the fruits of the Spirit, the first mentioned is “love.”\* The handful of corn was then sown on the top of the mountains, amid the chillness of apathy and the rude blasts of controversy; but even then, and there, it took root and sprung up and advanced to maturity, till now it shakes with fruit like Lebanon.

The Rev. J. A. James of Birmingham—a name never to be forgotten when Christian union is mentioned—originated a proposal for a union of Evangelical Protestants, to advance Protestant objects, as well as for mutual recognition. He submitted his scheme to his brethren at the Metropolitan Meeting of the Congregational Union in 1842, and also published a letter on the subject, in the *Congregational Magazine*, which was afterwards sent in the form of a circular to leading ministers of various evangelical denominations. There followed private meetings of Christians belonging to different communions, to promote the object. These meetings were held in the committee-room of the Tract Society; and the time of their sessions was occupied in prayer, reading the Scriptures, and colloquial deliberation. Dr Liefchild, who had warmly espoused the project of Mr James, was the first to institute public measures for carrying it into execution. On the first of January 1843, he called by advertisement a meeting in Craven Chapel, at which addresses were delivered and prayers offered up, in special

\* Gal. v. 22.

relation to the contemplated enterprise. It was a season of refreshing from the presence of the Lord. The numbers in attendance, the cordiality displayed, the enthusiasm awakened by devotional fellowship, and still growing when the meeting closed—all bespoke the opening not only of a new year, but of a new era; and, in accents sweeter than the sounds of a silver trumpet, announced to the distracted Churches of Christ the early dawn of a jubilee of love.

A conference of ministers belonging to various sections of Evangelical Christians, and presided over by the venerable Mr Reece, of the Wesleyan connexion, was held at the Wesleyan Centenary Hall, in the following February; and the sentiments then expressed were at once of the frankest and most cordial description. This meeting appointed a committee, of which the Rev. Mr Sherman was the efficient secretary, to take all necessary steps for carrying on the good work; and the committee so elected, in fulfilling their commission, convened a great meeting in Exeter Hall, in the succeeding month of June. It was a great meeting indeed. Such was the demand for tickets, that eleven thousand were distributed; and such was the eagerness to take advantage of them, that the vast hall was thronged long before the chair was taken, and crowds still coming met crowds retiring, in utter despair of obtaining admission. The speakers on the occasion were, the Rev. Jas. Hamilton, the Rev. Drs Alder, Harris, and Cox, the Rev. Baptist Noel, the Rev. J. A. James of Birmingham, and Isaac Taylor, Esq. If they aimed at conviction, they had an easy task to perform. The manifested ardour of the audience soon demonstrated that the work was done; that in this matter the Christian people were equally forward as their teachers, or in advance of them; and that the champions of union had not so much to fight a battle as to celebrate a victory. The approval of the Christian community, so clearly marked at this meeting, and on every like occasion, is full of admonition as well as encouragement. The burst of emotion with which they salute their friends of the committee-room, and answer their every appeal to sanctified affection, virtually says to all who are over them in the Lord—On you rest the responsibilities of this great question. Only agree among yourselves, only find a common platform of truth and love; and we, on our part, are ready to countenance and cheer you in your peace-making career—to hear, and to hail every provocation to love, as well as to good works, and so make full proof “how

good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity."

This was a great meeting; but after all, it was not a business meeting. It stood forth as a mighty fact, a majestic rock, but equally isolated as imposing, and forming no part of a mountain chain. To speak more prosaically, this great convention passed off in resolutions, and these resolutions, however excellent in themselves, inferred no organisation, and no action. This suspension and interruption of effort were from God, and manifested his goodness. Had the cause taken its rise here, and hence pursued its course onwards, all the jealousies of England would have beset an enterprise ushered into being amidst its own divisions. England, indeed, must be the grand seat of pacification, the principal field of bloodless triumph; but that it may be so, the olive branch must be offered from without, and presented in the hand of a neutral party.

The application of this remark leads us to Scotland; for small and rugged as it is, compared with the sister country, its mountains were honoured in this instance to bring peace to the people, and its little hills by righteousness. For a long period the claims of union had been pressing on the consciences of many Scottish Christians. The Established Church, in 1842, appointed a committee, with the express view of furthering friendly relations with other churches; and the fact of Dr Candlish having been appointed its convener, will be accepted as sufficient evidence of its efficient character.

#### BICENTENARY OF THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY.

In tracing, however, the history of the Evangelical Alliance, if we may be permitted to speak of it as now virtually formed, we must look away from individual sections of Christians, and notice the Bicentenary of the Westminster Assembly, held in Edinburgh, July 1843, as having more immediately and directly led to its formation. The object then in view—the commemoration of a Presbyterian assembly—gave to the proceedings, no doubt, a somewhat denominational character. But the spirit breathed in them was enlightened and benevolent; and the allusions made to Evangelical Christians, not Presbyterian, were all in the form of lamenting their absence. The convention, though limited, thus paved the way for others more general. One of the speakers on that inter-



esting occasion was the late Professor Balmer. He had not been previously engaged to speak, and his address was nearly or wholly extemporaneous, so that his participation in the business appeared to be incidental. But God often employs means which seem to us casual and fortuitous, in accomplishing his mightiest purposes, as if to shew that, in reality, there is no such thing as accident—that even where we walk blindly he is leading us in paths we know not, and that all things are of God, who hath reconciled us unto himself by Jesus Christ. The remarks of Dr Balmer were worthy of his enlightened and benevolent piety. In the course of his address, he said, “I have rarely seen any meeting of this kind, or read of any meeting for commemorating the services either of the living or the dead, in which there was not uttered much indiscriminate and extravagant eulogy; and I was not without my apprehension that this meeting would be one of the same kind. I was afraid that if the divines of Westminster could have witnessed our proceedings, they would have said, Worship God, not us: remember the Church is built not upon us, but upon the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone. I think it right to state now that my fears have been completely disappointed. I have heard, indeed, a great deal of panegyric on the Westminster divines; but it has been so discriminating, so judicious, accompanied with so many proper qualifications and cautions, that I think I could assent to almost every word of eulogium I have heard. . . . . I beg leave to say, further, that I concur most cordially in all the sentiments of respect expressed for those ministers and denominations who differ from us in subordinate matters—for the Puritans of the seventeenth century, who were not Presbyterians, and for the Independent ministers and churches of the present day. For all who belong to Christ I would cherish sentiments of Christian love; and I trust that all our proceedings will be conducted as they have been hitherto conducted; so that we may say, ‘Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.’ I may be permitted to add, that the unity of the Church is an object which I have long had sincerely at heart; and I contemplate the proceedings of this meeting with interest and satisfaction, because I consider it as likely to be overruled for the promotion of that end.”

## PROPOSAL FOR A PROTESTANT CONFERENCE.

In prognosticating so strongly the advancement of Christian union from the Bicentenary he was attending, little did Dr Balmer think that his own observations were, by the grace of God, to have so large a share in producing the result. His speech, and more especially his expository remarks on Phil. iii. 15, 16, made a deep impression upon the audience, and suggested to one of his hearers, John Henderson, Esq. of Park—a most enlightened and devoted friend of Christian union—the idea of a treatise to elucidate and apply the generous principles which he so impressively advocated. This proposal assumed latterly the form of a volume of Essays, by contributors of different denominations; and that volume gave point and force to a desire, not unexpressed before, for a great Protestant Conference, to be shortly held in the metropolis of this empire. The proposition, in this instance, came from the Rev. Dr Patton, of America, and embraced in its design the Christian world. Everywhere the grand conception was regarded with favour; and the cry came from east and west, north and south, Let it be carried into effect. But how could it be brought into operation? Who was to set in motion a machine so vast? Who was to be the world's convener, and take upon himself the consequence and responsibilities of associating in this cause the ends of the earth? The object shone before the friends of union like the sun and moon; but, like these great lights, it appeared, from the want of a pathway, to be lamentably inaccessible.

## LIVERPOOL CONFERENCE PROPOSED.

In the circumstances above mentioned, it was suggested by the writer of this paper that a preliminary meeting might be held in Liverpool, the members of which, if they could agree among themselves, should act as requisitionists in calling the larger meeting. This suggestion was approved of; and as it emanated from Scotland, all friends in England and elsewhere insisted that Scotland must carry through the initiative. It did so. Most of its larger denominations appointed deputies, more or less formally, to the projected meeting; and individuals, on their invitation, joined in the movement, till ministers and members of seven ecclesiastical

bodies issued a common circular\* to the churches of England, Wales, and Ireland, to meet them, through delegates, at Liverpool; and the Scottish brethren appeared there with a statement of their case, embodying a summary, or rather specimen, of common principles, which had been unanimously adopted; and all this without having encountered a divided vote at any stage of their procedure!

It was a great relief and delight to the Scottish friends of union

\* As the reader may feel some interest in seeing this circular, and the names appended, I here give them:—

“TO THE EVANGELICAL CHURCHES OF ENGLAND, WALES, AND IRELAND.

“GLASGOW, *August 5, 1845.*

“DEAR BRETHREN,—You are aware of the proposal which has emanated from various quarters, that a great meeting of Evangelical Christians belonging to various churches and countries should be shortly convened in London, to associate and concentrate the strength of an enlightened Protestantism against the encroachments of Popery and Puseyism, and to promote the interests of a scriptural Christianity. To us it appears that a preliminary Meeting, comprising delegates from the various denominations in Great Britain and Ireland, might with advantage be held this summer in some town in England. This subordinate measure has been submitted to various sections of Scottish Christians, and has obtained their cordial approbation; and most of the subscribers to this letter have been appointed to use their best endeavours for carrying it into execution. We earnestly and respectfully invite you to join in the movement. On your co-operation its success depends; for, if limited to Scotland, it would be diminutive and ineffectual.

“As to the objects of the preliminary Meeting, we think it better not to speak with precision. The delegates will shape their own course; and we abstain from any remarks or suggestions which may appear to invade the freedom of their deliberations. To any, however, who might object to the want of a defined aim, we would reply in general, that there is, in our opinion, no want of work for the combined energies of Evangelical Christians. The very fact of meeting together would be a feast of charity to themselves, and would present an exemplification of brotherhood highly honouring to their religious profession. By this would all men know that they were Christ's disciples, because they loved one another.

“When assembled, they might engage together in devotional exercises—hear stirring appeals as to their individual and collective duties—indicate the basis of the greater Meeting to be called at their instance—and organise, or even set on foot, a series of measures, whether by books, tracts, lectureships, or otherwise, for diffusing through all European countries a scriptural knowledge of the salvation of Christ, and exploding the sceptical and superstitious systems so lamentably prevalent, by which the doctrines of the cross are expressly denied, or buried under a heap of inventions and delusions.

“We sincerely hope that you will give the subject your favourable consider-

that all had proceeded so amicably, so unanimously, among themselves. But still they had to enter England, and meet, not with the members of seven, but of seventeen or twenty denominations; and the success experienced on the smaller scale might soon be exchanged for reverses, when the field should be wider, and the parties multiplied. That utter discomfiture awaited the expedition was most confidently predicted. One of two results was pronounced to be inevitable:—either the meeting would be a holiday affair—a shaking of hands, a bandying of compliments, while conversation. It is easy to anticipate objections, but the end is too great and good to be abandoned on slight grounds.

“We suggest the 1st of October as a day of meeting, and Liverpool as the place. It may be presumed, the important business to be transacted will occupy not less than three days.—We are, dear brethren, yours cordially,

## FREE CHURCH.

Thomas Chalmers, D.D. and LL.D.  
 P. McFarlane, D.D.  
 Robert S. Candlish, D.D.  
 Wm. Cunningham, D.D.  
 Robert Buchanan, D.D.  
 M. Mackay, LL.D.  
 John Smith, D.D.  
 Thomas Guthrie, D.D.  
 James Begg, D.D.  
 W. M. Hetherington, LL.D.  
 Adam Cairns.  
 David Carmint.  
 Breadalbane.  
 D. Brewster, LL.D.  
 R. J. Brown, Professor of Greek,  
 Marischal College, Aberdeen.  
 Alex. Campbell, Monzie.  
 Archd. Bonar.  
 Graham Spiers.  
 William Brown.  
 N. Stevenson.  
 James Bridges.

UNITED SECESSION CHURCH.

John Brown, D.D.  
 H. Heugh, D.D.  
 James Harper, D.D.  
 David King, LL.D.  
 John Henderson.  
 David Anderson.  
 James Peddie.  
 John Young.

## UNITED SECESSION CHURCH.

John Eadie, LL.D.  
 John Robson, D.D.  
 James Mitchell.

## RELIEF CHURCH.

William Lindsay, D.D.  
 J. S. Taylor.  
 William Brodie.  
 Hugh Macfarlane.

## REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

Andrew Symington, D.D.  
 William Symington, D.D.  
 A. M. Rogerson.  
 John Macleod.  
 James Mc'Gill.  
 Wm. Anderson.  
 James Reid.

## ORIGINAL SECESSION CHURCH.

Thomas Mc'Grie.  
 Robert J. Watt.  
 William White.

## CONGREGATIONALISTS.

Ralph Wardlaw, D.D.  
 A. W. Knowles.  
 C. H. Bateman.  
 William P. Paton.  
 John Small.

## BAPTIST CHURCH.

Alex. McLeod.  
 James Paterson.  
 William Innes.  
 Robert Kettle.

sistency was forgotten, conviction smothered, and truth sacrificed—or, if the parties assembling should speak out freely, the statement of differences would imbitter alienations; the relieving of one conscience would be the inculcating of another; and angry words would elicit words still more angry, till the combustible materials would ignite and explode, to the shame and scandal of the Christian profession.

These dark prophecies emanated not only from the enemies of religion, but from its friends—from many friends of peace itself, who were the more jealous of the advocacy, that they valued the cause, and honestly trembled for the ark of God. Even of those who attended the meeting, some were more than doubtful, at the first, of its wisdom and expediency, and came to it less in the hope of doing good than of preventing or qualifying mischief. All this was present to the originators of the meeting, and pressed on their consideration; and, if it did not arrest their advance, it filled them with disquietude. They became more and more concerned as the day approached, and were almost tempted to wish that they had been less adventurous.

#### LIVERPOOL CONFERENCE HELD—OPENING SERVICES.

The season fixed arrived. The proposed conference was held—and the first relaxation of awe experienced by its members was derived from the spectacle which their concourse presented. So far at least the invitation had been successful—that it had not been scorned or slighted. Office-bearers and members of many churches were there, who had come without gainsaying so soon as they were sent for, and now asked by their ready presence—“For what intent have you sent for us?” Such an assembly was a new thing in the earth. It could not have been held in the times of the apostles, for denominational distinctions had not then come into existence; and though some of the Reformers earnestly desired, and strenuously endeavoured, to bring about such meetings of evangelical Protestants, they failed, or very partially succeeded; and transmitted the undertaking to us for future accomplishment under happier auspices, “that they without us should not be made perfect.” Who could look on the scene and not be animated by it? So many prejudices overcome!—so many servants of Christ, sitting side by side, who never expected to form one assemblage till they should meet in heaven! They were strangers to each other, and yet friends; and

estrangement fled before friendship. The doubts of each were rebuked by the beaming kindness of his neighbour. They saw, they felt that they were brethren; and before a step was taken, before a joint service was performed, there was in that meeting a verification and reflection of the promises: "The Lord will give strength unto Israel; the Lord will bless his people with peace." "Thus shall the man be blessed that feareth the Lord; thou shalt see the good of Jerusalem, and peace upon Israel."

A like assembly could not have been convened in England, with the same advantage and success, at an earlier period. Various recent events had prepared the way for it, under the guidance of an all-wise Providence, and, in particular, the combined effort which had been made during the preceding year against the further endowment of the Papal College of Maynooth, had brought many Christians into friendly communication who had been previously dissociated by their denominational jealousies.

The opening engagements consisted of devotional exercises; and these services, so important and solemn, and bringing into requisition the essence of the gospel, elicited no discord, but a joyful oneness of mind and heart. No distinction of sects could have been discovered from the songs or the supplications. It would seem as if a Saviour's throne cannot be approached, even in faith, without displaying something of that identifying power by which it transforms many imperfect Churches into one glorious Church, where it is more nearly and directly contemplated.

#### PROCEEDINGS OF THE LIVERPOOL CONFERENCE.

But the similarity of evangelical prayers is proverbial. Discussion had to follow; and there the danger was apprehended—apprehended, but not experienced. Never was the interchange of sentiment more undisguised, unreserved, and faithful; and never was communication more signally affectionate. It is not the design of this paper to record minutely all that was transacted: the facts are already detailed in other documents, which have been widely circulated. A few principal points only need be here selected to shew the *animus* of the proceedings, and mark the interposition of the God of peace in removing obstructions from the path of his people. Let it be also clearly understood, that when we speak of resolutions as having been proposed and passed, we use the language in a conditional and qualified sense. We

have concluded nothing: all our acts have been hitherto provisional, and will now be submitted in the character of suggestions to those who must decide upon them. Even this much might not have been adventured on had it not been feared that the deliberations in August would have suffered from the want of a programme, and had it not been considered a duty in British Christians to prove their own preparation for fellowship in well-doing, before presuming to convene so many brethren from abroad.

In the subordinate sense just explained, it was resolved at the Liverpool Conference—

“That in the prosecution of the present attempt, the Conference are clearly and unanimously of opinion, that no compromise of their own views, or sanction of those of others, on the points on which they differ, ought to be either required or expected on the part of any who concur in it; but that all should be held as free as before to maintain and advocate their views, with all due forbearance and brotherly love.’

Here was a resolution which dissipated a host of misgivings and forebodings. The strictest member of the strictest sect might now feel at ease about his doctrinal peculiarities; for there was to be no compromise of his own tenets, or sanction of another’s. All were declared free to maintain and advocate their views, on the single condition, that the maintenance and advocacy of them should be conducted with all due forbearance and brotherly love; and if the Evangelical Alliance could only be instrumental in recommending this article of its projected constitution to the adoption of Christendom—that the expression of religious views shall be, on the one hand, frank, and, on the other hand, affectionate; and that, when so conducted, it shall be held inoffensive and praiseworthy—this one result would be a sufficient vindication and recompense of the present movement.

It was resolved—

“Further, That any union or alliance to be formed, should be understood to be an alliance of individual Christians, and not of denominations or branches of the Church.”

This resolution, like the last, tended to remove all danger and all dread of being unwarily committed to erroneous opinions or systems. The parties associating saluted each other as brethren, but they met as individuals; and no one pronounced any judgment, either favourable or adverse, on the constitution of the Church with which any other member of the Conference was connected.

It was further declared to be—

“The design of this Alliance to exhibit, as far as practicable, the essential unity of the Church of Christ; and, at the same time, to cherish and manifest, in its various branches, the spirit of brotherly love.”

The cultivation of Christian union was thus declared to be the main object contemplated. Such an aim was not imagined to be either disorderly or presumptuous. As respects essential relation, Christians are one, whether they will or not; and their identification with the Saviour, and, through his righteousness, with each other, is so perfect as not to admit of increase. But all relations demand the exercise of corresponding sympathies; and the intimacy and inviolability of those ties which bind Christians together, instead of terminating in themselves and superseding effective manifestation, render the interchange of mutual acknowledgments and kind offices proportionally sacred and imperative. It is true that Christians, when assembling as we do now, do not constitute a church, and that their joint regulations can neither supersede nor rival the excellencies of ecclesiastical organisation. But if this object be fatal to an alliance having union for its object, it must be no less so to those noble institutions which contemplate missionary agency, and the circulation of the Scriptures. We are no doubt attached each to his own company; but if we are true Christians, we also form, collectively, a holy nation; and strange would it be, if the minor compact allowed of ample exhibition, and the grander of none—if our several fraternities, while holding daily fellowship with Christ, were interdicted all means of fellowship with one another. We should be tempted in that case to wish a recall of the period when the tribes, issuing from their respective provinces, went up to Jerusalem, the tribes of the Lord unto the testimony of Israel, to give thanks unto his name. The periodical assembling of all the Israelites in their metropolitan city shed a happy influence over the community, and was more serviceable, perhaps, than any other instrumentality, in repressing feuds, and maintaining amity. The like means are calculated to have a like effect under a better dispensation. The members of different denominations, without compromising one jot or tittle of their distinctive tenets, and without arrogating a single element of ecclesiastical power, may do unspeakably much, by their harmonious comminglings, to shew and to advance Christian brotherhood. It is the open alienation of Christians that has brought Christian



principle under suspicion; and nothing but the open union of Christians can neutralise the scandal, and furnish a demonstration, obvious to a world lying in wickedness, of the reality and efficacy of the love of God. Nor is the effect of such communication on those who enjoy it, and through them on the religious societies with which they are connected, to be lightly esteemed. They may bear important suggestions, and receive valuable stimulus, by which their faithfulness in every province of duty will be promoted; and though they did nothing, out of their distinctive communion, to falsify its professions, or weaken its position, they may bring not a little into their individual society, from comprehensive and exhilarating conferences, to sustain and elevate its well-being in every department of prosperity.

The Conference further proposed "to open and maintain, by correspondence and otherwise, fraternal intercourse between all parts of the Christian world;—and, by the press, and by such scriptural means as, in the progress of this Alliance, may be deemed expedient, to resist not only the efforts of Popery, but every form of superstition and infidelity, and to promote their common Protestant faith in our own and other countries."

From this resolution, it is evident that the Conference, in desiring to promote union, did not view it separately from specific and vigorous action. They trusted that the friends of Christ would find common work to perform. If Christians, on coming together, displayed utter incapacity for associated effort, it is more than questionable whether such a proof of weakness would raise the estimate of Christian agreement, or dispose any to say of the spiritual, as was said of the typical Jerusalem, that it is "as a city built compactly together." In the absence, too, of important undertakings, interest would decline; or if it did not, it would bring many into the Alliance who had no congeniality with its aim, and who would be very willing to subscribe verbal conditions, and to take all the honours of an evangelical Christianity, while spared its arduous and testing engagements. Any alliance to be formed may not indeed take the place of religious societies, already and nobly fulfilling their objects, and far less set on foot a new species of political organisation. But there appeared no reason why it should not give out views and addresses on important religious subjects, rightly applying the dispensations of Providence; arousing the Christian public to a consideration of its position, dangers, and duties; and aiming, by the Divine blessing, to affect

beneficially the spirit of the times. It was thought that even critical questions, about which men of the world cannot deliberate without stirring angry passions, might be safely approached by fellow-Christians, who love one another with a pure heart fervently.

The prosecution of such objects as have been hinted at, supposes the co-operation of different parties; but not of all parties—not of a loose and indiscriminate multitude. In what way, then, was the requisite discrimination to be secured? The objects themselves would be of a sifting nature. But as these were not yet begun to be prosecuted, there seemed to be a necessity for some such doctrinal statement as would indicate the class of persons whom it was desired to associate. Accordingly, the Conference resolved that the parties who shall be invited to the future meeting shall be such persons as hold and maintain what are usually understood to be evangelical views in regard to such important matters of doctrine as the following, viz.—

1. The Divine inspiration, authority, and sufficiency of Holy Scripture.
2. The unity of the Godhead, and the Trinity of persons therein.
3. The utter depravity of human nature, in consequence of the fall.
4. The incarnation of the Son of God, and his work of atonement for sinners of mankind.
5. The justification of the sinner by faith alone.
6. The work of the Holy Spirit in the conversion and sanctification of the sinner.
7. The right and the duty of private judgment in the interpretation of Holy Scripture.
8. The Divine institution of the Christian ministry, and the authority and perpetuity of the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

This summary may appear somewhat vague and indecisive—a point on which we may speak afterwards; but that it is not unavailing for its purposes has been attested by facts. A meeting was held at Geneva, shortly after the Liverpool Conference, with the view of following up our union movement; and some of the Unitarian clergy attended, thinking that their doctrinal tenets might be no disqualification for participating in the scheme; but, so soon as the so-called basis was read, they withdrew, considering it tantamount to their exclusion.

LONDON MEETING DETERMINED ON—APPOINTMENT OF  
PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE AND ITS SUBDIVISIONS.

It may suffice to add, respecting the proceedings of the Liverpool Conference, that it determined on convening a more extensive meeting in London, in the summer of the next year; and, meanwhile, appointed a Provisional Committee, comprising four divisions—the first to sit in London—the second in Liverpool—the third in Glasgow—and the fourth in Dublin.

So passed off the Liverpool Conference, a convention that will be noted in ecclesiastical history. Its sessions occupied three days; all its resolutions were unanimous; and so completely was the interest sustained to the end, that numbers still occupied their seats, as if reluctant to quit them when the business was concluded. By the testimony of all who were there, it was a season of high delight. The joy experienced was pure and varied. It was the joy of love; for the Christians then assembled had fervent charity among themselves: it was the joy of freedom, for the Spirit of the Lord was there; and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty: it was the joy of answered prayer, exceeded hopes, and heavenly foretastes. Was all this human? Surely not. "This is the Lord's doing; it is marvellous in our eyes." "Strengthen, O God, that which thou hast wrought for us!"

## RESOLUTIONS OF THE PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE.

An aggregate meeting of the Provisional Committee was held in January of the current year in Liverpool, when it was resolved that the meeting in London should be held in the month of August, and the London division of the Committee were instructed to fix the day, after consulting the convenience of parties likely to be present. On the motion of the Rev. John Kelly of Liverpool, a select sub-committee was then appointed to take under their special and serious consideration the objects and organisation of the proposed Alliance.

A second aggregate meeting of the Provisional Committee took place in Birmingham in April last. A series of important resolutions, recommended by Mr Kelly's Committee, was then agreed on, defining the objects and organisation which should be proposed

for the Alliance in the month of August. One of these resolutions, as subsequently altered, was—

“That, in subserviency to the grand object already intimated, the expectation is cherished by the members of this Committee, that the Alliance will exert a beneficial influence on the advancement of their common Christianity in various important respects, such as counteracting the efforts of Popery, and other forms of superstition and infidelity, and promoting their common Protestant faith in this and other countries; and that, with this view, it is deemed necessary to obtain correct information on such subjects as the following, viz.—

“1. The facts bearing on the growth of Popery.

“2. The state of infidelity, and the form which it assumes in the present day.

“3. The facts relating to the public observance of the Lord’s Day.

“4. The amount of the existing means of Christian education. It being understood that, in following up the inquiries to be thus made, and in promoting these and similar objects, the Alliance contemplates chiefly the stimulating of Churches and Christian societies to such efforts as the exigencies of the case may demand, by giving forth its views in regard to them, rather than carrying those views out by an organisation of its own.”

This resolution bears that, while in subserviency to the grand object of manifesting and promoting the unity of Christ’s disciples, it is still proposed to act, and to act vigorously, the design at the same time is entertained, to begin action by inquiry. This seems a wise and safe course. How can we deprecate inquiry if we love truth and trust its influence? And though, in the first instance, we propose only to investigate facts, yet, if our investigations be well conducted, they will be important in themselves, and may lead to ulterior measures of high practical consequence.

The summary of doctrinal principles having been brought under renewed consideration, was still approved of and retained; but an explanatory resolution was also agreed on, to the effect—‘*First*, That it is not to be viewed as, in any strict or proper sense, a creed or confession of faith. *Secondly*, That the selection of certain tenets, with the omission of others, is not to be held as implying that the former constitute the whole body of important truth, or that the latter are unimportant. *Thirdly*, That, in reference even to the selected tenets, the document in question does not pretend to

express definitively the formal propositions in which they must have been embodied, if they had been made the subjects of direct statement. And, *finally*, That, in adopting it, the Alliance would not be understood as assuming the right authoritatively to define the limits of Christian brotherhood, but simply as indicating the class of persons whom it is considered, on the whole, desirable and right to embrace within the Alliance."

It was to be anticipated, that any document of this kind would be found liable to misconstruction and consequent objection. Some might think there was too much in it, since all Christians could not subscribe it with freedom; and if the attempt were to embrace in the confederation every believer, this objection would be valid. But all saints cannot be convened in one assembly; and if they were so, they might be precluded by their contrarieties of sentiment from prosecuting together any one course of usefulness. Hence articles are necessarily introduced by which some Christians are excluded; but it is only because vigour, and even comprehensiveness of action, cannot otherwise be secured.

On the other hand, some may think that there is too little in such a summary, and that disrespect is cast on the doctrines omitted; and if the intention were to frame a confession of faith, there would be room for such strictures. A denomination, in framing a creed, naturally introduces all the points by which it is distinguished from other bodies of Christians. But our doctrinal summary was not intended to be a creed at all, or to interfere with the symbols of any church whatever. Viewing it in relation to its object—the bringing together of Christians belonging to different communions—we readily perceive that there must be a scantiness and generality in its contents; and that all we can hope for is, to indicate a few principles which are important in themselves, and of which the sincere belief is acknowledged to be saving. All co-operation supposes common principles; and the general societies, so extensively and justly countenanced, must have, and do have, a doctrinal basis, expressed or understood. If, then, these bases, as they are called, may be warrantably held, and warrantably acted on, and all the complaint respects simply the committing of them to writing, there appears little, in such an objection, to create alarm, or to demand reply. There should be a willingness, however, on the part of all friends of this movement, to reconsider such summaries, in the hope of improving them, or of finding a

substitute for them, by which the ends they contemplate may be more inoffensively and efficaciously accomplished.

#### PROCEEDINGS OF THE DIVISIONAL COMMITTEES.

It has been already mentioned that the Provisional Committee was partitioned into four Divisional Committees. Each of these has fulfilled its functions energetically, in its assigned province; and a volume would be needed to relate all they have done throughout England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland—in raising funds, enlisting members, forming local committees, and holding public meetings. The last-named topic is itself voluminous; for great meetings have been held in London, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Aylesbury, Bristol, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dublin, Belfast, and many other towns. As Liverpool has acquired a pleasing celebrity in connexion with this cause, it seems entitled to the distinction of being adduced in illustration. A meeting was announced to be held there on Tuesday evening, December 16, 1845. The demand for tickets was insatiable. When the evening came, the amphitheatre, a building capable of containing about four thousand, was crowded to overflowing. The Commercial Hall, a building which accommodates about two thousand, was therefore opened; and after it was completely packed, there was still a vast throng who could find no admission. The Rev. J. H. Stewart presided over one of these simultaneous meetings, and the Rev. Dr Raffles over the other, and the impression produced at both was deep and ineffaceable.

#### CONCLUSION.

It would have been pleasant to narrate the steps taken to secure the diffusion of publications, relating to the Alliance, in foreign countries; and still more pleasing would it have been to speak of the interest which these tracts have awakened, and the responses which they have elicited. But the length to which this paper has already extended calls for its conclusion; and all the facts relating to foreign lands can be most effectively told by honoured friends who have come from these quarters. To their judgment every suggestion already made will be submitted, and without their copartnery, no resolution hitherto proposed can become law. Their

presence is sufficient evidence of their zeal in the cause; and the changes which our proposals shall undergo, in passing through their hands, will no doubt bear witness to their discernment and wisdom.

If the projectors of the movement have themselves experienced any modification of sentiment or feeling, it has been all on the side of growing devotedness. The more they ponder the duty to which they have been providentially directed, the more are they impressed with its claims. We have done ample justice to our differences. For their sakes we have broken up the visible unity of the Church, and filled the page of history, and covered the face of Christendom, with angry contentions. It is time now to pay respect to our agreement, and by a fellowship, of which truth is the foundation, and love the impulse, and beneficence the employment, to dry the tears and heal the wounds of a weeping and bleeding Clarity. Ask the evidence that we differ, and every age and clime is burdensome with proof. Ask the evidence that we agree, and now in the nineteenth century we are but opening the argument.

This much seems evident, that we should have less co-operation, or more. If it be wrong in principle, let it be wholly abandoned; let the leaders of their respective parties sound a trumpet of retreat to their followers, and cause it to be proclaimed, "Every man to his tent, O Israel!" Let the different companies of the Redeemer's army fall back on their several strongholds, and, heedless of the common enemy, let them defy and assail each other from their opposing battlements. But if co-operation be right in principle, we have only as much of it as to condemn its practical shortcomings. It is time to fulfil a duty which incipient co-agencies do little more than acknowledge. Let the blanks in brotherhood be supplied, and let the spirit of friendship be actively diffused till the leaven of the kingdom shall leaven the whole lump, and all men shall see and own that the God of peace reigneth.

## HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

## PART II.

READ IN FREEMASONS' HALL, AUGUST 21, 1851.

## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE proceedings of the Evangelical Alliance, and of its subordinate organisations, have been largely published. They have appeared in reports and periodicals, and very specially in *Evangelical Christendom*, so ably conducted by our friend Dr Steane, and in the *Bulletin du Monde Chretien*, an excellent periodical published at Paris.\* In now recapitulating some of the principal facts, we shall contemplate, also, their moral phases, glancing at the truths which they indicate, and the lessons which they inculcate; for this sketch is meant to be historical; and a mere catalogue of events, were it ever so correct and precise, would want elements essential to history. On the other hand, there is danger of burying narrative in disquisition, of descanting on Providence when we should listen to its own oracles; and if we shall incline to one or other of these extremes, we can only plead our desire to find the good way, and beg indulgent forbearance with unintentional aberrations. In a former paper we traced the Evangelical Alliance to its origin, noticing the movements towards union, in different lands and of different dates, by which it was preceded; then calling attention to the immediate occasion of the Liverpool Conference of 1845, and the character of its proceedings; and finally marking the progress of the good cause to the borders of the great œcumenical meeting in London of 1846, when the Evangelical Alliance was formally instituted, and received its distinguishing designation. Now we resume our sketch where it was left off; and it is something that we still live, as an association, to tell our story. Our existence is a confutation of many objections and reproaches. To justify the prophecies of evil, we should have been dead long ago; but we still live, and thus favoured of God in the past, we desire to trust Him for the future, and to say, "We will hope continually, and

\* See also *The Evangelical Alliance: its Origin and Development*, by the Rev. Dr Massie.



will yet praise thee more and more; our mouths shall shew forth thy righteousness, and thy salvation all the day; for we know not the numbers thereof." In the former portion of our sketch it was said, "Let it be clearly understood, that when we speak of resolutions as having been proposed and passed, we use the language in a conditional and qualified sense. We have concluded nothing; all our acts have been hitherto provisional, and will now be submitted in the character of suggestions to those who must decide upon them." These words shew what is our present starting-point. We have come to the end of proposals, and we have next to record what was decided. So much had been done in expectation of the Great Conference. What was done by the Conference itself, and what course has been followed by district organisations to which it gave origin—these are the subjects of the present paper.

#### LONDON CONFERENCE OF 1846—ITS MEMBERSHIP.

At the period to which we are thus thrown back, the 19th of August 1846 has come, and professing Christians, to the number of about 800, are congregating in Freemasons' Hall, Great Queen Street, London. The slightest inspection of the assembly shews that its interest is not to be estimated exclusively by its numbers. The angelic queries may here be applied without being dishonoured, "Who are these, and whence came they?" Leading Episcopalians are here, yet this is no constituent or appendage of the Church of England. Here are celebrated Methodists, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Moravians, Lutherans; and yet here is neither exemplification nor advocacy of the distinctive principles with which their honoured names have been hitherto identified. It seems to external view as if their respective halls of spiritual administration had been suddenly brought into juxtaposition, and then all the walls of disseverance had fallen, and the members of sects had found their sectarianism perished, and replaced by the salutations and benedictions of unsectarian intercourse. Many are there whose faces are familiar and endeared to a British public; but others are there whose names, perhaps, are equally known, and yet not so promptly suggested by their personal appearance. These are strangers, and yet not strangers; foreigners, and yet fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of faith. They come from islands, they come from continents; they come from regions of sun, they come from regions

of snow; they are from the east and the west, and the north and the south; and they come to enjoy in common the common salvation, and to sit down emblematically, and by anticipation, in the kingdom of heaven. And who may recount all the suggestions, and conversations, and prayer-meetings, in which their journey was proposed, and encouraged, and determined on, so as to shew the diffused interest of which their presence is the expression? Or who shall depict the sympathies by which they are followed, the devotional aspirations centring in this assembly, and echoing response to the call from heaven, "Pray for the peace of Jerusalem; they shall prosper that love her!" The Rev. Edward Bickersteth presided over the opening devotional exercises. He is not with us to-day. Had he been in life and health, he would have been here—no minor reason of absence would have kept him away. But he is not here. Affection seeks him, but finds him not. He is undiscoverable to perception, and appears only to memory to say, Ye shall see my face no more. And it is not he alone that is missing. Many, many are the names in the report of the proceedings of the Conference, which are now memorials of bereavement, entwined with sorrowful associations, and sprinkled with the fallen waters of stricken hearts. But when we read the report, and there hear them, though dead, yet speaking, we are struck with the suitableness of their prior sayings to their subsequent departure. The acts of life do not always tally with the event of death. Even good men sometimes appear in positions and engagements which, if not positively discordant, are yet not in palpable and delightful harmony with their latter end. We should not like to see them finish their course precisely there. The idea of such a decease is suggestive of unlooked-for visitation, and somewhat violent transition. But here, in this report, we can ponder simultaneously and cheerfully their presence and their departure. "May I suggest," said Mr Bickersteth, "a key-note for our meeting at this time—a key-note of praise and thanksgiving to God; giving glory to him, and exalting our one Redeemer?" His key-note was praise: and who does not believe that it is praise still? Our doubting prayers he has left behind him; our anxious debates he has exchanged for clear and certain knowledge; our paltry jealousies he was well rid of here, and the last remnant of them, if remnant of them he had, fell at the moment he took his flight. But praise he carried with him. He entered the gates of heaven with praise, and its courts with thanksgiving. In coming

to the spirits of just men made perfect, he rose to all the sublimity of this service; and as he, and another, and numbers who once assembled here, re-assembled there, did they not find subject of song in remembered brotherhood which cheered their wilderness and signalled their way to the realms of glory? O thou God of these worshippers, these holy, happy worshippers, that great cloud of witnesses compassing us about, imbue us this day with their spirit, and enable us to conduct all our intercourse so that he who shall be the next removed shall be the most privileged, and time, while it yet lasts, shall be radiant with immortality! Having begun a history, I have been arrested at the beginning. But I have got upon a mount whence I am reluctant to descend. I have got into company which I am reluctant to quit, and the living will reckon it no disparagement that I have a wish to tarry and tabernacle with the dead. And yet we may contentedly descend into the world, and bring our hand and heart to its duties, if, when Moses and Elias disappear, we see "no man but Jesus any more."

#### UNITY OF THE CHURCH ASSERTED.

When preliminary discussions and arrangements had been got through, the first resolution passed by the assembled brethren had relation to Christian union. At the third session, August 20th, Dr Wardlaw moved, the Rev. Dr Olin seconded, and all present resolved:—"1. That this conference, composed of professing Christians of many different denominations, all exercising the right of private judgment, and, through common infirmity, differing among themselves in the views they severally entertain on some points, both of Christian doctrine and ecclesiastical polity, and gathered together from many and remote parts of the world, for the purpose of promoting Christian union, rejoice in making their unanimous avowal of the glorious truth, that the Church of the living God, while it admits of growth, is one Church, never having lost, and being incapable of losing, its essential unity," &c. The Church of the living God, we are here assured, is one Church. This is not the language of a sect claiming a monopoly of truth and godliness. It is the avowal of Christians of many denominations. This is not an expression of local belief; the Conference proclaiming it is representative of many lands, and its membership embraces many kindreds, and peoples, and tongues, and nations. This is not the phrase of a constrained uniformity, dictated by

priestly authority, and covering essential and irreconcilable contradictions:—it is the utterance of a free and reflective private judgment. All these denominations being appealed to, and all these regions comprehended, and all this scrutiny permitted and encouraged, the jury are unanimous, and their verdict is, “The Church of the living God is one Church!” The avowal is charming in simple conception; and when it shall receive an exemplification wide as its own catholicity—when it shall be everywhere believed, and breathed, and practised, then will it banish feuds with all the powerlessness and scandal which they occasion—then will it give softest tenderness to our intercourse, and manliest energy to our enterprises, and usher in the answer to the prayer, “Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.”

#### OUTWARD DIVISIONS OF THE CHURCH LAMENTED—HEALING MEASURES NEEDED.

But the Church has not this manifest unity now. We cannot admire the blessings of union without remembering and lamenting the miseries of discord. And hence the second resolution, passed by the Conference, at the same session with the former, was in these words:—“That this Conference, while recognising the essential unity of the Christian Church, feel constrained to deplore its existing divisions, and to express their deep sense of the sinfulness involved in the alienation of affection by which they have been attended, and of the manifold evils which have resulted therefrom; and to avow their solemn conviction of the necessity and duty of taking measures, in humble dependence on the Divine blessing, towards attaining a state of mind and feeling more in accordance with the spirit of Christ Jesus.” This resolution would admit of application to personal duty. We must take measures individually, and in our respective spheres of labour, to promote Christian charity. To no purpose shall we resolve fine things in Conference, and go home to fall before the first temptation to irascibility and resentment. And how much may not one peacemaker—one sincere, consistent, devoted peacemaker—accomplish? A look of love may shame a tumult of passion, and one marked instance of requiting good for evil may send a sympathetic thrill through society, and give its benevolent tone to the intercourse of thousands. But while we promote individually, and in our own immediate circle, a spirit of conciliation, we may be much aided in our

personal endeavours on behalf of this object, by the countenance and co-operation of brethren; and when the Conference had resolved that measures for attaining a better state of mind should be taken, we naturally expect the Conference itself to exemplify its own resolution, and institute some general measures of the tendency it had indicated.

#### EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE FORMED.

Accordingly, at the fourth session, and on the 20th of August, it was resolved, "That, therefore, the members of this Conference are deeply convinced of the desirableness of forming a confederation, on the basis of the great evangelical principles held in common by them, which may afford opportunity to members of the Church of Christ of cultivating brotherly love, enjoying Christian intercourse, and promoting such other objects as they may hereafter agree to prosecute together; and they hereby proceed to form such a confederation, under the name of 'THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.'" Thus was the Evangelical Alliance formed, and thus was the design of many anxious preparatory movements consummated, and thus the conferring brethren, in their assembled hundreds, committed themselves, and the honour of their holy religion, to a cause now matured by them into fact, and presented before the world stamped with its appellation!

But was not the actual formation of the Alliance precipitate? Was it safe to determine on a compact when the terms of the compact had yet to be considered? What if mutual explanation should elicit opposition, and embitter enmities, and terminate in explosion? Such an issue would have been very disastrous. But the evil, from being so great, and deliberately made so great, was on that very account the more likely to be eschewed. The dreadfulness of failure awakened in every bosom the sentiment, "We must not fail. We have pledged ourselves to the end, and the means of reaching it we must and shall discover. Our prior resolutions have cut off all retreat from union, and the unionist ranks have no alternative but to advance, till present perils shall sweeten eventual success, and the brow now loaded with cogitations and apprehensions shall be encircled with the trophies of bloodless victory."

## DOCTRINAL BASIS.

Yet a trial of amity impended. The next subject for discussion was the Summary of Principles, or Doctrinal Basis of the Alliance. This had been always felt to be a principal difficulty in our course. That some indication of agreement about essential truth was needed, all perceived and admitted. The union could not be Christian which should give no preference to truth over error—which should open the door indiscriminately to believers and infidels; and if parties opposed to each other in their cardinal convictions were brought together, their intercourse could not be fellowship, or commend a fraternal peacefulness, but would infallibly terminate in altercation and dispersion. Therefore, our call for union must indicate some platform of common principles, on which fraternal acknowledgments might be reciprocated. The need of a summary was palpable; but to draw it up, and make it such as it should be, formed no easy achievement. There is no room for denying that Protestants, ay, and Evangelical Protestants, have their differences, and although these are subordinate, they are not, on that account, few or unimportant. Conceding that we are agreed about essential doctrines, how were so many persons, of such varied sentiments, to distinguish what is essential from what is not? None of us will say that the demarcation could be unerringly made by fallible men, or, in fact, that any series of Christian tenets so determining Christian character could be devised as should exclude only Christ's foes and admit only his friends. Suppose the substance of the principles to have been selected and determined on, the very expression of them was a matter of critical delicacy: and that sensitive conscientiousness which secures order and harmony in the daily business of life, here interposed obstacles to ready concord by its scrupulous jealousy for the faithful exhibition of the Word of God.

There were two short and easy methods of surmounting these perils. One was to avoid discussion, and adopt, *simpliciter* and without debate, any doctrinal index which an individual or committee might propose. The members of the Alliance were not disposed for this timid and unreflective haste; and if agreement were so obtained, it would be, as all felt, unreal and nugatory. They were determined, collectively as individually, to prove all things, and hold fast that which was good; and therefore the summary was subjected, clause by clause, to the unrestrained operation

of scrutiny and criticism. Another mode of eluding or diminishing embarrassment would have consisted in adopting a very brief symbol of concord, consisting of one proposition, or two, or at most three. A joint manifesto, so very stinted, however, might have seemed a confession of general antagonism among ourselves, rather than an exhibition of oneness in the faith, and would have inadequately accomplished the discrimination which was contemplated. At all events, the Alliance did not retreat by this door of escape from its troubles. The Liverpool Conference had arranged its doctrinal statement, on which its invitation was based, under eight heads, drawn up originally by the masterly hand of Dr Candlish; and it is due to that distinguished minister to acknowledge now the great good he did to the union movement by that particular service. When the Alliance reconsidered, with the view of improving and adopting this compendium of evangelical views (and every constituent of it passed through a protracted and unrestrained debate), it did not emerge abbreviated or enfeebled from the ordeal. The change was one of enlargement and invigoration; and the Churches of coming centuries will mark with deep and grateful interest, that an assembly of 800 members, belonging to fifty religious denominations, and drawn by unauthoritative invitation from the ends of the earth, adopted, *nem. con.*, the following resolution:—

“That the parties composing the Alliance shall be such persons only as hold and maintain what are usually understood to be Evangelical views, in regard to the matters of doctrine understated, namely:—

- “ 1. The Divine inspiration, authority, and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures.
- “ 2. The right and duty of private judgment in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.
- “ 3. The unity of the Godhead, and the Trinity of persons therein.
- “ 4. The utter depravity of human nature, in consequence of the fall.
- “ 5. The incarnation of the Son of God, his work of atonement for sinners of mankind, and his mediatorial intercession and reign.
- “ 6. The justification of the sinner by faith alone.
- “ 7. The work of the Holy Spirit in the conversion and sanctification of the sinner.

- “ 8. The immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, the judgment of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ, with the eternal blessedness of the righteous, and the eternal punishment of the wicked.
- “ 9. The Divine institution of the Christian ministry, and the obligation and perpetuity of the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord’s Supper.
- “ It is, however, distinctly declared—First, that this brief Summary is not to be regarded, in any formal or ecclesiastical sense, as a Creed or Confession, nor the adoption of it as involving an assumption of the right authoritatively to define the limits of Christian Brotherhood; but simply as an indication of the class of persons whom it is desirable to embrace within the Alliance: Second, that the selection of certain tenets, with the omission of others, is not to be held as implying that the former constitute the whole body of important Truth, or that the latter are unimportant.”

When the summary in this form had been put and carried, the pervading emotions of the assembly found utterance in the glowing ejaculations of Mr Bickersteth, whose countenance seemed to be already radiant with heavenly joy: “Glory be to God, our heavenly Father, who has conducted us so harmoniously to such results as have now been witnessed among us! What a combination of solemn, weighty, all-important truths we here present to the whole Christian world! Glory be to God, who has overruled all our deliberations, and discussions, and frank avowals of our respective sentiments, to such an all-important issue as that which is now presented to you! I feel exceedingly the value of the delay; I feel the value of the long deliberation we have given to this subject—the solemnity of the whole, from our gathering together from all parts of the world, and the unutterable importance of the truths which we agree in commending. I do most cordially approve the various additions and alterations which have been made. I think they have considerably improved the whole statement which is to be presented to the Church of Christ. And I feel especially thankful, that no truth to which we were testifying has been withdrawn; but, by the mercy of God, we have been led to adopt and to confess every truth which we had previously agreed to propose. . . . Now we are about to pass the full Resolution. —May we have grace to pass it *unanimously*, if possible! May we



have grace, when we have passed it, to unite in thanksgiving and praise—in a solemn thanksgiving to our heavenly Father, for his goodness in having led us to such an important conclusion!”

In adopting such a summary, the Alliance obviated an objection to its character as being sentimental, as respecting emotion more than conviction, and extolling charity to the disparagement of truth. As if to confute this stricture, it perilled even peacefulness on the determination to confess the doctrine of Christ. At the present hour, it bears witness before the world to the word of the truth of the gospel, and exhorts the nations, as if with the voice of a trumpet, to buy the truth and sell it not. The present Archbishop of Canterbury has said that “the God of natural theology is at the most a philosophical abstraction, neglected by the philosopher himself, and unknown to the multitude; acknowledged in the closet and forgotten in the world.” If to elude one cavil and another we part successively with the doctrines of grace, and thus reduce our belief to the measure of teaching furnished sparingly and coldly by natural theology, it will not be the more effective that we indorse it with a Christian name. This emptied, pillaged Christianity will still be an abstraction, a powerless thing, supplying no feast, no bond to worshippers, and will scarcely sustain a constrained warmth in the eulogist of its claims. In filling pulpits it will empty churches, and in allowing itself to be moulded by objections, instead of the revealed and well-attested Word of God, it will become unimpressive to the consciences, and unattractive to the hearts of objectors themselves, whom it seeks to conciliate. Vainly do any praise the commandments of Christ and discard his doctrines. Nothing but the faith of Christ will enable any man to do his declared will; and if Christian morality be reared on any other foundation than Christian doctrine, it will crush its support, and fall to pieces by its weight. Oh, if this Alliance do but commend a more earnest cleaving to the doctrine of Scripture, to the cardinal principles of a primitive Christianity, it will have fulfilled a noble commission! You sigh for apostolic triumphs; you cannot have them without apostolic truths. Stand fast, therefore, in the apostles’ doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread and in prayers.\*

\* There is still a desire manifested in various quarters to have the Doctrinal Basis annulled or modified. Some think that no Basis whatever is required, and that the nature of the Association is guarantee sufficient for the selectness of its membership. But this supposition is at variance with the fact

CHARACTER OF THE ALLIANCE ELUCIDATED, AND OBJECTIONS  
OBVIATED.

Suppose an enlightened Christian to get his first view of the Alliance at this stage of its history, he would contemplate with admiration the meeting of so many brethren in Christ, from such a multiplicity of denominations and countries. He would hail the introductory resolutions as worthy of the occasion and the assemblage. He would regard with growing interest the regular formation of a Society of love, and might be above all astonished and delighted to find such a vast and varied membership, capable of adopting harmoniously such a series of doctrinal principles. But many difficulties would still present themselves; many queries would spring up, and would seem to be more easily started than settled. Must not the Christians so conferring be apprehensive of placing their sects in a false position, and of committing their

that Unitarians designed to join the Alliance movement, and were deterred from their purpose only by finding that the Basis excluded them. Even if Evangelical Christians alone joined the Alliance, there would be no proof, in the absence of a Doctrinal Basis, that they were really agreed as to essential truths. The Alliance could no longer be cited in evidence that most Protestant denominations hold the same cardinal principles.

Some think that a Doctrinal Basis in the language of Scripture would be the most eligible. But if the most opposed sects bearing the Christian name subscribe readily enough to the whole Bible, while wresting it to the support of conflicting systems, they would of course subscribe to any portion of the Bible; and a Basis of this sort would therefore be something less than that general acknowledgment of the Scriptures which already exists, without either manifesting or promoting Christian union.

Some think that a Doctrinal Basis in uninspired language is allowable and necessary, but that the present Basis is too ample, and ought to be stript of some of its articles. That the present form of the Basis is not the best possible, may be very fairly argued, and no one has ever claimed for it either perfection or unchangeableness. If, however, the object of reduction be to make room for the admission of all Christians, it could be easily shewn that the means would not accomplish the end. It is the most that can be attained, if the Summary of Principles admits of the association of as many Christians as can freely worship and in some degree work together.

Certain it is, that if any of the principles already sanctioned were now to be omitted, they would be held to be virtually disowned or condemned, and would be converted into matter of charge against the Alliance; and when change was begun, where would it stop? or who, opening the floodgates to theological discussion, could tell when, or where, or how, the deluge would be stayed?

particular Churches to a degree of catholicity that may be repudiated as latitudinarian? Must not this covenant of peace impose on all who are parties to it a painful and almost repressing constraint in afterwards stating and discussing the points on which they differ, so that the price of concord may be the sacrifice of Christian liberty and of the defence of the truth? Has not this new society the aspect of a new Church, and while professing to compose the differences of worshippers, does it not add another to their heterogeneous confederations? In a word, is there not an assumption in this crusade after union, and does it not cast virtual reflection on all who stand apart from it, however pure may be their motives, as if they were indifferent or inimical to the peace of Zion? When we look at this array of objections, and mark what a formidable host they seem to constitute, we are disposed to acknowledge the gracious guidance of Providence in bringing us to the following resolutions, by which they are all obviated:—

- “ 1. That this Alliance is not to be considered as an alliance of denominations or branches of the Church, but of individual Christians, each acting on his own responsibility.
2. That in this Alliance it is also distinctly declared, that no compromise of the views of any member, or sanction of those of others, on the points wherein they differ, is either required or expected; but that all are held as free as before to maintain and advocate their religious convictions with due forbearance and brotherly love.
3. That it is not contemplated that this Alliance should assume or aim at the character of a new ecclesiastical organisation, claiming and exercising the functions of a Christian Church. Its simple and comprehensive object, it is strongly felt, may be successfully promoted without interfering with, or disturbing the order of, any branch of the Christian Church to which its members may respectively belong.
4. That while the formation of this Alliance is regarded as an important step towards the increase of Christian union, it is acknowledged as a duty incumbent on all its members carefully to abstain from pronouncing any uncharitable judgment upon those who do not feel themselves in a condition to give it their sanction.”

These resolutions solved many a distressing problem—set at rest many fearful forebodings; and they have only to be embodied in our actions, and faithfully carried out to their legitimate results, in order to smooth our future progress, and render us eminently instrumental, both in our individual and associated capacities, in advancing the religion of the Prince of Peace. We meet simply

as Christians, and fit is the honour thus put on simple Christianity. We are to advocate our distinctive views with all liberty, and yet no acrimony—with the boldness of express sanction, and yet with due forbearance and brotherly love. We are to pray for all Churches, and qualify ourselves for a higher usefulness in those to which we belong; and yet we are not, by our union, to supercede ecclesiastical government, or to peril for an instant its harmonious operation. We are to advance union in the way which commends itself to us as best; and yet we are to impeach the motives and spirit of no man because he walketh not with us, but rather to rejoice, and bless God that there are so many friends of union beyond our ranks; and in the consciousness of our own unworthiness to serve God in so great a cause, be ready to say, "Unto us, who are less than the least of all saints, is this grace given." We are not worthy to strive, however humbly and subordinately, "to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." Blessed shall that day be, in which these shall be the features of our personal character—the component elements of our aims and efforts: and stable and indestructible will be this Alliance, if it live to inscribe the Spirit of Christ on its own movements, and on the varied agencies of improvement and philanthropy.

#### OBJECTS OF THE ALLIANCE—PROMOTION OF UNION.

But, to the view of many, the greatest of all difficulties yet remains to be noticed. The Alliance being thus constituted, designated, and minded, what was it to do? Multitudes alleged that it could do nothing, and appealed to us whether a do-nothing society could be of any permanence or value. The Alliance did not shrink from confronting this difficulty, any more than the others. Hard as it might be to concentrate so many minds on any line of action, the Alliance did proceed to the department of objects. The resolutions passed in this province no doubt exhibit unity as the grand and characteristic object of our particular association; and who shall say that its being has a frivolous end, if it shew that we are, and make us still more to be, of one heart and one mind in the Lord? Go back to the eras and regions of a former economy. See every highway and byway and footpath traversed by a nation in movement. What means all this unsettlement and pilgrimage? Who are these countless travellers, and what is their destination? We have the like spectacle there as

here. In these thronging roads we see the life of love, maintained by a circulating system of social devotion. These are the tribes, the tribes of the Lord, and they are going to the testimony of Israel: what to do? or can they do anything, split as they are by genealogies and feuds? Yes, they meet for action, and that action is "to give thanks unto the name of the Lord." This was their object, and if our hearts are knit together in the attainment of the same end, the carnal-minded may deride at our inefficiency, but the Church in heaven and the angels of God will smile on our work, and in hallelujahs and laudations will celebrate its accomplishment.

#### OBJECTS—CORRESPONDENCE.

But while the primary object of the Alliance had avowedly reference to the manifestation and promotion of union, it was also resolved, "That, in furtherance of this object, the Alliance shall receive such information respecting the progress of vital religion in all parts of the world, as Christian brethren may be disposed to communicate; and that a correspondence be opened and maintained with Christian brethren in different parts of the world, especially with those who may be engaged, amidst peculiar difficulties and opposition, in the cause of the gospel, in order to afford them all suitable encouragement and sympathy, and to diffuse an interest in their welfare." Here is a grand scheme of correspondence, the range of which is wide as the world, and the aim of which is comprehensive as the interests of the cause of Christ. Above all, it contemplates the encouragement of isolated, resisted, aggrieved servants of Christ, ready to sink in the hopelessness of solitary effort. It opens a channel for the pent-up sorrows of their hearts; it snatches them from their isolation and encompasses them with the sympathies of one whole family named in Christ. And who shall depreciate the value of an institution securing such concentration of intelligence for such ends, and, whencesoever the cry of persecution emanates, responding as a personation of the principle, "Who is weak, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I burn not?"

#### OBJECTS—DIFFUSION OF TRUTH AND COUNTERACTION OF ERROR.

It was further resolved, "That, in subserviency to the same great object of union, the Alliance will endeavour to exert a beneficial

influence on the advancement of Evangelical Protestantism, and on the counteraction of infidelity, of Romanism, and of such other forms of superstition, error, and profaneness, as are most prominently opposed to it, especially the desecration of the Lord's Day; it being understood that the different organisations of the Alliance be left to adopt such methods of prosecuting these ends as may to them appear most in accordance with their respective circumstances, all, at the same time, pursuing them in the spirit of tender compassion and love. That reports, minutes, and other documents, in promotion of the above objects, be published by the Alliance at the time of its meetings, or by its order afterwards; and that similar documents may be issued, from time to time, by its various organisations, on their own responsibility." Here is the Alliance taking its stand on truth, and then, strong in its celestial armoury, and its munition of rocks, proclaiming war with the mightiest evils which defile and afflict our race—with infidelity, which robs us of our religion; with superstition, which hides it in human inventions and idolatrous usages; and with a sordid secularity, which pursues after gain into every sacred season and enclosure, obliterating the day of God from the days of the week, and trampling it into a thoroughfare. Though all be not accomplished, if anything be done to stay these giant mischiefs, and qualify their ravages, the most partial success would be recompence enough for the severest struggles; and why should we despair of triumphant issues when our instrumentality is knowledge—knowledge which is power, and which is above all powerful when its destination is the conscience, and its mission is from God?

#### ORGANISATION.

These being the objects, how were they to be brought out? This raises the question of organisation, to which attention was afterwards and earnestly directed. Here, a few words of explanation will be useful in making a brief notice of lengthened proceedings intelligible. The Liverpool Conference of 1845 had appointed a Provisional Committee, comprising four divisions—the first to sit in London, the second in Liverpool, the third in Glasgow, and the fourth in Dublin. A select sub-committee was also appointed to take under their special and serious consideration the objects and organisation of the proposed Alliance. This special sub-committee, foreseeing the difficulties which must attend any

plan indefinitely expansive, proposed that an Alliance should, in the first instance, be formed for Britain only, and that other countries should be left to form kindred associations, all presenting a degree of affiliation with the first, and with each other, but without a common jurisdiction. This proposal seemed narrow to a charity hoping all things, and wore a little the aspect of tearing asunder the Christians of different lands, who were already in the embrace of brotherhood. Friends from a distance were disinclined to leave the Conference with the reflection that something had been done in Britain, but that for them no Alliance had been formed. In a particular manner, the Rev. Dr Schmucker, of Gettysburgh, in Pennsylvania, who had laboured for many years in the work of Christian union, was very earnest that the Alliance should be at once invested with the catholicity of the universal Church, and rendered co-extensive with an Evangelical Christianity. Such modifications on the original suggestion were freely discussed in the aggregate Committee, and were favourably entertained by the Conference. But a debate arose which shewed that the way was not yet clear to the completion and application of such a capacious constitution.

#### DISCUSSION ON SLAVERY.

The aggregate Committee had resolved, at Birmingham, March 31, 1846, "that invitations for the London Conference ought not to be sent to individuals who, whether by their own fault or otherwise, may be in the unhappy position of holding their fellow-men as slaves." To have excluded slave-owners from the Conference, and yet frame an organisation which would allow them in whatever land to be admitted into the Alliance, appeared inconsistent and unsuitable. If, therefore, slaveholding countries were admitted to the Alliance, there must, it was generally thought, be some limitation on admission to membership, of like character and effect as that which had qualified the composition of the Conference itself. Keen and protracted was the discussion which on an amendment by the Rev. J. H. Hinton, hence resulted; many and anxious were the sessions which it occupied. The disapproval of slavery pervading the Conference was intense, and the determination of British Christians not to admit slaveholders into any Alliance with which they were identified, was fixed and immovable. This position was not combated on its

merits. That man was entitled to hold property in man, and buy and sell his brother, created in the image of God, was a principle which no speaker avowed—which all speakers repudiated. But a protective resolution on this subject often named in connexion with America, might be justly held, it was argued, to single out from among all nations that particular nation to reproach; and the American brethren, whose national sympathies it trod upon, might be crippled in advocating the cause of the slave, when they should address themselves to feelings exasperated by their concessions, and appear to advocate emancipation in order to fulfil a British resolution, and not from spontaneous conviction and choice. Pressed by these conflicting influences, the Conference pursued for a time a way it knew not, and even took important steps, which it was compelled to retrace. On the recommendation of a large committee, the Conference, on Saturday the 29th of August, adopted the following resolution, read by Dr Cox, of Brooklyn, New York:—"That, in respect to the necessity of personal holiness, the Alliance are of opinion that it is recognised in the Article of the Basis on the Work of the Spirit, and, in reference to various social evils existing in countries within the circle of this Alliance, such as the profanation of the Lord's Day, intemperance, duelling, and the sin of slavery, they commend these and similar evils to the consideration of the branches, trusting that they will study to promote the general purity and the Christian honour of this Confederation by all proper means. And, in respect especially to the system of slavery, and every other form of oppression in any country, the Alliance are unanimous in deploring them, as in many ways obstructing the progress of the gospel; and express their confidence that no branch will admit to membership slaveholders, who, by their own fault, continue in that position, retaining their fellow-men in slavery, from regard to their own interests." To this resolution, though carried, objections were afterwards taken. The discussion, which had been closed, was re-opened, and, after long debate, the entire matter was sent back to a committee, on whose recommendation the resolution adopted on Saturday evening was rescinded, and a new form, which will be presently explained, was given to the general organisation. In this recital, it appears that slaveholding has created one of our principal difficulties, and, indeed, the unsurmountable barrier to oecumenical union. It is only a condensed expression of many noble senti-



ments uttered by transatlantic brethren to say, that while it lasts, it will perpetuate and embitter disseverances. Every relation and every interest with which such a body of death is connected must be defiled and troubled. It is hateful to God's good Spirit; for where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. And if we should deny that he has denounced it in his inspired Word, he would engrave his denunciation of it on its own history, and would make those who fill its cup to drink of its bitterness. These words are spoken to avert the misapprehension which silence would cause; and they are spoken in love. Do any attack slavery that they may attack America? No such unkindness will be charged on this Alliance. The friends who visited us from across the Atlantic will bear witness that the reception given them was most respectful, fraternal, affectionate. We confess the guilt of Britain in the slavery of America, for we planted it there. We honour America for anticipating us in the suppression of the African slave-trade, for one of its first acts, on acquiring its independence, was to abandon for itself that abominable traffic. We are forward, we are earnest, to make all such humble confessions and respectful acknowledgments; but taciturnity would give a false impression of our emotions, if we could pen such a narrative, and not express our pungent grief that an evil so appalling as slavery should be found among the difficulties of Christians and of an Evangelical Alliance, and our imploring prayer to God that the Alliance may aid, if not directly, yet indirectly—if not by its resolutions, yet by its spirit—to remove this stumblingblock out of the way. "Arise, O Lord! O God, lift up thine hand; forget not the humble. Lord, thou hast heard the desire of the humble; thou wilt cause thine ear to hear, to judge the fatherless and the oppressed, that the man of the earth may no more oppress."\*

\* It would be most erroneous in any one to imagine that the anti-slavery attitude of the Evangelical Alliance was adopted in a spirit of antipathy to America. The opposition, so general and irresistible, made by a British public to the slavery once subsisting in its own colonies might suffice to shew, surely, that the sentiments here entertained on that question have nothing to do with national jealousies. The absence of all purpose to aim a special thrust at the American people is further evident from the language in which the resolution of the British Organisation is expressed:—"That, whereas the Provisional Committee, during their session at Birmingham, resolved, that no slaveholder should be invited to attend the meeting which was to be held in London for the formation of the Evangelical Alli-

## FINAL FORM OF THE ORGANISATION.

At the suggestion of the Committee already mentioned, it was resolved, "That whereas brethren from the continents of Europe and America, as well as in this country, are unable, without consultation with their countrymen, to settle all the arrangements for their respective countries, it is expedient to defer the final and complete arrangement of the details of the Evangelical Alliance, of which the foundation has now been laid, till another General Conference." Here the subject of slavery is dropped, and notice is taken simply of the difficulties of completing a constitution for the Alliance, which was to embrace many countries now sparingly represented. As, from the discussions which had already taken place, it was evident that if the membership of any locality could introduce individuals to the collective association, the modes and conditions of admission might vary exceedingly in different countries, and unpleasant relations and responsibilities might thus be contracted, it was further resolved that the Alliance should consist "of all such members of the Conference held in London in August 1846, and members and corresponding members of the divisions of the Provisional Committee (which was dissolved on the meeting of that Conference) as shall adhere to the principles and objects of the Alliance, and that persons may be admitted to membership of the Alliance [only] by consent of all the district organisations [*i.e.* the organisations in different countries], or by a vote of a General Conference [*i.e.* a conference of œcumenical comprehensiveness]; and to membership of any district organisation, by such mode as each district organisation may determine." The Alliance, as such, was thus to suspend admissions and action; and, in view

ance; and, whereas it is known that some British subjects are holders of slaves—The British Organisation, in pursuance of the course adopted by the Provisional Committee, and upon mature deliberation on the whole case, but without pronouncing any judgment on the personal Christianity of slaveholders, agree to declare that no holder of a slave shall be deemed eligible to membership." This resolution is avowedly directed against British slaveholders, and no others are mentioned.

It may be safely alleged that the Alliance could not have obtained a footing in Britain, or prolonged its existence for two years in succession, had its course in relation to slaveholding been different from that which it adopted: and while American friends urged that their position should be considered, they will perceive and admit that the plea is two-edged, and that our position is also entitled to consideration.

of this unavoidable intermission of its generic functions, counselled its members to form "district organisations, in such manner as shall be most in accordance with the peculiar circumstances of each district. Provided, however, first, that neither the Alliance, nor the respective district organisations, shall be held responsible for the proceedings of any district organisation; secondly, that no member of any district organisation shall, as such, be a member of the Alliance; and, thirdly, whenever a district organisation shall be formed, the members of the Alliance within that district shall act collectively at its formation." It is curious to mark the extent of import which attaches to the term "district," in this classification. The Alliance recommended that one district should be the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; another district, the United States of America; a third district, France, Belgium, and French Switzerland, in which France has the honour of being the first-named fraction of a district. And though the capacious combination, which reduces the constituent countries to comparative littleness, may seem to many a shadowy conception rather than a substantial reality, yet even shadows may have their significance, and, in present weakness, may foretell a powerful future; and what Christian eye does not here discern a premonitory adumbration of that era which shall associate all the kingdoms of this world in the one kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ—transforming all sovereigns into his subjects, and all their realms into his provinces?

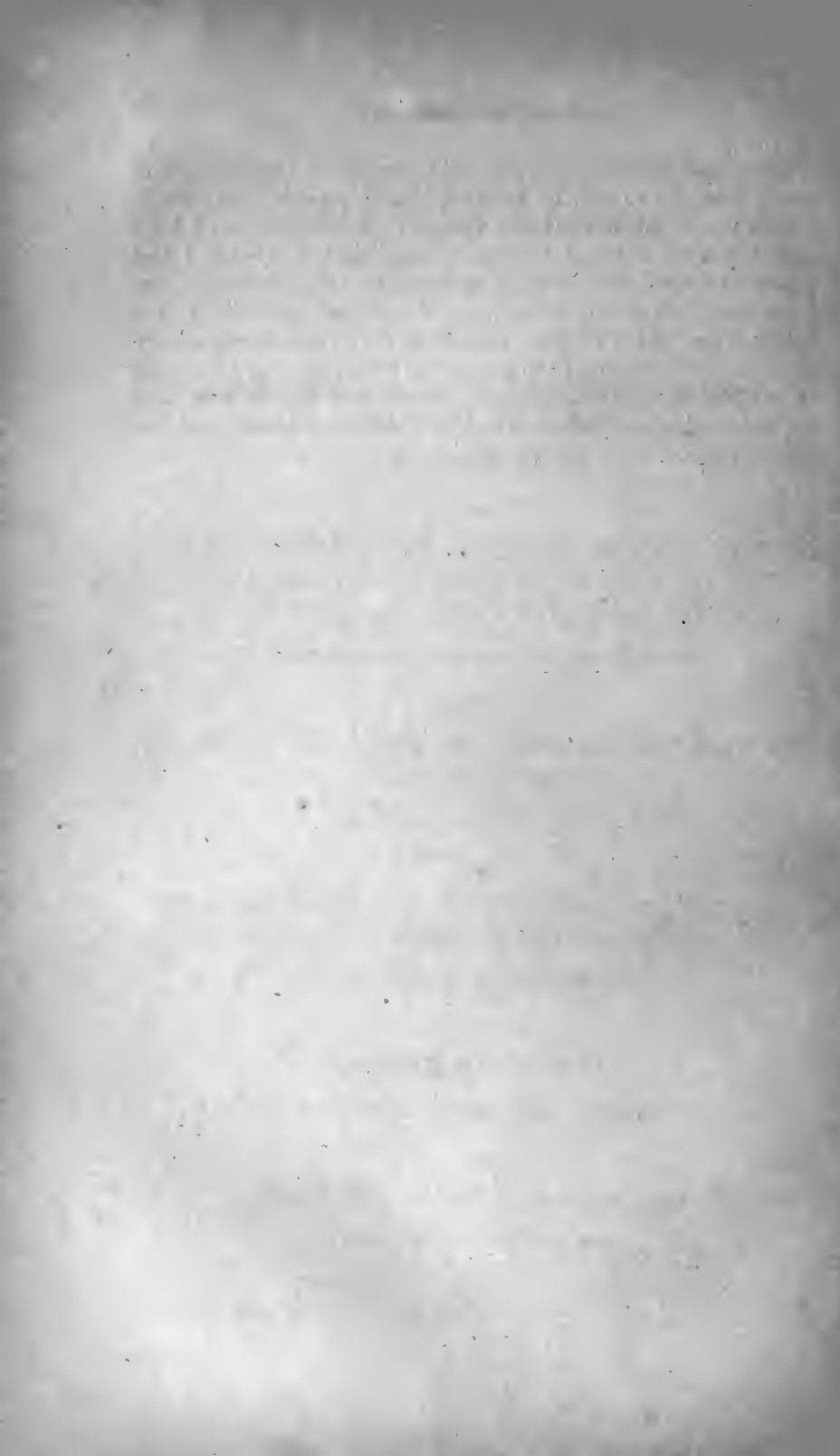
#### CONCLUSION OF THE CONFERENCE OF 1846.

The venerable Dr Bunting concluded the business of the Alliance by a valedictory address, worthy of him and the occasion. Its peroration was in these words:—"May God bless you, my dear and honoured fathers and brethren! May he accompany those of you who have to travel to a distance on your way homeward, in your journey! May he make your reflections sweet, and pleasant, and profitable! If any of you have been, though unintentionally, made sore or sad by anything that, in the progress of the discussions, may have occurred—may the Spirit of truth, and grace, and peace, effectually heal the wound; and if we be permitted ever to meet together again—whether in our district divisions, or in a more general conference—may it be in the fulness of that blessing of the gospel of peace, of which we have had so large a

measure, I trust, bestowed upon us already!" Prayer having been offered, and the benediction pronounced, it remained for the chairman, Sir Culling E. Eardley, Bart., to dissolve the Conference. With a perfect impartiality—with a mingling decision and blandness, which encircled his maintenance of order with respect and love—with a soul full of the occasion, and a deportment beaming forth, in every word and feature, its principles and spirit—had he discharged the duties of his honourable position: and a tenderness of personal regard enhanced the solemn pathos of his official act, when he rose, and, among commingling emotions, said—"Until the members of this Alliance throughout the world shall consent to another meeting, and until our God shall re-assemble us, I pronounce this Conference dissolved; and, in the name of our heavenly Father, I affectionately and respectfully bid you all farewell!"

So terminated the General Conference of 1846. But how meagre is the outline of it presented in this sketch! Beyond a few sentences, no specimen has been given of the heaven-kindled eloquence which gleamed in the eye of many a speaker, and fired the heart of every hearer. No attention has been called to the tremulous interest of critical junctures, when the stream of debate became quickened and troubled, as if the cause it bore along had got among rapids, and were approaching a cataract; or the intensity of delight which followed when all these apprehensions were set at rest, as if by a special interposition of the God of peace, who sitteth King upon the floods for ever, and, though He stirreth up the waters, stilleth them again. All the retrospect that has been offered has had respect exclusively to what passed within the Alliance. Nothing has been said of the meetings of Exeter Hall, where the cause, which in Freemasons' Hall seemed like waters up to the loins, became like a risen river, waters to swim in, a river not to be passed over. Nothing has been said of the ministerial interchange of services on the Lord's Day, August 23, when more than eighty pulpits were occupied by members of the Conference, and the gospel was preached in the English, French, German, and Irish languages. And yet, cursory as this review has been, it has been sufficiently protracted for the patience of this audience, and I dare not be so presumptuous as to proceed with my narrative now, and bring it to a completion. There would be needed another paper at least as long, to trace the formation and progress of district organisations, to sum up their direct acts and indirect influence, to fix attention on their main successes and

reverses, and deduce from them the lessons of experience, and finally bring all to bear on the enlightened, resolute, and indefatigable prosecution of our noble vocation. In one sentence I have indicated what I hoped to have accomplished, and what I had amassed facts and reflections as materials for accomplishing. But I am frustrated in my design, and I shall be reconciled to the failure, if the God of all grace shall bless the service, so imperfectly performed, in disposing us to ponder our paths, that our ways may be established, and exemplify at the present time a wise and devoted truthfulness, which will bear the test of history and the light of heaven.



# GREAT BRITAIN.

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# GREAT BRITAIN.

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## ON THE ASPECTS OF INFIDELITY, AS AFFECTING OUR OWN COUNTRY.

By WM. MARTIN, A.M.,

PROFESSOR OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE MARISCHAL COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY  
OF ABERDEEN.

“ To him [Christ] shall men come, and all that are incensed against him shall  
be ashamed.”—ISAIAH xlv. 24.

THE task imposed on us to-day is to describe the aspects and prospects of British Infidelity—not historically, nor even argumentatively, seeing that we speak not to the unlearned in polemical theology, but to many at whose feet it would have pleased us more on the present occasion to have been sitting as a learner; but as it exists at present, leavening our current literature, and forming one of the most prominent features of our social history.

We can promise little of novelty in the following survey. Infidelity can in our day scarcely do more than revive old objections, and advance old theories—the whole cycle of objection to the Christian faith having been so thoroughly trodden during eighteen centuries, as to leave little that possesses much claim to originality to reward our modern gleaners. To give a new dress to their polemics is almost all that is left to the modern assailants of Christianity—to remould old fallacies—renovate old theories, or refurbish weapons which have done service in the hands of the earliest antagonists of the Christian faith. But, how little soever of novelty the subject may present, it will not, we feel assured, be destitute of interest to the Christian, should it be found, as we believe it will, that in point of influence on the community, of the skill and learning displayed by its advocates, or of its own fitness, under its present aspects, to move and indoctrinate the popular

mind—it occupies in the present day a position certainly not inferior to that which it has held in any age or period in the past history of our nation.

The three positive and well-defined systems of Atheism, Pantheism, and Deism, clearly display themselves in our modern literature; but difference of social position, education, and the other influences which operate in the formation of opinion in different classes of society, have here, as in other departments, tended to modify the general character and tendency of speculation; and to such an extent, in the present case, that a complete description of existing infidelity must embrace a detailed notice of at least six different systems of unbelief.

Atheism, material or objective Pantheism, Antichristian Deism, pure or philosophical Deism, spiritualism or Christian Deism, and lastly, ideal or subjective Pantheism—constitute the group of systems under which, we believe, all our existing infidelity may with sufficient accuracy be arranged.

It will materially assist us in understanding the relations in which these different systems of infidelity stand to the different classes of British society, that we carry with us a knowledge of the character of the philosophy which is prevalent in each. Speaking generally, the tendency of British speculation has been, and still is, towards that system of philosophy which regards the outward and material as the influential element in its explanation of things, and which tends to explain even the phenomena of mind by the introduction solely of causes which are outward and sensible. In its extreme manifestation, such a system altogether denies the existence of spirit, and advocates materialism as capable of explaining all the phenomena of the mental and moral worlds. Experience has shewn us that wherever the physical sciences, and especially that science which most of all brings men into the neighbourhood of the mental—the science of physiology—wherever these are studied exclusively, or to the neglect of the related and conterminous science of mind—there, if Christian influences are excluded, will this extreme type of philosophy very generally display itself. Accordingly, in those classes of society where, either because no Christian or counteractive influences exist to modify and leaven scientific speculation, the general tendency of thinking now referred to works completely unchecked, as occasionally occurs in the lower classes—or where, existing only imperfectly, they yield before the continued scientific bias, as

occasionally occurs in the upper and professional classes—there materialism, with its immoral and antichristian tendencies, is very generally to be found. Of late years, an entirely opposite and equally extreme system of philosophy has effected at least a partial lodgment in our literature—a philosophy tending in its extreme manifestation to deny the existence of matter, and to substitute spirit in its room as the grand or sole instrument of all its explanations. Having generally a foreign source, being for the most part a product of existing continental philosophy, it has, as yet, comparatively but a feeble hold on the British mind, and floats chiefly in those classes of society whose reading brings them into earliest contact with our higher literature.

The influence exerted by these philosophical systems it will not be difficult to trace in the following systems of infidelity.

First, then, and at the lowest levels of our current literature, we recognise the teachings of a pure and undiluted atheism, which is based exclusively on a system of materialism—denies the very possibility of spirit, of God, or of a soul in man, and teaches, as the true philosophy of mind, that the brain itself reasons, reflects, and judges, and that death is consequently, to the soul, a return to nothingness. Society, it teaches, moreover—for it must be remarked here, that to give its creed power, and make it a living influence in society, and gain for it hearers, it almost invariably connects itself with extreme political and social theories—society, it teaches, has power only to restrain and not to punish offenders. Kings and priests contribute chiefly to the evils which afflict the world; and excessive competition and selfishness, which are admitted in a lower degree to be productive of evil, are to be cured only by the universal adoption of associated labour, and the universal diffusion of an education which is purely secular. Such, in a few words, are the prime articles of its faith. Religious system it has none. The very idea of religion is abhorrent to the genius of atheism.

But even atheism, firm and inflexible as it may appear, admits of modification. It must encounter opposition. It is required to explain existing phenomena, to solve apparent difficulties, and to defend itself with at least an appearance of rational argumentation. And in a Christian community, most of all, is atheism subjected to so stern a necessity. Accordingly, in the present day, assaulted at every hand, and questioned with keen spirit, it is found unceremoniously to shift its position, modify its formulæ,

and dilute its articles under the pressure of controversy or the prospects of propagandism. The atheism that preaches, at present, on British platforms, or circulates in the obscurest levels of British literature, assumes a position purely defensive. It cares neither to dispute nor to demonstrate, but throwing on its antagonists the entire burden of demonstration, and contenting itself with the simple device of denying the sufficiency of the evidence—abandons, with careless indifference, its ordinary position of denying dogmatically the Divine existence, or questioning its possibility, and entrenches itself behind that less perilous formula—"The evidence for the existence of God is wholly insufficient." "I am not satisfied with the evidence for the being of God. I am not satisfied with the evidence for the origin of the world. I am not satisfied with the evidence for the origin of man. I am not satisfied with the evidence for a future life." Such is the common position which atheism assumes in British society at the present day.

But of the grand difficulty which such a theory raises, it must not be supposed that its friends and assertors are in the least degree ignorant. Such a mere negative position by no means satisfies its more inquiring and speculative patrons. How order should reign so triumphantly in the universe; how such marvelous manifestations of intelligence should abound; how such sublime beauty and stately magnificence should spring, or how such lofty and well-ordered harmonies should flow, were there no mind, or soul, or life, to give them birth and being; or how the dead substance of the universe should itself plan its stately architecture, or itself weave its curious designs, presses constantly for solution. The only solution which the materialism of our day advances, and which receives any distinct and unequivocal exposition in our lower literature, is that of Material Pantheism. This system, retaining materialism, as its name denotes, as the basis of its creed, must needs subordinate its explanations of things to the narrow limits which such a theory prescribes to it. The material substance of the universe is therefore retained as eternal and self-existent. There is no substance but matter, no being or entity but that which is material. Nevertheless, in the universe there do play certain influences; there are powers which matter unfolds and perpetuates, which do possess a certain mental and moral character, and which, owing their very existence to this material substance, do yet shape its plans and direct its movements. Of mental qualities, therefore, intelligence to conceive,

and taste to plan, and power to execute, and benevolence to rule, an existence is affirmed, only, however, as qualities inhering essentially in matter. All the powers of mind are, in fact, postulated as existing in the universe, guiding its energies, and explaining the otherwise inexplicable appearances of design which it everywhere presents, but yet without personality or any existence whatever, independent of or distinct from the universe itself. The material universe is all, in the distinctive formula of material pantheism. Mental qualities, but no mind, or soul, or moral being, in the wide universe.

Such, then, is material pantheism—an advance on atheism, a step upwards to a rational theory of the universe, but in no degree more friendly to religion, either natural or revealed, than the blankest atheism.

Of neither of these two creeds, however, can it be affirmed, with truth, that they find anything like a general reception in the lower classes of British society. On the contrary, nowhere is a juster estimate formed of the utter inadequacy, either of atheism or material pantheism, to explain in any rational way the facts of universal experience, than among these very classes themselves. The utter emptiness of atheism, and the vague, ill-defined, and scarcely intelligible character of pantheism, encounter the shafts of wit and ridicule, aimed mercilessly and irresistibly by men who are yet strenuous opponents of our Christian creed. So far as pantheism is concerned, no explanation of things, they feel, is in fact given. The whole difficulty is left untouched, or rather increased, by a theory which defies all known analogies of nature, which at one and the same instant affirms and denies mind, and which adds to the difficulty of understanding the facts, the difficulty of understanding the explanation. They see that it meets at once the difficulty of the problem of accounting rationally for the demonstrable beginning of things, to yield to the universal evidence of design, and surmount the universe by a Being infinite in power and boundless in wisdom, of whose infinite and eternal excellence the universe stands forth to the intelligent creation an ordained proof and monument. Deism, undoubtedly, whatever its difficulties, has at least, as compared with atheism and pantheism, this difficulty less than either—that it understands in some measure the source, nature, and purpose of this visible universe. Very generally, therefore—nay, it may be affirmed with truth, almost uni-

versally—in British society is the existence of a personal Creator and Governor of the universe a recognised and established article of belief. Christianity has, even in the lowest classes of society, rendered atheism disreputable. The infidelity of the lower classes, wherever it exists, is mainly the infidelity of deism.

Deism constitutes, indeed, in this day, the creed of the vast mass of British sceptics and infidels, having its supporters equally in the lowest and the highest classes—counting the operative, whose education has rested mainly with himself, and the graduate of the university, whose culture has received the last touch of art, equally as its advocates. As such, therefore, it deserves of the inquiring student an attentive study. To deism, then, we now turn, as that species of infidelity which extends upwards in a broad, unbroken belt, through the various strata of British society.

It might, indeed, be expected, *a priori*, that as a simple and natural consequence of extending itself so widely through classes of society separated by broad and marked lines of contrast, this creed, being guarded by no associated party, and bound together by no framework of institutions, would exhibit variations corresponding to its position. And such is the remarkable fact which first attracts the attention of the student. Understanding by deism that species of infidelity which, while it acknowledges the being and attributes of the Deity, yet upholds natural religion as the only and all-sufficient revelation, he finds that the deism of the lower and of the upper classes constitute marked and distinct species of the common creed. Deism, as it exists in our current literature, admits, in fact, of classification under three distinct heads, according to the position which it assumes in reference to Christianity. Antichristian deism, or that which directly assails the entire Christian creed—pure or philosophical deism, or that which contents itself with the exposition and corroboration of natural religion—and Christian deism or spiritualism, being that which styles itself Christian, and flatters and patronises Christianity, which yet it subverts—make up that deistical creed which extends through British society. Of these, the system of antichristian deism finds its chief place in the lower strata of our literature. To this system, then, in completing our survey of the infidelity of the lower classes, we first turn.

The deism of our lower classes is a system which, acknowledging the existence and attributes of God, yet attacks the

Christian faith by charges to which nothing but gross ignorance, or the most unscrupulous malice, could give momentary currency. Postponing for the present a detailed description of the leading articles of its creed, we may sufficiently mark its character by saying merely that its grand object appears to be less to exalt or dignify the religion of nature, than to humble the religion of Christ; and that to effect its purpose, gross misrepresentation of the doctrines, the spirit, the founders, and the historical records of Christianity, is its prime instrument of attack. Christianity is represented, in its literature, as a calamity that has weighed heavily on nations; as immoral, licentious, adverse to social advancement and human happiness; as setting the character of the Deity in a revolting light; and, finally, as sprung from imposture, and perpetuated by credulity. Such is the peculiar character of that deism which finds its chief hiding-place in the lower levels of society; and with this system our survey of the infidel creeds prevalent in the lower classes of British society now terminates. Atheism, material pantheism, and antichristian deism, make up the irreligious creed of this lower infidelity.

Let us now ascend in society, and mark the modifying influence which social position and improved intellectual culture exert on the outward forms of opinion. It cannot be expected that deism, of the stamp and character just described, can flourish in classes into which Christianity has penetrated with its highest intensity; and where a knowledge of the true character of the Christian faith is so easily acquired, and so widely spread—a circumstance, indeed, in our social condition which restricts a deism like this almost entirely within the margin of those social tracts which are given over, as it appears, to something like perpetual barrenness. As we ascend in the social scale, a marked change in the spirit and tone of infidelity becomes apparent. We rise into a serener atmosphere of thought. More enlightened views are evidently entertained of the genius and character of the Christian faith. Candour speaks professedly in every tone, and a serene judgment weighs with professed impartiality the grounds of its decisions. Christianity, wherever it is referred to, it is allowed, is far from being so adverse to the progress of humanity as some of its opponents have declared. On the contrary, that it has weathered the storms of eighteen centuries, and seen every adversary go down in turn, flourishing

over the ruins of hostile creeds and systems and nations, is proof that it contains elements of purity and strength which entitle it to the homage and veneration of mankind. Christianity, if not divine, is at least the first and the most venerable of all human religions.

Here, then, as I have said, we encounter a deism of a different type and complexion from that which subsists beneath—a deism, however, which admits of division into two distinct classes. It sometimes stands out in our literature under a purely religious or philosophical type, enforcing as its exclusive aim the beauty and power and all-sufficiency of natural religion; an office, to discharge which, it can bring an earnestness of purpose, an elevation of spirit, a fervour of style, a deep enthusiasm, and an amount of practised literary power, which win the admiration, and command too frequently the assent, of the young, the ardent, and inexperienced. With matchless grace it can speak of the loveliness of religion in the souls of men, of the assured triumph of a true faith over all the infirmities of humanity, of establishing the soul thereby on immovable foundations, and pervading it thoroughly with divine affections, which lift it above fluctuating fears and restless ambition, and translate man from the blind unreasoning dominion of the moral law into the free and spontaneous liberty of love. Ask of it how this shall be effected, and the answer unhesitatingly is, By natural religion. Love God, and have perfect faith in his love to man. Cultivate the religious principle. Listen to the inspirations of genius. Contemplate the Infinite.

Such is, generally speaking, the position assumed in our upper literature by pure or philosophical deism. It makes no direct attack on the Christian faith, but contents itself with the advocacy of the religion of nature as in all respects sufficient.

Works of this class, however fit they may prove to serve the purposes of infidelity, are nevertheless comparatively few in number, and, from the difficulty of the task, must necessarily be so, when compared with those which defend the next and last species of deism to which we shall refer—that of spiritualism, or, as it may be styled, for reasons hereafter to be explained, Christian deism. This, most of all, in our day, demands the attention of the student of modern infidelity.

Writers of this class profess no hostility to Christianity. They are its friends and patrons; they admire, venerate, and love the Christian faith, to whose elevating and ennobling influences



they acknowledge willingly their obligations; confessing admiration of the grandeur of its system, the purity of its morality, and the loftiness of its aims. They object only to those doctrines which error and prejudice and time have woven into its system—and to the superstitious tenets invented of men, which are so commonly upheld as the chief and excelling tenets of a Christian theology. These, erroneously represented as holding a close and intimate connexion with Christianity itself, they repudiate, as marring the symmetry and impairing the usefulness of a faith whose prosperity they seek. They desire to see the day when Christ shall be esteemed universally, only as the model, and not as the Saviour of men; when he shall be preached as the grand reformer of humanity, as the type of the true man, and as the true spiritual teacher of the race; whose merits lay solely in this—that in an age of ignorance and superstition, and among a people of narrow minds, immovable prejudices, gross illiterateness, and bigoted attachment to an intolerant faith, rose incomparably above the level of earth's highest men, and called the race from groveling superstitions and contracted creeds, up to the sublime level and the expansive faith of natural religion. Christianity is, with them, nothing else than a simple re-publication of the religion of nature.

We postpone for a little our detailed exposition of its positive creed, it being our purpose at present to present you, in the first place, only with a general synoptical view of the infidel systems. We pass, therefore, from the infidelity of spiritualism, or Christian deism, to observe, that it must by no means be accounted a fact, that deism holds, even under both the forms in which it thus manifests itself, anything like an exclusive position in our upper literature. Meeting everywhere, in its upward course through society, an inseting current of foreign literature, saturated with a philosophy which tends to undermine our irreligious materialism, only for the purpose of substituting in its place an equally irreligious idealism, it finds itself fronted at the summit by a system which, in its spirit, language, and results, corresponds exactly to material pantheism, differing from it indeed only in this respect, that it reverses the relations of mind and matter, which the latter presents—represents the universe as wholly and substantially spiritual—and gives matter a place either as inhering eternally and essentially in the one spiritual substance, and subordinate to its laws, or as possessing no real or substantial, but only a sub-

jective existence. With both, the universe and God are one, and man but a portion or partaker of the one universal consciousness, or the one central reason; though with the one the universe is God, and with the other God is the universe. All matter is force, and all force is spiritual, and all spirit is God, is the distinguishing formula of spiritual pantheism. Creation is only evolution. All nature lives, and man must now, in the ever-enlarging plenitude of modern science, exchange the barren mystery of the One for the more explicit and manageable laws of nature. Such is its teaching. Striking is it to see, in the growth of ideal or subjective pantheism, how our lowest scepticism and our highest modern illuminism exactly correspond; and how our loftiest professing pantheism, which vaunts itself as the peculiar and distinguishing badge of the enlightened man, finds its counterpart only in the profoundest depths of our social ignorance. Religion is with such a creed as nothing. All personality of God and man is practically denied. The laws of nature are the only Deity it professes to recognise, and its only theology is science.

Such are, in brief, the more general and prominent aspects of our infidel literature. Atheism, material or objective pantheism, and antichristian deism, the creeds of our lower literature; and pure or philosophical deism, spiritualism, or Christian deism, and subjective pantheism, the creeds chiefly of our upper classes, complete the catalogue of systems of British infidelity. Let us now turn to examine the details of that only religious creed which the scepticism of our land seeks to substitute for Christianity—an examination which necessarily embraces only the existing forms of deism. Stripped of embellishment, the positive religious system of which our infidelity zealously inculcates the sufficiency, is simple and concise. Man, it teaches, is still possessed of every power, faculty, and disposition which he possessed at the beginning. Sin has neither marred his beauty, nor impaired his strength, nor depressed his position, which is, indeed, higher and more favourable for moral perfection now than it ever was, inasmuch as a deeper knowledge of science and a more enlarged experience of human nature is available for his guidance than in earlier times. Man's natural tendencies are toward holiness and the love of God—a condition, of which ignorance only, and the fears springing naturally from it, prevent the realisation. But in the progress of science we see the sure augury of man's ultimate perfection; and when knowledge shall at length cover the earth, and man, yielding willingly to its

dictates, shall remove the impediments to moral progress which human institutions now everywhere present, then will vice and misery and sin vanish from the world. Evil comes to man, not from within, but from without; and all hopes of final emancipation from its yoke lie consequently in the discovery and universal diffusion of scientific truth, and in the complete and universal reconstruction of human society. A holy nature, rising, or tending to rise, towards moral perfection, but checked in its progress by social institutions which are founded on ignorance—such is, in brief, the theory of human nature which deism gravely propounds as explanatory of the evils, vices, and sufferings of the human race. Inadequate as such a theory may appear, as an explanation of the facts of history, it is nevertheless needful for the success of infidelity that such a theory should be maintained. In its theory of the constitution of man, infidelity has ever found its strength to lie; for, only in proportion as it shall gratify human pride, or flatter vanity, will it propitiate hostile criticism, receive a favourable reception, and dispense, as regards its fundamental positions, with the necessity of proof.

But its representation of the character of Deity is scarcely less defective, or suited to the wishes of a fallen nature like ours. The Divine Governor is pictured as a being of such universal and unchangeable benevolence towards his creatures, that, though possessed of holiness and justice, as indeed of every imaginable perfection, no sin or vice on their part can effectually estrange his affection. To speak of him as angry at sin is to libel his beneficence; and to affirm that Divine justice must first be satisfied, or that atonement must be made, or that reconciliation must be effected, or that anything must be done, ere the sinner can enter into his presence and be partaker of his love, is to charge him with vindictiveness.

Its religious system, based on principles like these, must necessarily be one which scarcely justifies the apparent anxiety to be accepted as Christian. The central idea of sin being wholly denied, or explained as consisting only in that limitation of power which is implied in the idea of a creature, in which sense angels and Christ himself are chargeable with sin, no system of propitiation, redemption, or purification is at all required to effect the salvation of the sinner—and, indeed, in complete consistency with their theory, no religion whatever. Substantially, the only religion they advocate is obedience to the laws of nature. Repentance for the past, they tell the convinced sinner, if repent-

ance be thought necessary—and full confession of sin, if sin be felt—and unreservedly casting one's self on the Divine mercy, must ever command his entire clemency, and effect all the atonement or reconciliation required for the full acceptance of the guilty. The ideas of atonement, propitiation, and redemption, find no place in their creed. Moses, Lycurgus, Agis (king of Sparta), Iphigenia, Joan of Arc, Curtius, Cato, Clarkson, and Howard, are, we are seriously assured, the world's only redeemers. Prayer is regarded as useless, save for its salutary effects on the minds of the petitioners.

The deism of the lower classes, and the pretentious spiritualism of the higher, agreeing as they do in these points, differ in the views which they adopt of Christianity, the Bible, and Christian institutions. By the former, all Christian institutions are denounced as corrupting and enslaving in the highest degree—the Bible, as an impostor, to be expelled society—the Sabbath, a day to be converted into a holiday, and communion with nature substituted as the grand instrument of religious training. Spiritualism estimates these differently. Christian institutions are generally with it not so much to be destroyed as to be modified—the Sabbath to be retained—church-fellowship to be continued; nay, the Bible itself, the source of all the evils that afflict modern Christianity, to be studied as a book fitted, if rightly read, to profit the enlightened man. By the former, Christ and the apostles, and the whole band of faithful men, are represented as impostors; by the latter, the character of Christ is described as the sublime ideal of perfected humanity, to be universally admired, revered, and imitated. By the one, earnest religion is derided as a weakness, and all the religions of the earth as equally false, fanatical, and dangerous; by the other, earnest religion is commended, and all religions are recognised as equally true, and worthy of respect, though none of them has yet arrived at that full perfection of religious truth which advancing civilisation will itself excogitate. Of this last and highest development of religious truth, our Christian deists announce themselves as the appointed instruments, and in spiritualism we are called upon to behold something akin to the true pattern and type of the grand religion of humanity. Fundamentally, however, there is no distinction betwixt them: they are both systems of natural religion—both truly opposed to Christianity—both equally exclusive of every element that is Christian; and with this single exception, that spiritualism baptizes itself with

a Christian name, employs Christian language, and proposes the character of Christ as the grand model of religious life—or with this simple difference, that while antichristian or philosophical deism takes its language and its creed equally from nature, spiritualism takes its creed from nature and its language from the Bible—it were impossible to distinguish them.

The grand and distinctive subject of hostility in the polemics of spiritualism is, the introduction into the province of religion of the historical element of belief, under which element the supernatural is manifestly comprehended. A historical Christ, or a historical religion, or a historical Bible, it utterly rejects as inconsistent with the whole spirit of religious faith. To peruse the records of Christianity, pervaded as they are by a simple and holy faith in God, is to awaken the soul to the liveliest interest in the fate of meritorious and suffering men, to inspire the deepest reverence for the unblemished character of Jesus, and the profoundest sorrow for His manifold and unmerited afflictions—nay, is to bend the reflective mind under the deepest awe of that sublime morality of which Christ stands forth in the pages of the Bible as the prince and pattern of teachers; but to demand faith, though it were only as a hair's-breadth, in one historical fact within the compass of the Bible, as at all needful to a soul's salvation, is declared irrational—a position needing no argumentative refutation, so plainly inconsistent with reason does it appear to their judgments. This is the fundamental position, or, as it may more fittingly be called, the fundamental assumption of spiritualists.

They are willing to accept Christianity on the single condition that every historical element be excised from its creed—that no faith be demanded in any fact of Bible history—and no doctrine be introduced which has its grounds and warranty only in the historical; or, in other words, on the single condition that no doctrine be insisted on which cannot be proved, either directly or indirectly, by the evidence of nature. Nay, we are cognisant of at least some of this daily augmenting class, who employ the whole phraseology of evangelical religion, and speak of original sin, justification by faith, of the new birth, and the perseverance of the saints—nay, even of the divinity of Christ, and his mediatorial work, with all the fervour of Christians, understanding, nevertheless, by these, merely something natural, common, and completely within the compass of men's ordinary experience. Original sin is with them only the necessary limitation of a creature—justification by faith,

the ready reception of the penitent by God, through simple faith in the Divine willingness to receive him irrespective altogether of the work of Christ—the new birth, a change of sentiment and resolution on the part of man—perseverance of the saints, the simple truism that he who is really resolute in the work will not probably desert it—the divinity of Christ, only a higher degree of the universal divinity of man—and his mediatorial work only the ordinary work of a teacher of religion.

The utility of the Bible is in general admitted by spiritualists, but its authority they deny. Instead of that bibliolatry, or reverence for the Word, which they everywhere condemn, a refined physiolatry, or reverence for nature, is openly recommended. The evidences of Christianity they reject as needless—the light of natural reason, or instinctive and natural intuition, being amply sufficient for its support—a position which may with safety be conceded, if by Christianity we understand only the religion of nature. Hence their readiness to attack the Bible themselves, and their indifference to its assault by others. Their Christianity has nothing to lose, though the Bible were rejected; and, accordingly, when you press them with these consequences, and shew how Christianity, as you receive it, must needs be endangered, and our evidence of life and immortality beyond the grave be necessarily obscured, they admit the whole; but then they maintain, that so thoroughly has the idea of Christ now impenetrated the consciousness of the race, that though the historic records of the Christian faith were to perish or even to be disproved, the grand mission of Christianity would in no degree be hindered; and that, as for the light which the Bible casts on man's destiny beyond the grave, it may safely be dispensed with; for there is no resurrection of the body, and any hope of immortality which man may indulge, may safely be permitted to stand on that only true foundation—the instinctive sentiment of the race. Such is spiritualism! A system of salvation without a Saviour; of sanctification without a Spirit; of Christianity without Christ—or, at least, a Christianity in which Christ is relegated to the unimportant position of an ideal portrait or picture of religion. Spiritualism is, in truth, only a new edition of the religion of nature, with a frontispiece of Christ.

It sees, indeed, in the Bible the highest reach of the human mind in its march towards the catholic religion of humanity, nay, as containing, in some measure, that pure and complete system, if only purged of Christian theology—the product of superstitions,

false logic, and contemporary metaphysics; but condemning belief in the supernatural, as inconsistent with an enlightened knowledge of the laws of nature—and in the historical, as inconsistent with the dictates of an enlightened reason—and believing the Bible to be, to a great extent, a work compiled by mistaken men, who merely reported popular traditions, or misconceived the doctrines which they attempted to expound, and whose authority, therefore, in our enlightened age, may be safely set aside, they would willingly, if society must still sanction its indiscriminate perusal, see us, at least, treat it with a freer spirit, and interpret it with a more liberal criticism than has hitherto been our wont. Advancing spiritualism, be it observed, may yet play effectually into the hands of any system whose interest may lie in withdrawing the Scriptures from the reach of men. In its present phase, its grand object is to subvert their authority as a rule of faith; but, failing to ruin their authority, it may assist in their suppression.

This, then, is the species of infidelity which now chiefly taints our upper literature, and daily augments, in a continually ascending ratio: no longer the cold and repulsive faith of a once familiar deism; but professing a warmth of feeling, a reverence for enthusiasm, and a loftiness of religion, far transcending, as it alleges, even Christianity itself. The regeneration of man, and of the world, it proposes as its darling end—a regeneration to be effected through the inspirations of art, the creations of genius, the enlightening influence of science, and the daring and lofty enthusiasm of self-denying men—a work, to accomplish which the ordinary Christianity has hitherto proved incompetent, only because restricting itself within the narrow, sectarian, and intolerant creed of the letter, it has failed to understand the length, and the breadth, and the exceeding potency, of that natural religion which lies within it, and is the religion of the Spirit. Christ was a teacher, not of Christian, but only of natural, theology; and in ascending to the higher altitudes of natural religion, we are ascending to the Christianity of Christ. Hence it assumes the name of Christian, as pre-eminently its due—of Christian spiritualism, as being the religion of the spirit, and not of the letter, of the Scriptures—of Christian eclecticism, because supposed capable of being constructed by collecting those ideas which are common to all religions, and even, sometimes, of popular Christianity.

The insuperable difficulties involved in their theory—the absolute impossibility of exalting the character of Christ and his

apostles, and yet depreciating their doctrine—the utter impotency of natural religion to sanctify, elevate, or even move society—the whole experience of history for the fact, that for nations to sink into natural religion, is, with the few, to sink into scepticism, and, with the many, into idolatry—the forgetfulness of the fact, that their very fundamental position, of the unfitness of the historical for religion, is the purest hypothesis, and one inconsistent, moreover, with all the analogy of experience; and that, even as respects their natural religion, their theory of the character of Deity is in complete inconsistency with the daily experience of man, and even, if theoretically true, would be practically irrelevant, since a Divine benevolence that permits punishment in time, is but a poor guarantee against its permission in eternity;—all these, and many other difficulties involved in their deistical creed, they completely overlook. Uncompromising hostility to Christian theology, and a determination, at all hazards, to eviscerate Christianity of all that is distinctively Christian, are the grand characteristics of spiritualism. Evidence of its fundamental positions there is none. Indeed, its readiness to demand arguments, and be satisfied with nothing short of absolute demonstration on behalf of the Christian creed, and yet to admit the merest hypotheses in the construction of its own, is not one of the least remarkable traits of deism.

The variations of infidelity form a striking chapter in the history of opinion, and the highly religious character of its present phase is not the least important of its many changes. Such, however, has been the change in the spirit of European society during the present century—such the influence of the grand, social, and political changes of the age—such the revival of evangelical religion and its comparative success—such the general resurrection of theological and religious principles in the midst of society, and such, therefore, the admiration of energy, enthusiasm, and of the religious spirit enkindled in men's minds, that even infidelity itself, to command support, must profess to be religious. A striking homage this to the very principle and faith which it seeks to undermine! Interesting, indeed, is it to see how our Lord and Saviour himself, formerly the object of unsparing ridicule and keen malignity, is now the grand Teacher of humanity—the grand Reformer of society—a Divine type and model of the true spiritual life, which society has even yet but imperfectly realised, and than which, probably, the most distant



ages of mankind may see nothing superior. Striking, moreover, is it to see how the apparently opposite paths of infidelity and superstition are, in fact, slowly converging to a common centre.

But if such be the relation of infidelity to Christianity, it must needs assail and overbear the manifold evidences with which Christianity is invested. What, then, we ask, are the present polemics of British infidelity?

In many cases, no attack is directly made on the Christian faith. Works teaching philosophical deism, or pure materialism, the one unfolding a theory of God, and the other a theory of man, inconsistent alike with nature and revelation—the former generally translated from foreign languages, and chiefly from the German, and the latter almost entirely the products of the British phrenological school—works in which the independence of man of everything save the laws of nature, is announced as a scientific truth, or in which the duty of prayer is derided, and a Divine Providence all but denied; these effect their purpose without trespassing within the margin of the Christian evidences. Even the idealism of our higher philosophy is sometimes pressed into the service. The subjective element is, in works of this class, exalted, to the practical exclusion of the objective. Intuition, it might almost be supposed, could discover everything independently of the external. And the historical in religion is sometimes gravely sentenced and set aside in the name of philosophy, on the ground that it is altogether objective, and that the value attached to it has arisen from looking at religion too exclusively from an objective point of view—an objection which supersedes on their part the necessity of argument.

Christianity is exposed to attack from another quarter. Our common, cheap, and, we grieve to add, respectable, periodical literature is not unfrequently found contributing indirectly to the same pernicious result. Professing to exclude the theological entirely from their pages, and excluding, consequently, with rigour, every positive Christian influence, they do yet, to some extent, by this very exclusion, but more by an occasionally expressed indifference to all religious creeds, or even occasional scarcely-concealed dislike to all earnest religious manifestation, or to institutions with whose maintenance pure Christianity is intimately bound up, contribute most fatally to the spread of a literature more decidedly irreligious. With such exceptions as these, it may, however, be asserted, that in general our infidel literature does directly assault the

Christian evidences, and that all classes of sceptics, however different their halting-places may be, do agree in urging the same objections and attacking the same Christian positions. Among the three classes of moral, scientific or philosophical, and critical, into which their objections naturally divide themselves, moral objections hold clearly the first place. They are easily handled. They lie at the surface, and therefore have acquired, and have ever held, and though repeatedly and satisfactorily answered, do still hold, the most prominent place in the polemics of infidelity, which has always descended into the field professedly in the name of reason and of virtue. The immorality of the Old Testament—the Divine command of Abraham to offer Isaac—to the Jews to destroy the inhabitants of Canaan, and many actions prescribed in the Levitical code, or exhibited in Jewish history, are repeatedly referred to. The sins of the Old Testament saints are not unfrequently charged on their religion, and those most prominent for piety described as impure, cruel, and unprincipled men. The religion of the Old Testament is sometimes asserted to have been originally only the worship of the sun; and human sacrifices, we are told, were originally commanded in Scripture, though interpolations by later hands have to a great extent concealed it. The morality of the New Testament itself is not free from blame, the charges ranging from the doctrine of the atonement, of hell, the devil, and eternal punishments, down to the immorality of Paul in “robbing churches.” That the morality of the New Testament is wholly bad, is not asserted, but all that is really excellent was borrowed, we are assured, from the works of Plato, Zoroaster, and Confucius.

2. Admitting of less easy statement, and not suited to every capacity, but often referred to as on this very account admitting of less easy refutation, are the scientific or philosophical objections. Geology and ethnology are frequently adduced as being in irreconcilable conflict with the narrative of Genesis. Even astronomy itself, it is alleged, conclusively discredits the miracle of Joshua; while the incredibility of miracles—their complete unfitness as a test of truth—the impossibility of faith in the historical having any connexion with salvation—the impossibility of creation out of nothing—of the existence of witchcraft, or of demoniacal possession—of the connexion of death with sin—of the responsibility of man for his belief—and of the efficacy of prayer—these, and such as these, are constantly propounded as propositions to be received implicitly as axioms. The supernatural meets with no toleration.

The Deity cannot violate his own laws. Miracles are either falsehoods, or are the delusions of men who mistook their own fancies and expectations for realities, or are mere natural occurrences, elevated into that character by a superstitious age.

3. Critical objections, grounded on the internal features of the text of Scripture, or contradictions in the narrative, are daily assuming a wider place in the polemics of infidelity. The works of the most sceptical of German rationalists, some of them translated and published in cheap editions for the use of the lower classes, are ransacked for arguments to overthrow the genuineness, authenticity, and veracity of the books of Scripture; and an imposing array of authorities is no unusual occurrence in behalf of propositions which, in the opinion of our ablest philologists, can scarce stand a hearing. Unfit as objections like these may be deemed for popular use, they are daily assuming a greater prominence in our literature. All these objections are made to bear on the inspiration and authority of the Scripture, as the key of the Christian position. Indeed, the very possibility of inspiration is not unfrequently denied. Genius, sagacity, enthusiasm, a firm faith in the ultimate triumph of truth and righteousness, are made to explain everything in the character of prophecy, where, indeed, there is no room for that more favourite explanation, that the prophetic portions of the Scripture were written subsequently to the events. Such is a very brief and imperfect statement of the polemics of British infidelity.

It has ever formed the opprobrium of infidelity, that it has proved inadequate to the task of accounting rationally and consistently for the origin of Christianity, in conformity with its own theory; for, on the supposition that Christianity is false, it is reasonably required of the sceptic, that he reconcile this general position with the acknowledged facts of the case. That no agreement of opinion, in any one mode of explanation, has ever yet been reached among sceptics themselves, that each age, and almost each sceptic, has explained it differently, would of itself argue not a little against the position of infidelity; but an examination of the individual theories which have been hitherto proposed, and which are marked chiefly by extravagant demands on the credulity of their votaries, by unfair, arbitrary, and inconsistent treatment of Scripture, by the adoption of methods of explanation which are mutually destructive, by studied neglect of all that is inconsistent with the proposed explanation, and by

proneness to turn the same facts to entirely opposite purposes—will soon satisfy every reasonable mind of the strain encountered by sceptics in forming a justification of their creed.

In our own literature there are floating, at present, all the well-known theories of foreign infidelity, which form the contributions of the present age to the ever-accumulating mass. Assuming, in the face of plain and palpable evidence to the contrary, that our scriptural records are analogous to the vague, shapeless, and traditionary legends found frequently in the early history of nations, the same rules of criticism which have been applied, with an appearance of reason, to the one, have been applied to the other, and with all the effect of an indirect demonstration of the unreasonableness of the step. Irony itself, the usual retort in such methods of reasoning, could scarcely have invented a fairer *reductio ad absurdum*.

The theory of natural development is that which has lately received amongst us the most elaborate exposition—a theory which endeavours to exclude the supernatural as altogether needless. In explaining the creation of the world, it has attempted, in our own literature, to unfold a natural and easy process, by which the present material system has probably been constructed; and so, in the formation of our religion, it now seeks to explain how, by a natural and easy process of purification and expansion, Christianity, at first existing only in the rude and barbarous form of a blind and sanguinary idolatry, has, after successive transmigrations through purer and more rational forms, emerged in its present purity, fulness, and grand simplicity of outline. In theories like these, the fact of gradual development constitutes their strength; and the claim of natural, their weakness. To both, the same answer may be given with irresistible effect, that there exists not, in the whole recorded experience of mankind, a natural analogue. In both, the operations to be explained stand out as distinctly exceptional to the processes of nature, for religious history as little exhibits facts of a parallel order in the development of religion, as physical history itself in the development of a world. The only natural law of development hitherto experienced in religion has been a law of corruption. The development of Christianity stands out in the history of religions as a singular and solitary fact, which is explicable, no less than the processes of creation, only by the introduction of causes which transcend the natural. So long, therefore, as there exist, as acknowledged facts, these

distinctive characters, both in its nature and history, which separate Christianity, by broad and marked contrasts, from all the religions of the earth, so long must all arguments based only on acknowledged points of analogy be pronounced irrelevant. Everything that is really historical in these may be granted by the Christian apologist, without in the least affecting the Divine origin of the Christian faith, of which the proof rests not on points of resemblance, but on points of contrast.

On the prospects of infidelity we are called upon to speak; but of the future, prediction is uncertain. Of human affairs, nothing beyond the barest general tendencies of the present is exposed to view. Our assurance of the final triumph of the gospel itself is founded on no mere ideas of its adaptation to the wants of man, or its conformity with the spirit of the age, but on the promise of Christ. He has been pleased to say that his religion shall survive all catastrophes—shall outlive all revolutions—shall overbear all oppositions of men, and in the last days of the world shall gain its most splendid triumphs. The tendencies of the present age are plainly to perpetuate, and if possible to increase, existing divergences of opinion. Error and truth will alike, in all probability, extend their power. But this we may say, that so long as education is anywhere confined chiefly to the middle and higher classes of society—so long as education, wherever it exists, makes no provision for the religious wants of men—so long as religion is practically excluded from the family, the cradle of the Church—so long as the young, who are entering on the business of life, are left destitute of moral and religious supervision—so long as our Christian youth are untrained in the needed lessons of giving reasons for their faith, or so long as, in our higher education in the field of science, the study of the physical sciences, and especially of physiology, is permitted to be exclusive, so long will the rising generations of our land be an easy prey to the intoxicating, deleterious, and desolating power of religious unbelief. The progress of ignorance, and vice, and crime, and the progress and power of infidel opinions, stand in close relation, so that all social arrangements provocative or permissive of the one, are equally encouragements of the other.

Our infidel literature is decidedly on the increase. One English university is supplying infidelity with its ablest advocates. The extent to which scepticism prevails in literary and scientific circles has already divorced from the cause of Christianity a large and

influential portion of the public press, while the extent and influence of that portion of our literature whose marked characteristic is the absence of all that is grave and serious, is indicative of a tone of mind peculiarly favourable for the progress of religious unbelief. When to these we add the considerations, that in proportion as the misery which exists in the lower levels of society is left unrelieved by Christian philanthropy, will infidelity, under the guise of social and political theories, if not sometimes under the plea of schemes of moral and social reformation, be propagated with success among the lower classes; and that in proportion as no adequate provision is made in our higher education for meeting errors in philosophy or heresies in religion; in proportion as foreign literature, scientific and theological, enters on every side, pervaded by a thoroughly deistical spirit, and finds no provision made for enabling our youth to withstand its influence; or, in proportion as a system of teaching is patronised in our universities, which, professing and attempting to remove the evidences of Christianity from the foundations of reason and experience to those of authority, actually, in its practical results, plays into the hands of scepticism, will infidelity pervade the higher;—it would be assuming a boldness far from warranted by the circumstances of the case, were we to say that there is little for us to fear. On the contrary, we affirm it as our confident belief, that, with these influences operating unchecked, a few years of unbroken national prosperity, to give a worldly and selfish spirit an unhealthy predominance, would put our national Christianity very seriously to the strain.

It would, however, be ungrateful to the Giver of all good, were we to overlook or deny the many grounds of thankfulness yet to be found amongst us. When we reflect that the Word of God in our hands is constructed with Divine foresight to meet the peculiar demands of every age of the Church—that our Christian churches are still to a great extent pervaded by a simple, pure, and enlightened spirit of faith—that attachment to the Word, as the test and standard of Divine truth, leavens very extensively the mass of British society—that interpretation of Scripture is so generally in accordance with the maxims of a just criticism—that our higher literature is still to a great extent Christian, and our higher science still reverently religious—that Christian ordinances are still so generally prized, and the Lord's Day so generally honoured—that our political liberty, and ever-abounding Christian philanthropy damp and discourage the zeal,

and arrest the progress of infidel propagandism—that our elementary education is still largely Christian—that our Christian literature, apologetic, or doctrinal, or practical, is, probably, more abundant in extent, and certainly not inferior in character to that of any land—that the material resources at the command of Christianity are great—that the fruits and consequences of abandoning a living faith in Christ are, in our day, visibly exhibited to us in the misery, distress, and sanguinary convulsions of lands where faith has perished—and that yet more fully and terribly these lessons may be taught us—that even, over one of these lands, whence, for years, a tide of deistical literature has been steadily flowing in upon our shores, a change of spirit has come, and that many of the thoughtful and powerful of her sons would now fain undo the work of their fathers—and that, highest and last of all, a Church, faithful to her Master, has inexhaustible and omnipotent resources ever at her command—we see many reasons, indeed, to join gratitude with our trembling. If faithful to that trust which our Divine Master has manifestly committed to us, it may yet please the Almighty Governor of nations to grant that our land may maintain her Christian privileges unimpaired, and that our gospel light may continue to burn through distant generations, even till the lands that are now in darkness have been lightened by its flame, and “all the kingdoms of the world have become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ.”

ON THE RECENT HISTORY AND PRESENT CONDITION OF POPERY IN GREAT BRITAIN, AND THE DUTY OF PROTESTANTS IN REGARD TO IT.

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AND CHURCH HISTORY.

THE attention of the community in this country has been of late so universally called to the subject of Popery, and so much has been written and spoken regarding it, that it is really not easy to say anything about it, in a short address, but what has become familiar and commonplace; unless, indeed, one were to be guilty of the folly of seeking on purpose for paradoxical notions, or recondite information. Anything of this sort would be unsuitable to this occasion, and inconsistent with the duty which I have been asked to discharge. That duty, as I understand it, is to bring out the recent history and present condition of Popery in this country, so as to suggest and impress some of the leading practical views which we ought to cherish concerning it, and the obligations which devolve upon us in regard to it.

In other circumstances it might have been proper to have given statistical details, in regard to the recent progress of Popery amongst us, the great increase in England and Scotland during the present generation of its bishops and priests, of its chapels, convents, and schools, and some tangible evidences of its present strength and influence in our community. But the fulness and the frequency with which the facts and the proofs of all this have been recently pressed upon our attention, render it unnecessary to dwell upon this branch of the subject. It is right, however, that all of us who are connected with Great Britain should realise, and that all others should learn, the fact, that in the course of the past generation there has been a great increase



of Popish agents and agency in this country—that the number of those amongst us who acknowledge the authority of the Pope has enlarged to an extent beyond what can be ascribed to the natural increase of the Popish population—that great efforts are made amongst us, in the use of all sorts of means, to induce Protestants to join the communion of the Church of Rome—that these efforts are attended with some measure of success—and that a much larger increase of success is yet confidently anticipated.

These are facts which can scarcely be disputed, and which, when viewed in combination, and realised, are well fitted to arrest attention, and to secure for themselves a careful and deliberate examination.

It is not easy to procure authentic information in regard to the extent to which men, once Protestants, may have become Papists, except in the case of those who have occupied a public and elevated position. There is no ground, so far as I am aware, for believing that Popery is gaining converts in Ireland. On the contrary, there is some reason to think that in that country the priests are losing the fatal hold they have long had over the minds of the people; and there can be no reasonable doubt that, by God's blessing attending the preaching of the gospel and the reading of the Scriptures in the Irish language, a considerable number have of late been turned from the Church of Rome to the Church of Christ. Of the increase in the number of Papists which has certainly taken place of late years in England and Scotland, a considerable portion is undoubtedly to be ascribed to immigration from Ireland; and some seem to think that in the lower orders of society it is to be traced wholly to this source. I fear that the process of conversion from Protestantism to Romanism has been going on in England and Scotland among the lower as well as among the higher classes, though perhaps not to the same extent in proportion to their respective numbers. Great efforts have been made in some places to gain converts to Popery among the poor and ignorant, and these have not been altogether unsuccessful. In 1839, Dr Pusey, in his letter to the Bishop of Oxford, while boasting that Tractarian views formed the only effective weapons, both offensive and defensive, in the war against Popery, asserted, that "in Scotland no member of the Church [he means the Episcopal Church in Scotland, which, of course, is the only Church of Christ in that benighted country, though it does not include any

large proportion of the inhabitants] has fallen off to Romanism, while in Edinburgh alone the Romanists boast of one hundred converts from Presbyterianism yearly." The Romish boast, of getting one hundred converts yearly from Presbyterianism in Edinburgh, was without foundation, though some, we fear, have been annually joining their ranks. Dr Pusey's statement, moreover, in regard to the tendency and effects of Tractarian principles, was very soon falsified by the result. Since that time, the world has beheld with astonishment a large number of the most distinguished supporters of those principles—clergymen, academics, nobles, lawyers—abandoning the Church of England and joining the Church of Rome.

This perversion to Romanism forms one of the most remarkable features in the recent history and present aspects of Popery amongst us, and is well fitted to arrest men's attention, and to impress some important lessons. Nothing like it has occurred since the Reformation. There has been no previous instance, in any church or country, of so many men of learning and ability abandoning Protestantism and joining the Church of Rome from conviction. In this respect it stands single and alone, and is, on that account, all the more worthy of investigation, both by those more immediately connected ecclesiastically with the movement, and by Protestants in general.

It would be out of place to enter here into anything like an examination into the origin and causes of this remarkable movement; but there are some of the lessons it affords, which are at once too important to be omitted, and too obvious to require much illustration. There have been not a few amongst us who have been accustomed to treat the apprehensions of the revival and growth of Popery in this country with ridicule and contempt, as if it were impossible that, amid the light of the nineteenth century, men could be brought to swallow the absurdities of such a system. Now, I do not mean to dispute that Popery is ever likely to make the greatest and easiest progress among an ignorant and degraded population, and that the diffusion of education, as including the possession of useful knowledge and the cultivation of the mental powers, has a strong general tendency to obstruct its progress. But the Tractarian movement, issuing to a large extent in Popery, shews abundantly that the views which used to prevail with some amongst us on this subject were unwarranted, and that we must not trust merely to what is called the light of the nineteenth

century, as a preservative against the revival of Romanism. There is a very considerable proportion of the population of Great Britain and Ireland, who do not possess that safeguard against the seductions of Popery which the general diffusion even of ordinary education affords; and the movement to which we have referred proves, that even if this blessing were more generally enjoyed, it would not of itself afford any adequate security against the revival of Popery. We have seen a large proportion of our most intelligent and best educated young men—persons enjoying every advantage as to mental cultivation, occupying positions of influence, and likely to form a considerable portion of the legislators of Great Britain—embrace heartily and sincerely a system which is substantially Popery, as including all its radical germinating principles; and we have seen not a few of the most distinguished and influential among them openly joining the Church of Rome; and all this without their affording us any sufficient grounds to deny either their mental sanity, or their general sincerity of conviction and integrity of purpose. This event, if duly pondered, is surely sufficient to dissipate the loose and superficial notions that have been prevalent in certain quarters, as to no danger being to be apprehended of the prevalence of Popery in this enlightened age, and as to the diffusion of secular knowledge and ordinary education forming an adequate barrier against its progress.

Indeed, the most obvious and important lesson which the whole recent history of Popery presents is just this—that Popery is not to be despised, but that it is ever to be regarded as a powerful and formidable foe. The notion that the power and influence of Popery had become effete, and was no longer to be regarded with dread and apprehension, has prevailed at different times in the Church; but on every occasion when this notion prevailed, it has been dissipated by providential events of a marked and impressive character. John Bunyan, as we all know, described Giant Pope as so damaged that he could do nothing more than sit in the mouth of his cave, grinning at the pilgrims as they passed by, and biting his nails because he could not come at them; and yet, at no distant period, Popery acquired so much influence in France as to be able to repeal the edict of Nantes, and practically to expel Protestantism from that country; and it soon afterwards acquired so much influence in Great Britain as to render it necessary, for the preservation of our Protestantism and our liberties, that we should expel our sovereign from his throne, and exclude all Papists

from office and political influence. And it is most important to notice, that at the era to which I have referred, Popery became formidable in France and Britain, not merely by the accidental possession of political power, by the application of mere brute force to oppose Protestantism, but likewise by the skill and plausibility with which it was defended, and by the increasing hold which it in consequence obtained of the understandings and convictions of men. In England, during the latter part of the reign of Charles II., and the reign of James II., a good deal was done in the way of producing and circulating in this country plausible defences of Popery; and these did not fail to produce a certain impression upon the public mind, though that impression was most successfully counteracted by the great learning and ability brought to bear upon this controversy by the divines of the Church of England of that period. In France, too, about the era of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, a great deal was done, and not altogether without success, in defending Popery, and commending it to the minds of Protestants; and never, probably, have greater ability and a larger amount of controversial skill and dexterity been exhibited in defence of a bad cause, than we find in the expositions and defences of Popery produced at that period by Bossuet, Arnauld, and Nicole.

In the concluding part of last century, and as the result of the events of the French Revolution, an impression generally prevailed that the power of Popery had been brought to an end, and would never again be revived. This notion is repeatedly expressed in Milner's excellent and useful "History of the Church of Christ," and prevailed very generally at the time when that work was published. But since that time we have seen a marvellous revival of Popery, not only as a political power, influencing the regulation of national affairs, but as controlling the understandings and convictions of able and influential men; and now that we have passed the middle of the nineteenth century, we find Popery possessed of at least as large an amount of influence, in both these respects—for they usually go together—as she has ever enjoyed since the Reformation. The Pope himself, viewed personally and individually, may seem a very insignificant and despicable creature—and so he is; but the system which he represents has great weight and influence. It is at this moment regulating, to a large extent, the affairs of the nations of the Continent. France and Austria are practically subjected to the influence of the Popish priesthood,

and the governments of both these countries have recently exhibited very melancholy and degrading proofs that they consider the assistance of the priesthood in the management of their affairs to be worth purchasing at any price, even at the expense of national honour and national independence.

I have said that the increased political influence of Popery in different ages and countries has usually been accompanied with skilful, active, and to some extent successful, efforts in defending the Popish system in argument, and in commending it to the understandings and convictions of men. So it is emphatically in our own day. On the Continent, as well as in our own country, some men of distinguished talents and acquirements have been converted to Popery, have written in its defence, and have done something to persuade others to follow their example; and it is not to be assumed as certain that this process of perversion will not be carried further than it has yet gone. The system of Popery, viewed as a subject of intellectual investigation, as a matter of argumentative discussion, is not, by any means, in every point of view, the preposterous and despicable thing which many are too apt to reckon it. It has not been in vain that the whole skill of Satan has been put forth to devise and perfect this system, to adapt it to the tendencies and inclinations of depraved human nature, and to invest with plausibility the grounds by which its doctrines and practices may be defended. He has been permitted to succeed in devising a scheme which is admirably adapted to men's tendencies, and which, even in its most absurd and offensive departments, admits of being defended with more plausibility than those who have not carefully studied it are very fully aware of, or could very successfully meet.

I cannot but regard it as a proof of lamentable ignorance of this whole subject, when men talk of Popery as if it were altogether so palpably absurd, so destitute of plausibility, that it is a waste of time to investigate it, and quite unreasonable to apprehend that any considerable number of educated men may be perverted to embrace it. I fear that persons who indulge in these notions would be not unlikely, if they were brought into contact with an intelligent Jesuit controversialist, to be themselves perverted by his plausible sophistries, or at least to bring dishonour upon the cause of Protestantism by their manifest incapacity to unravel and refute them. The Popish controversy affords full scope for the exercise of our intellectual powers; and in the existing state of

matters amongst us, it is the imperative duty of all who are called to instruct and influence their fellow-men, to make themselves thoroughly familiar with the topics involved in our controversy with the Church of Rome, so as to be able and ready to defend truth and to expose error; and this is a result which cannot be fully attained, in any case, without a larger amount of reading and reflection than we are accustomed to bestow on this subject.

The recent history of Popery in this country is thus fitted to remind us of the necessity of making ourselves thoroughly acquainted with the system, understanding aright its true nature, tendencies, and objects, and, under the influence of accurate and enlightened views, adopting a suitable mode of action in regard to it. We do not usually realise fully the formidable and dangerous character of Popery; and, in consequence of this, we come far short in our sense of obligation to make suitable efforts to check its progress, and to rescue others from its domination. Such a state of mind, though not likely to be cherished by any one who really knows Popery, from the Bible or from history, was perhaps more excusable a few years ago than it is now. For something more than the first half of this century, there existed a state of matters in this country which led Papists to conceal their true principles and objects, and which disposed many Protestants to assist them in this process, or at least to receive with some favour their attempts to accomplish this object. That state of things has been changed, and I for one do not regret that it has been taken out of the way by the concession to Papists of equality of civil rights and privileges. Popery has thus been led to develop itself amongst us in its true character and objects. The glare, or rather, perhaps, the haze, which a combination of circumstances contributed to throw around it, has been removed, and Popery now stands out before us in all its naked hideousness and detestable enormity, challenging us indeed to the combat, and amply supplied with resources of a not unformidable character, but still stripped of all adventitious appliances for exciting sympathy or procuring favour, derived from considerations and influences of a political kind.

The more recent history of Popery amongst us combines with its general history as a whole, in indicating plainly and palpably its true character and tendencies, and especially in bringing out its unchangeableness. When Papists were labouring to persuade the people of this country that Popery, in many respects, was a very

different thing from what we had been accustomed to reckon it, some Protestants were disposed to excuse their own readiness to receive the Popish representations upon these points, by alleging that Popery was changed, and changed for the better; and Papists, though they took good care to abstain from committing themselves to this position, were very glad to have the benefit of its being believed and acted upon by others. But, of late years, Popery in this country, and over all the world, has been manifesting itself in its true character—has been proving that it is wholly unchanged. It has been giving palpable proof to the whole world that it is as much as ever a system of gross idolatry and of odious tyranny—that it is still characterised by deadly hatred to the sacred Scriptures and to the scriptural method of salvation, as well as to the spiritual worship of God, and to the rights and liberties of men. We see now plainly that it still puts forth the same claims to universal supremacy and domination, and that it is determined, in all circumstances, to strive to have these claims realised in all their extent, whatever violations of the dictates of conscience, or of the laws of morality, may seem necessary for the attainment of these ends.

Popery has of late given abundant evidence that it is characterised at once by the undeviating firmness with which it adheres to the substance of all its doctrines and practices, and, at the same time, by the marvellous skill and dexterity with which it accommodates its schemes to the varied circumstances in which it may be placed. It would seem, indeed, as if the Pope and his advisers had outwitted themselves in their recent aggression upon this country, and had called forth an amount of Protestant feeling that may issue in serious and permanent injury to their cause. I hope and pray that this may be the result, but I am not yet by any means confident that it will be so. The whole history of Popery is fitted to give us the strongest impressions of the skill and sagacity with which its plans are usually formed; and upon this ground I confess that I always feel that there is a very strong antecedent presumption, that any plan which the Court of Rome—sure ever to have Satan's best advice and most active assistance—may adopt, is well fitted to promote the interests of Popery. Whether or not the recent Papal aggression upon this country will really prove, in the long run, injurious to Popery, will depend mainly, under God, upon the way in which the Protestant feeling it has awakened may be directed and improved; and this, again, will

depend very much upon the way in which Protestant ministers and Protestant churches discharge the duty to which they are now in providence called.

I rejoice most cordially in the amount of strong and wholesome Protestant feeling which the country has recently displayed; but I cannot help fearing that the feeling has been to some extent irrational and unintelligent—that is, that it has not been thoroughly based upon an intelligent knowledge of what Popery is, and of what Protestantism is. And in so far as this may be the case, we cannot count much upon the mere feeling being influential in the right direction, or permanent in its manifestations. The old traditional feeling of strong dislike to Popery had continued, even after the intelligent knowledge of Popery, on which, at least in Scotland, this feeling at one time rested, had in some measure disappeared. The feeling itself was, to some extent, giving way, for want of an intelligent basis of knowledge to rest upon; and unless this basis of knowledge be replaced, I fear that the feeling will very soon decay and vanish, without leading to any important permanent results. And hence the vast importance of Protestant ministers and Protestant churches improving the present crisis, by united and vigorous efforts for diffusing throughout the whole community right scriptural views of Protestantism and Popery, and impressing upon the minds of the people a deep sense of the duties incumbent upon them, both with respect to Popery and to Papists. Unless this be done, I fear there may soon be a reaction from the strong Protestant feeling recently exhibited, and that then the Papists may step in, and, with their usual unscrupulous cunning and dexterity, may succeed in turning the whole affair to the advancement of their cause. I believe that the more men know of Popery, the more heartily will they hate it, and the more cordially will they labour to rescue their fellow-men from its destructive bondage. But we should not desire that our countrymen should cherish any feeling, in regard to Popery and Papists, but what is founded upon an accurate knowledge of what Popery is, and of what Papists are; and we may be assured that no feeling upon this subject will be either legitimate in its basis or beneficial and lasting in its operation, unless it be founded upon accurate conceptions of Protestantism as the truth of God, and of Popery as the lie of Satan. We have a most powerful and subtle enemy to contend with, who never intermits his watchfulness and activity, who never loses sight of the objects he aims at, and who



never scruples at the use of any means, however nefarious, that may seem fitted to aid in the accomplishment of his designs; and we can succeed in the war which we must wage against him, only by the blessing of Him who is wonderful in counsel and excellent in working, and by pressing upon the understandings and consciences of men the materials which the sacred Scriptures afford us, by using "the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God."

I have thus adverted to the recent history and present condition of Popery amongst us, as illustrating the formidableness and unchangeableness of the great adversary, who has openly challenged us to mortal combat upon the high places of the field, and whom we must "resist, steadfast in the faith." These qualities of Popery, none who knows anything about it will formally deny; but there is reason to fear that, for some time past, the churches of this country have lost sight of them, or failed fully to realise them.

There are some other peculiar features of Popery which perhaps have been too much overlooked amongst us, but of which the recent proceedings of the Church of Rome are fitted to remind us. And I think it of great practical importance that we should remember and realise them, in all our efforts to discharge the duty incumbent upon us in regard to Popery and Papists. I would briefly advert to two or three of these. And, *first*, I would like to remind you that we are fully warranted to expect, in the leading agents and public defenders of Popery, an almost incredible amount of villany. The strong language of Scripture, when it speaks of Popery as "the Man of Sin," "the Mystery of Iniquity," and when it sets forth as its great characteristics "the deceivableness of unrighteousness," and the "speaking lies in hypocrisy," has been most fully verified in the history of the Church of Rome. The history of the world presents no combination of all that is foul and infamous which can be compared with what the history of the Church of Rome exhibits. Popery is ascribed in Scripture to the special agency of Satan, of him who was "a liar and a murderer from the beginning," and he has most fully stamped upon it his own leading characteristics of falsehood and cruelty. We see these qualities most fully exhibited in the proceedings of the Church of Rome in the present day. The ordinary organs of our Popish fellow-countrymen are at this moment pervaded by a spirit of mendacity and of murder. I believe that

it is not easy for Protestants to retain upon their minds an adequate impression of the demoralising influence of Popery, and of the extent to which it holds true, that its agents and defenders generally have wholly thrown off the restraints of conscience, are "led captive by Satan at his will," and are prepared to work all uncleanness and iniquity with greediness. The tendency of the Popish system, viewed as a whole, is to sear the conscience as with a hot iron, to extinguish the sense of individual personal responsibility, to palliate and to excuse, in certain circumstances, the indulgence of the worst passions and the most odious tendencies of the human heart, and thus to make those who fully submit to its influence thoroughly depraved—demons, rather than men. The influence of Christianity, in its purifying and sanctifying power, is not wholly extinguished, even in the Church of Rome; the remains of natural conscience, not entirely eradicated, occasionally stand in the way of the full ascendancy of the Church; and men's outward conduct is greatly influenced by the circumstances in which they are placed, and by the standard which prevails generally around them. But, making all due allowance for the operation of these causes, it may, I think, be truly said, that Popish priests in general exhibit a thoroughness of depravity which has never been exhibited by any other body of men who can be comprehended under a general denomination; and this truth it is of some practical importance that, in dealing with Popery, we should habitually remember and apply. This is doing them no injustice, and it may be safe and beneficial to ourselves.

*Second,* Perhaps the most important peculiarity of Popery is, that it is a great system, complete and consistent in all its parts, clearly set forth in the Word of God as the special work of Satan—as his grand scheme for counteracting and frustrating the design of our Saviour's mission, and the objects of the Christian revelation. This, of course, is not an occasion for attempting to prove this important position. If there be any amongst us who deny or doubt its truth, I can only exhort them to re-examine the subject, and beseech them to study it with diligence and impartiality, in the hope that they will come at length to be convinced of its truth. I must assume, for the present, that you admit it to be true; and I can only exhort you to realise and apply it, in all the views which you take of Popery, and in all the measures which you adopt regarding it. I fear there are many who do not deny the truth of this position, but who come far short in realising it and acting

upon it. There has been a considerable tendency of late, in certain quarters, to lose sight of this fundamental feature of Popery, and to look upon the Church of Rome merely as one of the many sects into which Christianity is divided—more erroneous, it may be, in some respects, than many of them, but still not occupying any such peculiar outstanding place as the Word of God seems to assign to it. This I believe to be a miserable delusion, fraught with the most injurious consequences. An investigation of the principles and doctrines of Popery combines with a survey of its whole history in confirming the representations of Scripture, that it is a system altogether unique and *sui generis*—that it has been contrived and compacted with wonderful, with superhuman, skill and dexterity—that it is admirably adapted for gaining and retaining a hold of the minds of men, and for forming in them a state of mind, and producing a course of action, opposed, in its leading features, to what the Word of God requires; in short, that it is Satan's masterpiece, in which, with the benefit of 4000 years' experience in dealing with men for their destruction, he has put forth all his power and skill to devise and bring into operation a system which, though professing submission to the authority of Christ and his Word, should corrupt the worship of the one only living and true God, should pervert the way of a sinner's salvation, and should engage men in a course of action which will lead them down into the chambers of death. The true author of Popery is the great adversary of God and man, and the true type of the system, as distinguished from other forms of Christianity, is that one of the twelve who was a devil, and who betrayed his Master with a kiss into the hands of his enemies. Your time forbids me to dwell upon this subject, and I must now leave it, repeating my conviction that it is of the greatest practical importance that we should ever regard Popery as the grand adversary of Christ, the great opponent of the objects for which he lived, and taught, and suffered, and should regulate all our views and feelings and procedure in regard to it, by the habitual realisation of this, the light in which the Word of God represents it.

There is one particular topic that may be comprehended under this general head, to which it may be proper to advert briefly, and that is, the importance of habitually remembering that Popery is attended with extreme danger to the spiritual welfare, to the eternal salvation, of those who embrace it. The circumstances in which we have been placed, and the aspects in which Popery has

been of late presented to us, have been, perhaps, fitted to give prominence in our minds to Romanism merely as a great system of tyranny and imposture, and to throw into the background the still more important and fundamental views of it as a system of idolatry and heresy, that is, as corrupting the true worship of God, and perverting the right way of salvation. Of course, we cheerfully admit, as all Protestants have done, that man may be, and that some men are, saved, who live and die in the communion of the Church of Rome. But it is not the less true that Popery exposes to fearful danger the spiritual welfare of those who embrace it. It would be unnecessary and out of place to attempt to illustrate the truth of this position. I can only remind you of the importance of remembering and applying it, in order that in exposing the Church of Rome, you may give due prominence to views which are fitted to shew that Popery, when fully embraced, leads men to withhold from God the honour and worship which are due to him, and to rest upon a false foundation for salvation; and that, in dealing with Papists, your bowels of compassion towards them may be stirred, and that you may make it manifest that you are animated by a sincere desire to promote their best interests.

I am disposed to think that in the discussions on Popery in this country, too little prominence has been given to what may be called the more theological parts of the question; to the guilt of Popery, in directly perverting the gospel of the grace of God, and especially by teaching erroneous views on the subject of original sin and justification. The cause of all this, no doubt, is, that many of those who have written most ably and learnedly against Popery, had themselves largely departed from the sound theology of the Reformers, and were not more scriptural and evangelical in their views upon these points than the canons of the Council of Trent. When Jeremy Taylor published a work that contained heresy on the subject of original sin, a Papist, who was much sounder in the faith, whose views were much more in accordance with the Bible and the Thirty-nine Articles, published a reply to it. Archbishop Wake, in his "Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England," in reply to Bossuet's "Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church," virtually gave up our whole contest with Rome on the subject of justification—Luther's article of a standing or a falling church. I have already had occasion to refer to the noble monument of talent and erudition

erected by the divines of the Church of England, in their writings against Popery, in the reigns of Charles II. and James II. ; and there is certainly no fuller or more valuable repository of argument and information upon most of the topics included in the Popish controversy, than is to be found in Bishop Gibson's "Preservative," where most of these writings are collected. But you will scarcely find, in that voluminous and most important work, a full exposition of the true theology of the Reformers, or an exposure of the false doctrines, in regard to the way of a sinner's salvation, which the Reformers laboured most strenuously to refute.

These influences have contributed to introduce a certain deficiency into not a little of our anti-popish literature, the result of which has been to lead men somewhat to overlook Popery's corruption of the way of salvation, and its consequent tendency to encourage men to build upon a false foundation for eternity. Satan's first object in devising and diffusing Popery was, of course, to secure men's everlasting ruin, by preventing them from ever seriously seeking salvation, or by misleading them in the search of it. With this view he has most skilfully taken advantage of the tendencies of man's fallen nature, and he has provided abundant encouragement and remuneration for his agents, the priesthood ; and the practical result of all this is, that in order to understand fully the system of Popery, it is indispensable that we trace out how admirably adapted are the system, as a whole, and all its parts, viewed in connexion with the tendencies of fallen humanity, to serve at once the purposes of Satan and of the priesthood—to make men the slaves and tools of the priesthood while they live, and to hand them over to Satan when they die. The sum and substance of Popery, viewed in its more external aspects, is just this—that the priest undertakes for the salvation of the people on condition that they submit themselves, and all that they have, to his control ; while in its internal structure, and real spiritual bearing, it is fitted, in all its provisions and arrangements, to lead them to reject the counsel of God against themselves, and to put away from them eternal life.

*Third,* There is only one other peculiar feature of Popery to which I will briefly advert, and that is, that we have in Scripture a clear indication that it is God's purpose that the system of Popery is not to be reformed, but to be destroyed—destroyed with the breath of Jehovah's mouth, and consumed with the

brightness of his coming. Here, again, I cannot take time to prove the position, but must assume it to be true, and simply call upon you to realise and apply it, in all the views you take of Popery, and in all the plans you adopt regarding it. If this position be true, it constitutes a very interesting and important peculiarity of Popery; one by which it is strikingly distinguished from all other sections of the professedly Christian Church, and one that ought not to be lost sight of. The position is not in the least inconsistent with the truth, that there are some of God's chosen people in mystical Babylon—that there are some living in the communion of the Church of Rome, who have already become the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus, and many more now living there in ignorance and darkness; who are yet, in the execution of God's eternal purpose, to be brought to the knowledge and belief of the truth.

The belief of the position that Popery, as a system, is to be destroyed, and not reformed, does not in the least discourage efforts for the conversion of Papists to Protestantism and to Christ; on the contrary, it affords the strongest motives why we should exert ourselves to the utmost in calling men out of Babylon lest they be partakers of its plagues. But this doctrine, if received and applied, would certainly have prevented our excellent and learned brother, who addressed the Conference the other day, from undertaking his recent mission to the Pope, with a view of persuading him to throw open some of the leading doctrinal questions on which the Church of Rome has pledged herself, and then to labour on this basis for promoting the unity of Christendom. If the Church of Rome were to abandon her claim to infallibility, she would commit suicide—she would at once inevitably perish. There is manifestly, even upon the ordinary grounds of human judgment, such an improbability of her ever abandoning her claim to infallibility, as to make it Utopian to expect it, and a waste of time and labour to aim at bringing it about. But that which should settle our judgment and determine our conduct in this matter is the clear intimation which God has given us in his Word, that the great apostasy is to continue in full operation and influence until, as a system, it be openly, fully, and conclusively destroyed—until the cry go forth, under the whole heaven, that Babylon has fallen, and the apostles and prophets be called upon to rejoice over her destruction. The churches of Christ will fully and successfully discharge their

duty with respect to their Master's grand adversary, only when they rightly understand and duly apply the whole information which he has given them in his Word concerning the enemy, and the contest, when they take the whole armour of God, and boldly and faithfully use it according to his directions.

I cannot trespass much longer upon your time by entering into any details as to our duties with respect to Popery and Papists, and the practical measures that ought to be adopted regarding them. But if right scriptural views of the nature, tendency, and ordinary results of Popery, and of the condition and danger of Papists, are suitably impressed upon your minds, and are faithfully and honestly applied, there will be no great difficulty in tracing out, at least, the great outlines of present duty. I shall say nothing on what may be regarded as the more political aspect of the subject, or the duty of the nation as such in this matter, beyond expressing my entire concurrence in a sentiment which has already been put forth in this Conference, viz., that the whole of the true Protestantism of the empire should unite in demanding—and demanding in a voice that cannot be put aside or resisted—that all positive national encouragement to Popery shall be immediately and conclusively brought to an end. This is a practical result, in which all true Protestants, though differing on other points, may, without any compromise of principle, unite; and if this were accomplished, it would not only be “a heavy blow and a great discouragement” legitimately directed against Popery, but it would free us from the guilt of a great national sin, and thereby tend to draw down upon us the blessing of Him who is the Governor among the nations. But in this Alliance we have to do more immediately with the duty incumbent upon us as Christians, the duties more especially of Christian ministers and Christian churches. And in this aspect our duty may be said to be summed up in this, that we carefully and accurately ascertain for ourselves what Popery is, as distinguished from Protestantism, and what it is doing; and that we embrace and improve all available and suitable means of diffusing through the whole community correct and intelligent conceptions upon all the topics which this important general subject comprehends. This is a duty which we owe to that Master whom we profess to serve, and who has ever found his most formidable and deadly foe in the system of Romanism, but who will one day thoroughly destroy it, because he is King of kings and Lord of lords. It is a duty

which we owe to the people committed to our care, and to Protestants in general, since they are not beyond reach of the danger of being perverted to Popery, and since there is good reason to fear that every effort will be made to bring before the Protestants of this country all the plausibilities that can be adduced in favour of Popery—plausibilities which are much stronger than is commonly supposed, and with which many of our people—perhaps even some of our ministers—are at present very imperfectly qualified to grapple. We owe it to our Popish fellow-countrymen, who are involved in ignorance and error, in idolatry and immorality, who are living under the degrading and destructive domination of the Son of Perdition—who are led captive by Satan at his will. The condition of the millions of Papists in Great Britain and Ireland has not yet sufficiently excited the sympathy, arrested the attention, or called forth the efforts of the churches of Christ in this country. I cordially concur in the statement made in this place the other day, by an esteemed brother, that those who are contending with Popery on the Continent have strong claims on our sympathy, prayers, and liberality; and I am disposed to think generally, that in the present aspect of the world, the churches of Christ should very specially direct their attention and efforts to the countries which are sunk in Popish ignorance and delusion. But, of course, our Popish countrymen have the first claim upon us, and should certainly not be neglected. There are millions of our Popish countrymen living at our own door, who are almost as thoroughly sunk in ignorance, idolatry, and moral degradation, as are the Hottentots and the negroes of Africa; and yet, comparatively little is doing, by the churches of this country, to rescue them from their present degraded and dangerous condition, and to enlighten them in the knowledge of the way of salvation. Surely God in his providence is loudly calling upon the churches to contemplate more steadily than they have hitherto done, and under a deeper sense of responsibility, the condition of our Popish countrymen. Surely it is high time that the wisdom and zeal of the churches should be brought to bear upon this most important but difficult department of Christian usefulness; it is time that the subject of a Protestant mission for the conversion of Papists were occupying the thoughts and the consultations of Christ's people amongst us. I cannot now enter upon the consideration of this important subject, but would only take the liberty of pressing it upon the serious and



solemn attention of my fathers and brethren, in the hope that, at no distant period, measures may be devised for bringing Protestant truth, as based upon the authority of God in his Word, to bear more directly and extensively upon the understandings and consciences of the whole of our Popish fellow-countrymen, who are living, at present, in the darkness of "the valley of the shadow of death."

Let me now, in drawing to a conclusion, endeavour to impress upon you the conviction that scriptural efforts for checking the growth of Popery, and for diffusing Protestant truth, are in full harmony with the spirit and objects of the Evangelical Alliance; and that it may be most reasonably expected that this Alliance should do much, more or less directly, for the attainment of these ends. So long as so large an amount of diversity of opinion subsists among the members of this Alliance, our practical operations, with the exception of our great primary object of promoting Christian love and union—in itself a great work, and one which has been to a considerable extent effected—must, from the necessity of the case, partake very much of an *anti* character; that is, they must be directed principally *against* certain things which we all desire to see brought to an end—against prevailing irreligion, against infidelity, against Sabbath desecration, against Popery. The necessity of the Protestant churches uniting and combining for mutual protection against reviving and encroaching Popery, was put forth at the commencement of our proceedings as one of the reasons why the Alliance was instituted. And God, in his providence, seems of late to have been indicating that this object should not have been so long overlooked, or, at least, that it should not now any longer be neglected. A friendly and harmonious combination of the members of different Protestant churches is the best vantage ground from which Popery can be assailed—nay, forms of itself one of the most effective weapons that can be directed against it. There are some of the most plausible sophistries of Popery which can be successfully met and answered only upon the ground of the principles on which the Evangelical Alliance is based; and there are some of the most effective practical considerations that usually tell in favour of Popery, to which the existence and constitution of the Evangelical Alliance afford the best and most satisfactory reply. The sophistries by which Papists most commonly entrap Protestants are certain notions about the unity

and authority of the Church, which can be made to assume a considerable degree of plausibility; and the only way in which these sophistries can be disentangled and exposed, is by bringing out scriptural views of the true nature of the Church of Christ, of its true and necessary unity, and of the distinction between fundamentals and non-fundamentals in doctrine—a distinction, the existence of which, as commonly explained by Protestant divines, Papists altogether deny, though they cannot avoid admitting the substance of it in a different form. When these subjects have been expounded in a scriptural way, it is then easy to establish the conclusion, that the scriptural unity of the Church does not necessarily imply, as Papists allege, oneness of external ecclesiastical communion, but that different communions, though differing in some points of doctrine from each other, may be equally branches or sections of the one true Church of Christ.

The same observations, in substance, apply to another very important and somewhat intricate question, that forms a standing topic of controversial discussion with Papists, namely, the Protestant doctrine of the sufficiency of the written Word as a rule of faith, because, among other qualities, it possesses that of perspicuity in all necessary or fundamental truths. In discussing with Papists the important subjects of the unity of the Church and the perspicuity of Scripture, Protestants must have recourse to those great principles on which the Evangelical Alliance is based, and which, both theoretically and practically, it embodies and exhibits; and it is not possible, in discussing these points, to meet our opponents upon any other footing, or to defend ourselves with any other weapon.

There is no consideration which practically tells more with unthinking men in favour of Popery, than the variety of conflicting sects into which Protestants are divided. Papists are fond of enumerating all the varieties of Protestant sects, representing them all as so many different religions, and commonly putting in a dozen or two which cannot be said to have any real existence. This is rather apt to raise uncomfortable feelings of difficulty in the minds of Protestants who have not reflected much upon the subject. The answer to this fact, and to the argument which Papists base upon it, is to be found in the proof, that the real differences among Protestant churches are not by any means so great as Papists allege; that there is a very large amount of agreement among them in all

matters of fundamental importance; that the differences which do exist arise from the abuse, and not from the right use, of the Word of God; and then, in connexion with all this, bringing in and applying the views formerly referred to as to what is, or is not, consistent with the scriptural unity of the Church of Christ. The Protestant argument is thus complete and conclusive, as a matter of speculative discussion, but it is fitted to be much more effective when the substance of it is embodied in a visible and palpable reality; that is, when there exists an Evangelical Alliance, in which members of all the really important and influential sections of Protestantism openly and explicitly profess their harmonious concurrence in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, in what may be said to constitute the religion of Jesus, and to be, therefore, the true note or mark of his Church—when they plainly love each other for the truth's sake that is in them, and co-operate in promoting the common salvation of their one Lord and Master. This is the grand, the conclusive answer to some of the most plausible and effective allegations of the Romanists; and I have seldom listened to anything with more interest and delight than to the statement made in this place on Saturday by a respected brother, to the effect that this practical consideration was already telling upon the minds of the Papists in Ireland, and opening their eyes to the falsehood and unfairness of the representations they had been accustomed to receive implicitly from their priests, as to the multitude of religions that exist among Protestants, and the utter want of anything like unity among those who had separated from the Church of Rome.

Upon these grounds, which I have merely alluded to, having no time to expound them, the Evangelical Alliance enjoys a peculiar facility for contending effectively against the Romish apostasy, and of course lies under peculiar obligations to promote this great work. I would fain hope that this subject may henceforth occupy a more prominent place in our proceedings, with the view of stirring up ministers and churches, in their respective spheres, to a faithful discharge of their duty in this matter; and I trust that the Council of the Alliance will be instructed to take into immediate consideration the important question as to what steps the Alliance, as such, can or should directly adopt, with a view to checking the progress of Popery, and promoting the emancipation and conversion of Papists.

Permit me to state my strong conviction that, with a view to this object, whether the Evangelical Alliance is to labour in it more or less directly, it is indispensable that we retain our doctrinal basis in the whole substance of its integrity, as embodying and exhibiting the harmony of our confessions. The idea of comprehending in an alliance all persons of true piety, seems to me to be Utopian and impracticable; and to aim at it would, I fear, inevitably frustrate some of the leading objects for which we are associated. I concede, of course, that there are men of true Christian piety among the Society of Friends, but then, I concede the same thing to the Church of Rome. To the Society of Friends I can concede nothing more than this, and this concession is no adequate ground for admitting them into the Evangelical Alliance, unless we change, fundamentally, the character of our association, and abandon wholly the prosecution of some of the most important objects we profess to aim at. I, for one, cannot be a consenting party to any such alteration in our constitution, as—not to advert, at present, to other objections—would materially cripple us in contending with the Papal apostasy, would strike us with moral impotency in the presence of Christ's great adversary.

The divisions that arose in the Reformed churches, and the bitter spirit of strife and contention to which these divisions gave rise, were the chief causes that arrested the progress of Protestantism, and have kept it stationary, if not retrograding, for two centuries and a half. Let us offer the prayer, and cherish the hope, that a larger measure of Christian love and union, exhibited by the churches, and a larger amount of harmonious co-operation in the common cause, may introduce a new and better era—may lead to more sustained, effective, and successful efforts against the Man of Sin—may issue in the infliction of a more deadly wound upon the Beast, even than that which it received at the Reformation—and may prepare the way for that fearful consummation of the destruction of the great apostasy, which may be expected to usher in the glory of the latter days. And while we should be careful not to underrate the strength and subtlety of our adversary, there is not a little, even in the present aspect of matters, to inspire us with good hope, through grace, and to encourage us to enter boldly into the contest. The great apostasy, so long as it is allowed to exist, will very materially affect the condition and the duty of the whole Church of Christ on earth, and there is no position which the

churches can occupy with more safety and more honour than that of open, unqualified, and uncompromising hostility to the great enemy of their Master. When occupying that position, they may be confidently assured, that they are rendering acceptable service to him whose they are, that he will make his grace sufficient for them, and perfect his strength in their weakness—that he will supply all their wants out of his own glorious fulness, and vouchsafe to them largely the honour and the blessedness of contributing to the advancement of his cause.

## ON THE DESECRATION OF THE LORD'S DAY IN GREAT BRITAIN.

BY THE REV. JOHN JORDAN,  
VICAR OF ENSTONE, OXON.

IT is a sad and melancholy proof of our fallen nature and corruption, that when mercies abound, we too frequently become unmindful of them; and when we are in circumstances that should excite our gratitude and praise, we are indifferent to the Author and Giver of our blessings. So liable is man to this sin—for it is a sin not to be grateful to our God for blessings vouchsafed—that Moses, prescient of the evil, forewarns the people against it in a special exhortation when he says, “Beware, lest when thou hast eaten and art full, then thine heart be lifted up, and thou forget the Lord thy God.” It is to be feared that many of us, in our own favoured land, need frequently a similar warning to remind us of the manifold favours we enjoy, and to excite in us that spirit of gratitude and praise that ought to prevail in our hearts towards God. For, when we contrast ourselves with other countries, what abounding mercies of providence and of grace have we unceasingly to bear on our hearts, and to thank and glorify our God for! Such a position have we occupied, throughout the whole revolutionary period, that has now continued ever since 1792, that a late eminent statesman, Mr Canning, speaking of the station maintained by Britain amidst the turmoils of the nations, said, “that she was like an earthly Providence, protecting and preserving all who fled to her for succour.” But how little have we felt and been grateful for these sustaining mercies, which have so guarded us, that, while others have experienced the rage and bent beneath the fury of the political storms that have burst upon them, we have been preserved in the midst of the overthrow, and the tempest has not come nigh us! So, again, with regard to our religious blessings; we have

not religious toleration only, but religious liberty and religious rights, well understood and recognised, and not tending to licentiousness, but to the enjoyment of that true liberty where the Spirit of the Lord is. Are we as thankful as we ought to be for these, and may we not well search and see whether we are deserving the continuance of those things by the gratitude we feel for them? Or, again, are we as grateful as we ought to be for the provision of spiritual bread supplied to our nation by the dispersion of the Bible throughout our land, forming at once the main source of nourishment for our spiritual life, and our main source of strength against the unhallowed aggressions of Popery, and the stealthy underminings of infidelity? These are matters of self-examination, which we ought all to probe ourselves with, in order that we may try whether we are sufficiently mindful of the merciful dealings of our God, and adequately grateful to Him for them. They are, however, introduced now to our contemplation, as helping to awaken our reflections on another mercy, as great as any of those already spoken of, but so common and frequent by its weekly return, that for that very reason we are liable to be heedless of it, and not as grateful in our hearts for it as we ought to be. This weekly blessing is, as may well be anticipated, that holy day of the Lord, which, like the sun that illumines the hours through which he shines, gladdens and cheers, with its hallowed rest and its serene sanctification, all the days appointed unto man to labour in. On every other day it is ordained to him to go forth to his work and to his labour until the evening; but on this day, the Sabbath of the Lord, the day of mercy made for man, the day on which the very slave may feel himself the Lord's freedman, the day of holy convocation, of spiritual exercises, and of happy communion in the courts of the Lord; on this peaceful and heaven-anticipating day, the believer learns to know himself as not a mere creature of time, but an heir of immortality, training himself here for occupation in the realms above, and learning to do God's will upon earth as it is done in heaven. Are we, then, sufficiently mindful of, grateful for, and jealous regarding this holy institution? Do we, conscious of its value, enjoy it rightly, wisely, and fully? Are we guarding it against encroachments, and protecting it from aggressions as we ought? We are not like the nations around us, who have yet to win for themselves the Sabbath-day, and to recover it from the corruptions that obscure its grace and glory; but we have to

defend it from mutilation, and from those practices which desecrate its acknowledged sanctity and virtue. Are we, then, alive to this our peculiar work? In other words, are we ourselves so appreciating the Sabbath, so enjoying the Sabbath, so conscious of the Sabbath's blessing to our race, that we are grateful to God for this his common weekly mercy conferred upon us, and ready, therefore, to defend it from invasion, to preserve its sanctity, and to extend its blessedness and grace to all who are as yet unmindful of, or indifferent to, the privileges that the Sabbath-keeper enjoys? This is the way in which to test our gratitude and faithfulness to the Lord of the Sabbath, and this is the special subject for examination and reflection that this Assembly is now to entertain.

In order to understand rightly the position which the Evangelical Alliance occupies in regard to the Sabbath question, and more especially to *Sabbath desecration*, which is the proper subject of the report I am charged to make to this Conference, it will be necessary to revert to the peculiar circumstances that occasioned a matter of such vast importance to religion to be placed in the station that has been allotted to it in our constitution. When the fundamentals of the Alliance were under discussion at the first Conference on Christian union, at Liverpool, it was found that there was such variety of opinion respecting the scriptural ground and authority on which the Sabbath was to be based, that it was deemed prudent and forbearing not to introduce it amongst the various topics that form the doctrinal statement of our common faith, but to give it place, instead, amongst the sundry objects for common action, with respect to which we could safely combine, without attempting to decide the precise terms upon which united operation should be carried on. When the Alliance itself was formed by the Conference assembled in London in 1846, although the original doctrinal basis was enlarged, these objects, amongst which Sabbath desecration was one, were still left in the same position, and were regarded as matters on which there might be combined action amongst us. Subsequently, when the British Organisation was formed, and when that division of labour took place which appropriated these several objects to different portions of the Organisation, that of Sabbath desecration was committed to the North-western Division, who thereupon undertook to deal with it. It happened, however, that amongst the members of the committee of that division, to whose special care it was intrusted, there were such different views on the



theoretical, not the practical, part of the subject, that they effected comparatively little; or rather, with justice it must be said, that what was done was almost entirely due to the energy and zeal of one member of the committee, Dr Crichton of Liverpool, who collected, at some cost to himself, various statistics relating to that town, and evidencing a fearful amount of Sabbath desecration by the running of omnibuses, by steam and canal boats, by railways, by the sale of intoxicating liquors, and even by the continuance of ordinary weekly traffic, on the day of rest. While, however, the matter thus comparatively hung in suspense in the North-western Division, it was taken up again and again at our annual Conferences, and highly encouraging resolutions were passed, shewing that the Alliance, as a body, was fully alive to its responsibility on this important point. Thus, in the Conference at Edinburgh, in 1847, it was resolved—"That the Report of the North-western Committee on the Lord's Day be referred back to that committee, to prosecute the investigations suggested in the Report. That this Conference cannot thus remit the subject to that committee without expressing, with one heart and voice, their strong sense of the duty devolving upon all Christian people to set their faces against the desecration of the Lord's Day; believing, as they all do, that the observance of that day is of Divine institution, and of permanent obligation." Again, at the Intermediate Conference held in London, in the month of October 1848, it was resolved—"That this Conference, on consideration of the vast and growing amount of Lord's-day desecration in this country, and the great evil entailed on the country thereby, feel it a solemn and binding duty to lift up their voice against this crying sin." Thus, however defective the Alliance may seem to have been in active measures in this matter, it has borne a faithful testimony in its Conferences, both in defence of the divinely appointed Sabbatic institution, and against those unhappy causes of its desecration, which, so fatally for the ruin of souls, abound amongst us.

A main difficulty that had been experienced, in carrying on investigations into the extent and causes of Sabbath desecration, was the want of funds for the purpose; and this was felt so strongly by one member of the Alliance, Thomas Farmer, Esq., as affecting not only the object now under consideration, but the other two also, Popery and Infidelity, that he generously contributed the munificent donation of £300, to aid in promoting the investigations that had been proposed to be carried on with regard to these three

objects. Others added to the fund thus originated, and already some of the fruits of it have appeared, in valuable prize essays on Infidelity, by working men, and in two highly meritorious prize essays on Popery. With respect to Sabbath desecration, however, it does not appear that, as yet, any results have issued, although it is to be hoped that the North-western Division will have some report to make to this Conference on the subject.

Having thus referred to such matters as are immediately connected with our Alliance, it will be necessary to extend the sphere of our reflections, and to inquire into the prevailing causes of Sabbath desecration, and the remedies, if any, that have been or that may be applied to them. The most glaring causes of this sin are the licensed trade in spirits and other intoxicating liquors, the regular and stated railway traffic, the refinement upon this of very cheap excursion trains, and the increasing Government traffic in letters. It is not easy to give accurate statistics upon any of these several points, in consequence of the difficulty and often expense of obtaining them. Those presented to us respecting Liverpool, at a former conference, by Dr Crichton, were only acquired by him at some cost. Although I have applied, in various quarters, for similar accounts, I have been unable to obtain any, particularly such as I desired to have, in order, if possible, to contrast together the state of different localities, according as the Sabbath was worse or better observed. In the absence of such statements, however, there are certain notable and glaring facts, that may tell as powerfully the extent of evil connected with them, as the most careful detail. Gin-palaces and beer-shops are of such frequent occurrence, as not to need computation; and these are all of them appalling scenes of Sabbath desecration, and of the most frightful demoralisation. The extent of regular and stated railway traffic on the Sabbath in England may be judged of from the fact, that the ordinary railway books give the times of starting of at least 1350 long and short trains, besides that of their setting down and taking up at a very great number of intermediate stations. Without hazarding a computation as to the numbers thus carried to and fro, and without mentioning the effects of the excursion trains that run in addition to the ordinary Sabbath trains, there is enough to shew the amount of temptation to the public, and of compulsion on the railway servants, thus to desecrate the holy day of rest.

Out of all the English railways of which time-tables are given,

that of York and Knaresborough has the honourable notice of "No Sunday Trains." In Wales, the Llanelly and Llandillo line; and in Scotland, the Glasgow, Paisley, and Greenock line, have the same notice; but these are the only railways thus worthily distinguished in the books. Even the railways in Scotland have caught the infection from England, and have, too many of them, their regular Sunday columns, while in Ireland, as might be anticipated, the evil is no less. But even the books themselves are no certain proof of the extent of railway Sabbath desecration; for the police reports of the metropolis, and numerous correspondents of the public press, tell us of trains started far more frequently even than they are mentioned in the tables, and at such perilous proximity that the lives of the passengers are jeopardized by the risk of collisions. So again, the books fail to tell of the vastly increasing numbers of cheap excursion trains, that run to a distance from London and back again on the Sabbath—as to Bath, Bristol, Brighton, and other towns. In fact, so largely has this system increased, and so utterly improbable is it that railway companies should work without profit, that it may well be feared whether the Sabbath traffic may not eventually prove some of the most profitable to the proprietors, while it will be the most destructive and ruinous to the religion and morality of the land. Then, again, there is the Government traffic in letters on the Sabbath, which, though limited at present, yet cannot but increase; and, having surmounted the barrier of principle, cannot fail eventually to encourage and strengthen itself in its own wrong-doing.

Thus I have brought all these together, and included them in one category, because they are all guilty of the same offence, are all chargeable with the same sin—"the hastening to be rich," and are all, therefore, justly amenable to the condemnation, and should be dealt with upon the same principle. It is a maxim of British law, that Sunday is a *dies non*, and the statutes of the realm forbid all ordinary occupations on the day, which is thus conserved for purposes of religion and morality. It may, then, justly be demanded, upon what plea it is that intoxicating drinks, which are neither perishable in their nature, nor necessaries of life, are allowed to be trafficked in on the holy day of rest? Why, again, are railway proprietors to be permitted to traffic on the Sabbath, when all other persons are restrained from occupying themselves in their customary employments? And, more than all, why should the Government, which ought to be an example of submission to the

laws, in order to maintain its own authority, carry on and endeavour to extend its traffic in letters on the Sabbath-day, and employ, as it does, such an immense number of labourers throughout the country in the delivery of letters, when all other labourers are restricted from their ordinary occupations? These are questions that may justly be asked, because they lead to most natural reflections and obvious conclusions, and seem to echo their own answer, and, from the faithfulness of their demands, to supply the just condemnation of the matters thus questioned. It is sheer inconsistency thus to act in defiance of such just laws as those that protect the Sabbath, and it is but contradiction to condemn one species of traffic and to encourage and abet others. But it is, in all these cases, the work of Mammon. The god of this world blinds the eyes of his willing votaries. And now, as of old in the apostle's day, "the love of money is the root of all evil: which while some covet after, they err from the faith, and pierce themselves through with many sorrows." Nor has one railway company at least hesitated to justify its Sabbath labour upon this very plea; for the Great Western Railway Company, in reply to a remonstrance from the Bristol clergy, defend their conduct on the ground of its being "beneficial to the company, and conducive to the welfare of the trading and poorer classes"—thus making these last the stalking-horses for their own delinquencies, and enriching themselves by the moral degradation, and even wasteful extravagance, of the classes they profess to care for. How justly does the Report of the Bath Association observe thus upon this very point:—"When we are told that the 'social and moral' benefit of a nine hours' journey of 240 miles, in a close carriage, with the 'relaxation,' at its terminus, of a crowded tavern or public-house, is 'calculated to promote a better observance of the Sabbath,' and to encourage many to go to church in the country, who, while in London, never quitted their rooms to attend Divine service, we cannot but recognise another, and most pregnant proof of the folly and danger of making the command of God subservient to the assumed interests of man, instructed as we are by unerring truth, that while his word giveth light and understanding unto the simple, self-interest 'blinds the eyes of the wise, and perverts the words of the righteous.'"

I am well aware that there are those among us who question altogether the expediency of legislative enactments in defence of the Sabbath, as though it were trusting to an arm of flesh, rather than to the Spirit and power of the grace of God. Nor do I wonder

at this, when I remember the iniquity they have at times been guilty of, as when James I. and Charles I., both in succession, by royal proclamation, set forth the "Book of Sports," and commanded their subjects to profane the Lord's Day. For although it may be alleged, in reply to this, that in the subsequent reign of Charles II. it was attempted by the law to enforce Sabbath observance, and to compel attendance at the house of God, I, for one, should be prepared to say, on behalf of the Sabbath, with respect to both those provisions, "Neither bless it at all, nor curse it at all." Yet I cannot but think, that at least we may claim this of the laws—that they shall not themselves infringe the Sabbath, as they do, by licensing the sale of intoxicating drinks, and protecting the traffic in letters on the Sabbath; and that they shall throw their shield over those who are unable to defend themselves; for certainly, if a ten-hour bill was necessary to protect the bodily-enslaved workers in our factories, a six-day bill is no less needed, to set free the body and soul-enslaved labourers employed throughout our many thousand miles of railway. Beyond this, I would not have the laws go; nor can I conceive a greater folly than that of a compulsory observance of the Sabbath, and legally enforcing attendance upon the service of God. It is like the well-intentioned but misguided zeal of Darius, when he proclaimed, "I make a decree, that in every dominion of my kingdom men tremble and fear before the God of Daniel." But the Post-office is, as an institution, a mere creature of the law, existing primarily for purposes of revenue, although, under wise and admirable management, made capable of affording great advantage to the nation. It ought, then, more than any other institution, or any other commercial concern, to restrain its operations within legal bounds, and not to employ its legal parentage so as to enable it to transgress the law. This was felt so strongly in the case of money-orders, and the granting and payment of these on the Sabbath was so manifestly and undeniably a commercial transaction, that though commenced, it was immediately put down. But the transmission of letters is quite as much so, and that which has been aimed at by the Post-office has not been accommodation to the public, who have never asked it, but an increase of revenue, by an extension of its business, and consequent addition to its profits, without any additional outlay. It is, indeed, lamentable to think how unscrupulous men become, when an object of this kind is before them, and how, in their judgment, principle loses all its weight, when poised against an increasing revenue. In the matter of the

Post-office, the Government, urged on by the railway companies, who foresaw the application of the principle to themselves, if suffered to prevail in the Post-office, has acted a most unworthy part. In defiance of petitions from at least a million of the people, and of a vote of the House of Commons fairly and honourably obtained, the Government, by the side-wind of a commission of their own, frustrated all the exertions and just expectations of the friends of the Sabbath, in the session of 1850; and, while professing to reduce postal labour throughout the kingdom, have, in reality, increased it. It is, however, a gratifying fact, and one that may well afford encouragement to the friends of the Sabbath, that this metropolis still refuses to allow, and thereby bears testimony against, the desecration of the Lord's Day by a delivery of letters on it; and so long as this example is maintained, so long may it be hoped that the principle on which it is founded may be applied to the whole kingdom, and all traffic in letters be everywhere relinquished.

In turning now to inquire what has been done, or is doing, to check increasing desecration of the Lord's Day, I would remark, that while our Alliance as a body has not effected much, we have to rejoice in the exertions and success of one of our members, and would hope that we are not arrogating too much as an association, when we say, that as one member rejoiceth, all we the members will rejoice with him. It need hardly be said that I allude to the interesting and effective scheme of prize essays, originated by John Henderson, Esq. of Park, and the very remarkable movement amongst the working classes, in defence of their day of rest, that he developed and so ably carried out. The results of that movement are too well known to need much detail respecting it here, and therefore it will suffice to say that it was the means of exercising the talent, and testing the religious principles of the working classes to such an extent, that no less than 1045 essayists competed for the prizes that were at first offered; that, of these, as many as 103 received prizes for their compositions; and that, in the judgment of one of the adjudicators, at least 600 of the essays were worthy of appearing in print. The self-denying labours of this gentleman, Robert Kettle, Esq., of Glasgow, as explained by himself at a public meeting in that city, deserve to be remembered and recorded; for when it is considered that, at the rate of five essays a day, not always of the most legible character, it occupied him 201 days, or between seven and eight months, and that this was, in fact, the rate and measure of his labour of love, an estimate

at least of his work has been formed, although even that will hardly enable us to appreciate its difficulties, anxieties, and mental toil, since this vast number of essays had not only to be read and examined, but their respective merits to be weighed and determined on, and a final judgment to be conclusively given. Of these essays I have been able to collect the following statistics, which cannot fail to be interesting, as proving the extent to which their influence has gone. I would by no means have it understood that I can give a full and complete account of the facts, but the best that I have been able to glean. Of the whole number of essayists I am unable to speak; but of 700, respecting whom I have details, 449 were resident in England, although it deserves to be noted that many of these were Scotchmen, 225 were resident in Scotland, 18 in Ireland, 17 in Wales, 3 in Guernsey and Jersey. Of towns it may be stated, that there were resident in London, 82; Glasgow, 42; Edinburgh, 23; Birmingham, 21; Manchester, 10; Leeds, 10; Aberdeen, 13; Sheffield, 9; Bradford, 9; Liverpool, 8; Hull, 8; Galashiels, 6; Paisley, 6; Perth, 6; Bristol, 5; Cambridge, 5; Oxford, 3. In fact, throughout the whole length and breadth of Great Britain, from Caithness to Cornwall, in almost every county and town, this competition of our working men was known, and everywhere engaged their earnest and devout meditations. Nearly two hundred different trades were to be found amongst the competitors, and they were connected with almost every known denomination of Christians. The following are some of the chief divisions:—

English Independents,	.	.	.	.	.	111
Wesleyan Methodists,	.	.	.	.	.	90
Church of England,	.	.	.	.	.	76
United Presbyterian Church,	.	.	.	.	.	74
Free Church of Scotland,	.	.	.	.	.	65
English Baptists,	.	.	.	.	.	63
Established Church of Scotland,	.	.	.	.	.	39
Scotch Independents,	.	.	.	.	.	20
Primitive Methodists,	.	.	.	.	.	14

The number of essays that have been printed is as follows —

The First Three Prize Essays,	.	.	.	.	.	3
Prize Essays in the "Charter,"	.	.	.	.	.	27
Do. by Religious Tract Society,	.	.	.	.	.	6
Do. by the Authors themselves,	.	.	.	.	.	13
Essays that did not obtain a prize,	.	.	.	.	.	10
Total printed,	.	.	.	.	.	59

Amongst the essays written by working men, there appeared one of a very interesting character, composed by the daughter of a working gardener in Scotland, and published under the title of "The Pearl of Days;" an essay that has met with so much acceptance, that the thirty-eighth thousand of it, in an expensive form, is now on sale; and 13,500 of cheaper editions have been sold, so that the public have laid out, on this essay alone, at a moderate computation, not less than £6000. In conformity with the idea that had thus happily been originated by Mr Henderson, and successfully worked out, similar enterprises have been engaged in, and competitions for essays, upon the same plan, have been carried on in different parts of the kingdom. In London, the Thames Church Mission gave prizes for essays on the Sabbath by working men, and the same has been done at Bath, Bristol, Lancaster, York, and Sheffield, in England; at Caernarvon, in Wales; and at Paisley, Girvan, Stranraer, Glasgow College, Ayr, Stirling, and Kintyre, in Scotland. To sum up the results of this movement in the most comprehensive manner we can, we will endeavour to give an estimate of the number of copies of all these essays that have been dispersed in one mode or another:—

First Three Prize Essays,	. . . . .	195,250
"Pearl of Days,"	. . . . .	50,000
Tract Society's Essays,	. . . . .	179,000
Essays in the "Charter,"	. . . . .	115,500
Hendersonian Testimony Essays,	. . . . .	10,000
Printed by the Authors themselves,	. . . . .	36,000
Essays written for Local Prizes,	. . . . .	24,000

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609,750

The latest result of this essay movement is a highly interesting circumstance, connected with the translation and publication of the first three prize essays in the German language. In the sketch of the author's life, prefixed to his essay by the writer who obtained the third prize, he observes, "Better society than that of my own family, and good books, I desire not." This opinion, it appears, had, in Switzerland, occasioned very considerable discussion amongst those who profess to be the defenders of the Sabbath for the working classes, and they questioned, and demurred to, the statement of a working man himself. The Rev. Alexander Beck of Lohn, in the canton of Schaffhausen, in Switzerland, who had been employed in translating this essay, writes, in reference to the author's view:—"Now, it is almost universally believed in our country,



that in Great Britain the Sunday is kept too anxiously; even many pious people here are in this error. Several of my friends said, some time ago, that it was almost impossible to working people not to go to public-houses (I-mean, inns or taverns) on Sunday, in order to get some refreshment by an honest conversation. They alleged, that we ourselves, being clergymen, needed sometimes another society than that of our wives and children; man was to converse with man. Now, we could enjoy these companies during the week, but it was impossible to workmen; and, therefore, it would be an act of injustice to forbid them to seek such companies on the Lord's Day. To this I answered as much as I could; but I sincerely avow, that, though I did not at all agree with them, yet I am unable to tell them how a working man, who is obliged to spend six days in hard labour, can enjoy the society of his friends, without sacrificing a part of the day of holy rest. Therefore, I resolved to do what Mr Henderson has done—viz., to appeal to a number of the working classes in your country, and as Mr Farquhar, who has become very dear to me by his most able essay, has expressed himself in the manner above-mentioned, it was him to whom I wrote a letter, which you will find here enclosed." Acting upon the idea here suggested, of appealing not to one working man only, but to a number of them, about a hundred circulars were addressed to as many of the Sabbath essayists, inviting them to give their testimony upon the point controverted; to which there have been received twenty-six answers, five letters have been returned as unable to find the persons to whom they were addressed, and one had the notification that the individual was dead. Of the twenty-six answers, some are exceedingly instructive and satisfactory, and serve to shew how deeply those men are still interested in the Sabbath cause, and how well they comprehend, appreciate, and enjoy the blessed and benign purposes for which the holy day was ordained of God. It is worthy of consideration, whether they might not form a small tract, bearing a very important testimony on this particular point of the Sabbath question.

The interest that has been thus excited amongst our working men in defence of their day of rest, has been the occasion of originating amongst them permanent institutions for the maintenance of the same holy cause, and Working Men's Sabbath Protection Societies or Associations have been established at Sunderland, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Glasgow. A very pleasing fact, connected with the Glasgow Association, will shew the

interest taken by our working men in the condition of their brethren on the continent of Europe, and their desire to insure to them the blessings that they themselves enjoy. When M. de Montalembert presented to the National Assembly of France a report from a Committee on Sabbath Observance, appointed at the instance of M. Olivier, and addressed the Assembly with his well-known eloquence on the subject, the members of the Glasgow Working Men's Sabbath Association addressed to him a congratulatory letter, and received from him, in reply, the assurance that "he was most deeply gratified by this mark of the approbation and sympathy of the Association for his feeble efforts in the cause—the respect of the Divine law," and that "he perfectly agreed with the noble and pious feelings expressed in the letter, which had been translated into the French religious papers, and which had given great satisfaction to all good Christians." In contrast with the example of the Glasgow Working Men's Association, it is impossible not to remark upon the conduct of our metropolitan municipal authorities, on the occasion of their recent visit to Paris, when they suffered themselves, upon the principle alleged by the *Times*, of doing at Rome what those of Rome do, to assist at Versailles at the display of waterworks, and the consequent desecration of the Sabbath thereby. It is the more to be regretted that they should have done so, because the Royal Commission in England, by at once and entirely refusing to entertain the idea of opening the Exhibition to foreigners on the Sabbath, had given their strong precedent to the contrary. It is still the more to be regretted, because, to their honour be it spoken, the Peace Society, when in Paris in a former year, declined a similar invitation for the Sabbath, and had their scruples so respected, that the waters were ordered to play on a week-day for them. At the same time, there is cause for gratitude in the fact, that there were some who accompanied the Commission and the City authorities to Paris, so faithful to the Sabbath and to themselves, that they denied themselves the gratification they could on another day have enjoyed—though doubtless, by their denial, they acquired for themselves the still higher enjoyment of preserving a conscience void of offence both before God and man.

Besides the Working Men's Sabbath Protection Associations already spoken of, it is but proper, in a report of this kind, to mention the names, at least, of other influential societies labouring in this cause, and which are so well known as to require no further

notice. Such are the Lord's-day Society in London, and the Sabbath Alliance in Edinburgh, both of which institutions have exerted themselves most faithfully in the work, and are still striving energetically, as occasion offers, to effect greater good. With them also deserves to be mentioned, the Bath Association for Promoting the Due Observance of the Lord's Day, which succeeded in an information against the Great Western Railway Company, in the person of one of their porters, for exercising their ordinary worldly calling on the Sabbath, contrary to the statute, and thereby established the fact that the running of luggage-trains on the Lord's Day is an offence against the laws of this Christian realm.

In concluding this imperfect report—imperfect, because of the difficulty of obtaining detailed statistics for it—it may be permitted me to remind the Conference, that at this time especially, when Sabbath desecration has greatly increased in the various ways and from the various causes already referred to, it seems to be our clear and manifest duty, not to suffer this occasion to pass without placing upon record a faithful testimony respecting this abounding sin; and although we may not be able ourselves, as an Alliance, to do much, yet we may, by the principles we profess, and by the profession we make, stimulate and encourage others to help in staying the progress of this evil.

# ON THE GENERAL STATE AND PROSPECTS OF CHRISTIANITY IN GREAT BRITAIN.

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THE subject I have been invited to bring before the Alliance, and the brethren who are here assembled, is "Christianity in Great Britain, as Externally Professed, and in its Spiritual Influence." Such a topic may form a suitable introduction to statistical reports, but can hardly admit, from its very nature, of a statistical mode of treatment. Spiritual influences are not to be weighed in the scales of the mechanician, and cannot be numbered by the census of the statesman. Their operation is secret in its source, though the effects are mighty and irresistible. They are like the wind, which bloweth where it listeth, the electric currents that silently nurse the thunderstorm, or the unseen ether which bears to us, on its swift and subtle undulations, the light and gladness of heaven. Even if the task were possible in itself, my own habits of thought, and scanty leisure, since it was assigned me, would hinder me from presenting a wide range of religious details, in a tabular and numerical form. I should have resigned the paper, if such were its object, into other hands. But I have been led to understand that it seemed desirable to preface other papers, more directly statistical, by a general view of the religious condition of our country, in the present state of orthodox churches, their relations to each other, and the general influence of the gospel throughout the land.

In attempting such a task, I have to entreat, on the part of the Christian fathers and brethren here assembled, a double measure of kind forbearance. No one but the great Searcher of hearts can pronounce, without the risk of serious error, on the religious state of a whole nation before God; that is, on the presence or absence, the growth or decay, the manifold phases and varieties of true

piety, in millions of his fellow-men. The subject must also, if treated honestly, involve some allusion to various topics on which real Christians, and the members of the Alliance, are divided among themselves. It might almost be said to me, at the commencement—*Incedis per ignes, suppositos cineri doloso*. The volcanic ashes of smouldering controversies lie at every step beneath my feet. But we have learned, I trust, in this Alliance, amidst all our ignorance and infirmities, to understand one another, to bear with each other, to love one another. My sincere aim will be to state my own convictions with modesty, respecting the Church of Christ in our land, from a point of view as impartial and comprehensive as I have been able to attain. I have earnestly sought to read the past and the present, not by the torchlight of transitory prejudices, but by the sunlight of the inspired prophecies in the Word of God. Wherever personal bias or human infirmity may have misled my judgment, I would entreat the brethren who may differ from me to fulfil the law of Christ, by a candid construction and kind forbearance. I would beseech them humbly, by the coming of the Lord Jesus, and our gathering together unto him, to look upon each other in the light of that eternal union they hope soon to enjoy; that they may catch glimpses of the wisdom of their Lord in the whole course of his providence, and, even while the standards of the tribes may be pitched somewhat apart, amidst sandy wastes of strife and discord, may see the pillar of cloud and fire like a glory in the midst of them, or moving onward before them; and thus may say from the heart, “In Christ Jesus, neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature. And as many as walk by this rule, peace be upon them, and mercy, even upon the Israel of God!” May he bless the remarks I shall offer, however imperfect, to the increase of Christian thoughtfulness, and the furtherance of truth and love.

I propose, first, to review briefly the religious history of our country, that we may thus perceive more clearly the present state and future prospects of British Christianity, whether as externally professed, or in its saving influence upon the souls of men.

I. The present religious state of Great Britain is the result of many causes, which have been at work ever since the time of the Reformation.

Even in the Middle Ages, religion, in the wider sense of the term, had great influence on the national mind of England. There was the deep and strong instinct of reverence to an unseen power. The

fear of judgment to come was almost universal. Various usages, which implied a sense of religious duty, entered into all the associations of daily life. In this sense, Christianity had perhaps a wider influence, than in the present day, over the mass of the British people. But it was Christianity only in name. In reality, it was a revived heathenism of idolatrous services, or the Judaism of self-righteous pride—of human ceremonies and vain traditions.

True Christianity is of a higher kind. It is the religion of regenerate hearts. It is the communion of pardoned sinners, in filial confidence, with their heavenly Father, to whom they are reconciled by the blood of Jesus, while they travel onward, in humility and hope, to their glorious resurrection. Its fruits will be a glowing love to the Saviour, delight in his pleasant and holy service, and sincere and fervent charity to all our fellow-men. It is beautifully summed up in these words of the great apostle—“The grace of God, which bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men, teaching us, that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world; looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ; who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.”

This true religion of gospel grace had its first main revival in Britain at the time of the Reformation. That mighty change, prefigured in prophecy by the descent of the mighty Angel, with the rainbow of the covenant around his head, to reclaim impenitent Christendom from its gross idolatries, rapidly spread its light from Germany to our own island. The feeble remnants of the true Church were animated with new life, and the testimony to the gospel had a sudden and marvellous resurrection. A powerful counterpoise to the mighty influence of the Papacy began to be formed, and emboldened Henry to venture on an open breach with the court of Rome. The separation, which in him was chiefly one of pride and passion, though contending against pride still more rampant, and passion still more unbridled, became, in his son, a movement of deep and heartfelt piety, and in his daughter Elizabeth, one of intellectual conviction and far-seeing policy. But all these motives together would scarcely have enabled them to break the iron yoke of the Roman See, if new truths, from the open Bible, had not swept, like a mighty wind, over the heart-strings of the nation. Not only Tyndale, and Fryth, and Coverdale, and Latimer,

and Hooper, and Cranmer, and Ridley, and Bradford, and Sanders, but tens of thousands unknown to fame—

——— “whose ashes flew,  
No marble tells us whither”—

had begun to taste the glorious liberty wherewith Christ makes his people free. The candle of gospel truth was lit at the flames of the martyrs; and though it may sometimes have flickered in the socket, their dying hope has been verified among us, and it has never gone out to the present day.

From this period the Church of England, as a Reformed, Protestant, and National Church, had its birth. A powerful and lasting school of religious thought and feeling began, which is still represented, with some slight changes, by the Evangelical Churchmen of our own days. A true estimate of its defects and excellencies, if our various and opposite prejudices allowed us to attain it, would help us greatly to a just view of our actual position; since it probably still numbers under its standard the largest body of true believers within the British islands, and one of the most important, from their national and social position, within the compass of the whole Christian world.

The main features of the Reformation, in England and on the Continent, were a testimony for the pure worship of God against Christian idolatry, and for simple faith in Christ and his atoning sacrifice against the self-righteous inventions and traditions of men. But special circumstances in our island gave a further character to the movement. Our king and parliament early took the lead in separation from the Church of Rome. The protest thus assumed, from the first, a national character. The idea was received and acted upon, that nations owe a collective and public allegiance to Christ. Hence, the whole strength of real piety in the land was directed, first, to the object of purifying the national faith and worship; so that the doctrines of grace, in a creed nationally owned, and the exclusive worship of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, in a simple and solemn ritual, might be openly inscribed on the national banner of England, which had been defiled till then with all the will-worship, wafer-worship, and false doctrine of the Church of Rome.

From these distinctive features in this first stage of Britain's religious awakening, our country became, in an eminent degree, the political bulwark of the Reformation. As the false religion of the Papacy was inextricably linked with a vast political usurpation,

so also the testimony to the gospel, among the English Reformers, was mixed with a strong patriotic feeling of national independence. The conflict was not simply between two adverse creeds, but between two rival states; and the bull of Pius V. was a formal declaration of war, by the Papacy, against a protesting kingdom, which it still claimed as a province of its own universal empire. The religious struggle first revealed itself brightly in the fires of Smithfield; it continued in the solemn mourning of the British court for the Bartholomew massacre; while medals were struck, and *Te Deums* were sung at Rome, to celebrate the barbarous triumph; and it issued soon in the rising of a queen, her fleets, her armies, and her people, to repel the fierce aggression of their enemy, when the counter-medal was struck—*Efflavit Deus, et dissipantur*—and the invincible Armada was wrecked on our shores.

From this historical source, the religion of Evangelical Churchmen inherits, perhaps, alike both its strength and its weakness. Its strength consists, I believe, in the firm hold, as an objective creed, on the truths developed in the earliest councils of the Church, and on the doctrines of grace; in its love of order and instinct of reverence in Divine worship; in its strong sense of historical unity with the Church of early times; in its faith in Christ, as the Lord of all providence, and the true King of nations. From this fountain proceeds, also, a deep yearning after national unity, a high standard of national duty, and a habitual and enlarged recognition of God's mercies, in the past deliverances and actual privileges of our beloved land. Among its weaknesses, I conceive, are a double tendency to national pride, and to selfish isolation from foreign Christians; a frequent defect of individual life and freedom of thought; an apprehension of Divine truth too traditional and formal, and resting too much on human authority; a readiness to sacrifice Christian liberty to barren and lifeless uniformity, and to keep up the width and fulness of a national confession at the expense of personal sincerity and truth; and last, but not least, the frequent proneness to a secular and worldly tone of thought in spiritual things. The light and the darkness have both received a large development, and have borne the fruit of rich blessings, and of a grievous curse, to our Church, our country, and to the whole world.

The Puritan movement, which began to gather strength under the first James, and issued in the Revolution of 1688, was the second main era of religious awakening. When the first love of the Reformation began to decay, and the evil tendencies within



the Reformed Establishment of Elizabeth disclosed themselves in religious formality, secular profaneness, and ecclesiastical oppression, the Spirit of God moved once more upon the turbid and unquiet waters. A new religious movement, attended with a new religious instinct, took place within the British churches. The objective character of Christianity had been prominent in the Reformation, as a pure faith and worship. Its social aspect was conspicuous in the new movement. The name of Puritan, which soon fastened on its disciples, expresses well its distinctive character, in its aim at a pure communion of true believers. Hypocrisy and worldliness, to a fearful extent, had nestled under the shadow of the Reformed Establishment. The distinction between the true Church and the world, so important to keep ever in view, so impossible to exhibit fully on this side of heaven, was denied or forgotten. The court, the centre of the national profession, was stained with profligacy. The rulers of the Church, the official guardians of the Protestant faith, lapsed towards Popery again. The *Book of Sports* was issued, Sabbath-breaking enforced by law, and a broad stream of open profaneness was rushing through the land. Then the iron entered into the soul. The conscience of all pious Christians was revolted, their attachment to the Church was shaken, and the cry arose for a second Reformation, that the communion of saints might be a blessed reality, and not a hateful fiction. When the struggle began, there can be little doubt that nearly all the pious of the land were on the side of the movement. As it went on and prospered, the stream widened, and grew more impure. Opposite evils, of strife, confusion, fanaticism, and hypocrisy, and a violent and bloodthirsty spirit, began to disclose themselves in repulsive forms. The truly religious became divided in their judgment, as they were more alive to past or to present evils. After the Church and constitution had been overthrown, a short season of military rule, even in the hands of professed champions of liberty and religion, produced a general longing for the Restoration. The pious fondly hoped that, while order and reverence would be restored, freedom would have made some progress from the lessons of experience; and a wise and temperate course would probably have united nine-tenths of their number in a purified, comprehensive, and tolerant Church of England. But opposite counsels prevailed; and a second Bartholomew day, only less deplorable than the first, sealed for ages the sentence of violence and guilt upon the Church of England, and of strife and discord

upon the Church of Christ. The vices of Charles and his court, the severity of the rulers of the Church, the Popery and tyranny of the second James, almost revived the desire for a republic again. The Revolution restored the balance between two extremes which experience had proved to be almost equally dangerous. Of the true Church of Christ, a large portion, in its love of order and unity, retained its attachment to the Establishment, which was settled more clearly than ever on a Protestant basis, by the Act of Succession. But a large portion, which more fully represented the Puritan movement, was permanently embodied in the Independent and Baptist communities, and in the Scotch Secessions; while a public proof was given of the social power they had gained, and a pledge secured to them of their hard-won liberty, in the Act of Toleration.

This new school of religious thought, like the former, had its positive and negative side. Its chief strength, I conceive, lay in a practical call to sincerity of Christian profession, and purity of church communion, in contrast to formality and worldliness; and in its desire of liberty for the individual conscience, as opposed to a rigid uniformity of human creed and worship. Its weakness was seen, I think, in a frequent tendency to narrow isolation of thought, and to mere self-will, of which the natural result, sooner or later, is doctrinal heresy. Each congregation of believers was to be a real church, where the living communion of saints might be felt and realised. In many cases, a large measure of this blessing was attained, and many souls were brought to Christ, nursed in living faith, and prepared to be jewels in his crown for ever. But the union of these congregations, as parts of one mighty whole, though not entirely lost, was often greatly obscured. The spiritual Jerusalem, from a vast and mighty temple, compacted together of living stones, was in danger of being reduced to a heap of unconnected and petty fragments. These little fellowships of believers, without a common creed, or ritual, or government, tended to lose sight of their intimate relation to the whole family of God, and to the history of the Church in every former generation. Wherever, in such a state of things, the spiritual life, which alone held them together, began to decline, there would be danger of a frequent recoil, from endless subdivisions, into the shadowy, but magnificent and imposing unity, of the Church of Rome.

The Revolution was followed, in all the British Churches, by a

season of torpor and decay. The infidel movement which spread over the Continent in the last century, began early in our own island. Our Tolands, and Wollastons, and Bolingbrokes, were pioneers to the unbelievers and rationalists of France and Germany. A palsy seized on the religious life of Britain, in the reaction from the bitter and furious contests of the previous generation. Instead of a living faith in the Son of God, there was a dry, defensive advocacy of Christianity. The clergy sank very generally into a school of worldly moralists, or, as Horsley styled them, apes of Epictetus. In the Scottish Church a lifeless moderatism also prevailed; and while some of the dissenting churches lapsed into heresy, the rest languished in contented weakness, and the charge of Christ to preach the gospel to every creature was almost universally forgotten.

In this time of grievous decay, the Spirit of God once again visited his inheritance, and a third religious revival began. The simple and apostolic fervour of Whitefield and the Wesleys came like an electric shock upon this formal and lifeless age. The personal and individual aspect of Christianity was now peculiarly enforced and developed. The aim of the movement was not to reform a corrupt creed and idolatrous worship—not to recast the constitution and purify the discipline of existing churches—but to bow the sinner's heart by the terrors of the law, and allure it by the grace of the gospel; and thus to secure personal holiness, by a direct conversion from sin and vanity to the service of the Redeemer. Its leaders arose within the bosom of the Establishment, and retained to the last their personal attachment to it; but their zeal led them soon to overpass the limits imposed by its laws or its usages, and they preached the gospel indifferently in church or chapel, or by the wayside. The new impulse was felt in England, Scotland, Ireland, America, in the two Establishments, and among the dissenting communities. But while the leaven worked powerfully in all, the movement was distinct in its nature from those which had preceded it. The stream of life parted, as it flowed onward, and pursued its course in three different channels. The old Reformation school of piety, within the Churches of England and Scotland, and the Puritan school, in the Dissenting and Secession churches, received an increase of numbers and strength, and were modified by the new element. Individual piety was more insisted on, and questions of national testimony and of church discipline were left more in the background on either side. But

the most marked and visible fruit of the new revival was the rise of the Methodist body, among whom its main feature, as a direct call to personal religion, received the fullest exhibition.

The Methodist Connexion, the fruit of this third revival, may be viewed, in some respects, as mediating between the Puritan school and that of the Reformation. Its leaders were Churchmen in theory, and orthodox Dissenters in their actual position. Their doctrinal views diverged from those of the Reformers and the Puritans by a more cautious and limited statement of Divine grace, and a more full and earnest enforcing of man's responsibility for accepting or resisting the gospel. They dwelt less on a full objective testimony to doctrinal truth, or a specific form of church order, and laid the chief stress on personal convictions of sin, the direct apprehension of the Saviour's love, and the inward work of Christian experience. The peculiar feature of their worship was the strong excitement of religious feeling, and special proneness for the cultivation of experimental religion.

This school of religious thought, like those which preceded it, had peculiar defects and special excellencies. Its strength consisted in the direct appeal to the conscience, for a personal sense of sin, and a personal acceptance of mercy in the Saviour. What could it profit, to hold up in words the noblest testimony to revealed truth, or to have a church the most rigorously pure in its formal constitution, if the soul were still dead in trespasses and sins? Without personal piety in the members, national churches must soon become an organised hypocrisy, and the strict communion of the Independent or Baptist churches, a deceptive and repulsive Pharisaism. Doctrine, however full and complete, and discipline, however exact and scriptural in its forms, could avail nothing, without real and vital godliness in the hearts of men. On this great and simple truth rested the power and strength of the new movement.

On the other hand, the stress laid almost exclusively at first on religious emotion contained the germ of serious evils, which were not slow to appear. Much dross was soon mingled with the fine gold of the Spirit of God. Deep feelings, without the guidance of full objective truth, or the restraints of fixed and settled order, may soon degenerate into false excitement and religious extravagance. Even the secret work of the Spirit on the heart, if unduly and unseasonably exposed to others, loses its delicate fragrance; and the communion of saints, on their hidden conflicts and

glorious hopes, when once mechanised, may sink into vulgar cant and revolting hypocrisy. When church order is viewed as entirely a matter of expediency, there is danger lest it should contract a capricious and arbitrary character, and issue, whenever the spiritual life decays, in a conflict between the love of power and the instinct of self-will, with no ancient usage or clearly defined principle to moderate between them. Even the habit of viewing religion as a personal concern, when prominent and exclusive, may produce a spiritual selfishness, most alien from the spirit of Christ. He who cares for nothing else than his own salvation has not yet found the way of life, and can have nothing of that noble and self-forgetting faith which burned in the heart of prophets and apostles in the days of old.

Evangelical Churchmen, orthodox Dissenters, and Wesleyan Methodists, appear thus to have arisen from three distinct and successive revivals of religion in Great Britain, and represent their effects visibly in our own days. The unity, in all of them, is real and substantial; the differences, though also real, are partial and subordinate. Each school has its excellencies and its failings; each may receive wisdom from the others, and may impart to them in its turn. Each had its origin from the quickening Spirit of God, and has contracted impurity from the sin and infirmity of men. The divine or objective character of the gospel as a witness for God, its social character as a communion of believers, its personal aspect as an inward experience of the heart, receives in each a peculiar prominence. The first, in my view of it, aims the highest, but sinks the farthest below its own ideal. The second, with less grandeur, aims at greater reality, and, in some imperfect measure, attains it. The third, less complete and comprehensive in theory, is more intensely practical, and has thus been honoured as perhaps the chief instrument of religious awakening among the poorer classes of our country.

A fourth era of Providence now followed, in which these three main schools of evangelical piety in England were partly fused together, by their common obedience to Christ in one of his plainest and most neglected commands. While the French Revolution burst on the Continent like an earthquake, a new spirit of missionary zeal was gradually awakened in all the British churches.

In this new impulse the words of our Lord were verified, as to the order of the movement—the last was first, and the

first was last. The Wesleyan body, the latest in its origin, was the earliest in the field, by its mission, in 1786, to Nova Scotia. Next, in 1792, the first year of the French Republic, the Baptist Society was founded, and their first mission set out to India, about the time when the death of Louis had shrouded all Europe with fear and gloom. The London Society was formed in 1795. Its first mission to Tahiti set out the next year, while Napoleon was laying the foundation of his colossal, but transitory greatness, in the Italian campaigns, and has gained far nobler and more enduring triumphs. The Scotch Society followed in the same year. The Church Missionary Society, with that powerful auxiliary of home and foreign missions, the Tract Society, was formed in 1799. Its first missionaries were two German brethren of the Lutheran Church, from the birthplace of the Reformation. They set out to their perilous mission in West Africa in 1804, the same year which crowned these new efforts of Christian zeal by the birth of that noble and blessed institution, the British and Foreign Bible Society. Millions of copies of the Scriptures, in a hundred and fifty dialects, are the witnesses to its activity, and prove it one of the mightiest helpers to the progress of the gospel in these latter days.

Three successive stages may be distinguished in this missionary era of the British churches. The first was one of infancy and preparation, and lasted till the pacification of Europe. This Benjamin, beloved of the Lord, was also a son of sorrow, and had his birth amidst the death-pangs of trampled nations. During this period the success was small, the contributions limited, and the labourers very few. But experience had been gained, faith had been largely exercised, and many posts of importance were occupied on the frontiers of heathendom, in North America and the West Indies, in West and South Africa—in North and South India and Ceylon, in Tartary, in Burmah, at the gates of China, in the Society and Friendly Islands, and even at our very antipodes, in New Zealand. A distinct society, for the conversion of the Jews, had also been added, in 1809, to these various societies for missions to the heathen; and the Gospel Propagation Society, a few years later, shared also in the same revival of missionary zeal. The second stage, from the peace to the second French Revolution, in 1830, was one of steady and rapid increase in all these various societies, till they assumed a manly growth,

and became a prominent feature of our national history. The third period of twenty years, since 1830, has been one of partial increase, but also of conflict and reaction. Political strife, superstitious tendencies, and infidel philosophy, have all troubled, more or less, the British churches. A rapidly increasing population have outgrown the means of grace, and Popery and infidelity have striven to establish their ascendancy over them. But there has been a reaction of another kind. The zeal of Christians, nursed by foreign missions, has returned to gaze on the movements nearer home, and been stirred up to fresh efforts for diffusing the gospel among the masses of the people, and providing the means of knowledge and the ordinances of worship for the millions of our own land. Experience of the evils of religious strife, and a sense of the spiritual dangers of the Church of Christ, have increased the instinctive longing for union among her divided followers; while of late the political convulsions of the Continent have deepened the conviction, that Christians should work while it is day, because a night of sorrow and confusion may come, in which no man can work.

II. This review of the past will help us to see clearly the present condition of the British churches, in the state of each separate body, in their relations to each other, to the nation, to foreign brethren, and to the heathen world. On each of these topics I would offer a few remarks, entreating forbearance for any unconscious errors into which I may fall, or any bias of prejudice that may, unknown to myself, lead my judgment astray.

1. The Church of England, from its influence and social standing, claims the first notice. There can be no doubt that evangelical religion has received a vast extension within its pale during the last sixty years. The sincere preachers of the gospel, who might then be reckoned by tens or hundreds, are now reckoned by thousands. The state of the Church Missionary, the Gospel Propagation, and the Pastoral Aid Societies, is alone enough to prove the great extension of active zeal among its members. The stream has widened immensely in its progress; and the labours of love emanating from this fountain embrace our home population—the peasantry of Ireland—the churches of the Continent, especially in France and Switzerland—the scattered people of Israel—the colonies of our empire—and the heathen tribes in East and West Africa, in North and South America, in India, the Punjab, Ceylon,

China, Loochoo, Borneo, and New Zealand. The harvest is indeed plenteous, and though the labourers are still few, their number has increased twenty-fold since the opening of the century, fifty years ago.

What is the reverse to this bright side of the picture? The stream has widened, and it may be feared that it has grown shallower also. The few evangelical clergy, who were faithful to the truth in the middle of the last century, shone indeed as lights in our evil world. Their faith was strong, their zeal intense; their piety deep, self-denying, and simple. The power of the Spirit rested eminently on their labours, and souls in great numbers were born anew to God under their ministry. Such a measure of faith, and such a degree of blessing, are now very rare. An evangelical profession has become more popular, but faith and zeal have too often declined. When we compare ourselves with Venn and Milner, and Fletcher and Newton, we have reason to be humbled at our lower standard, and fainter impression of eternal things. Hence the offence of the cross has greatly ceased; the Church is in danger of being reckoned merely a powerful instrument for improving the morals of society, and its higher aim forgotten, of preparing dying and guilty sinners, through the blood of the Lamb, for a joyful resurrection to eternal glory in the kingdom of God.

Again, the last twenty years have witnessed the growth of a new spirit within the Established Church, directly opposed to the evangelical principles of the Reformation. The two lines of thought, by the confession of the leaders in the movement, are not only diverging, but contrary. The design has been deliberately formed, and steadily prosecuted, to unprotestantise the Church of England. The loud assertion of exclusive privileges, conveyed by apostolic succession to the clergy, so that they alone represent the true Church of Christ in the land, blinded the eyes, for a time, of the less discerning and spiritual even among evangelical Churchmen, and made them rather countenance than discourage the new movement, while the high-church party, to a great extent, lent it their full and active support. Thus zealously encouraged on the one side, and too feebly opposed by those who ought from the first to have seen its danger, the little cloud overspread the ecclesiastical firmament. And how has it repaid the unwise tampering with its early progress by the disciples of the Reformation? By a vigorous effort to exclude them, first from one or two



dioceses, and then from the very pale of the Establishment. About a hundred of the clergy have openly deserted to the Church of Rome; and enough remain behind, tainted with the same principles, and imbued with the same doctrines, to make the Church of England like a camp divided against itself, where two parties, representing the Middle Age and the Reformation, are in open and almost deadly hostility one to the other.

To these dangers is added another from a different but closely allied quarter. The external progress of Popery has been considerable, and its main efforts are clearly directed against our country, and eminently against the Established Church, as the most formidable hindrance in its way. A diocesan rivalry has already begun, and will perhaps be followed next by a parochial conflict, and a systematic effort to supplant the Protestant faith by a rival teaching in every parish and district of the land.

Rationalism is another danger to which the Church of England has been latterly exposed. The spread of natural science, and the increased intercourse with the Continent, have brought upon its members a fiery ordeal of infidel speculations. The isolation of thought to which our insular position has often led, and the quiet acceptance of inherited opinions, are melting away before the spirit of the age, and have left the minds of too many utterly confused and unsettled, mistrustful of their old creed, and ready to be carried about by every wind of doctrine. The faithful brethren on the Continent have been earlier exposed to the danger, and a healthy revival has begun in their case to succeed the first brunt of temptation. Our conflicts with this enemy are still to come. Neology, perhaps, not less than semi-popery, is likely soon to be the chief temptation of the English clergy.

Yet amidst these evils and dangers there are grounds of hope. The late secessions to Popery, and its open advances, have torn the veil from many eyes, and shewn the need of a simpler and more earnest adherence to the great truths of the Reformation. Pious Churchmen are beginning to feel once more how much nearer they are to pious Christians of other bodies, than to formalists and semi-papists, though these may still bear the name of Churchmen. The aggressions of Rome have increased the longing for Protestant union. The troubles of the Continent, and the condition of the masses at home, have impressed the minds of the pious clergy and laity with a more humble, earnest, and practical tone of thought. The need of spiritual revival within the Church

is deeply felt and plainly acknowledged. There has been also a growing sympathy with our foreign brethren, and a greater readiness to recognise faith and zeal, and the fruits of the Spirit, beyond that enclosure of the Establishment which has been too often, with not a few of its faithful and pious members, the practical boundary of their own spiritual horizon.

2. The Irish branch of the United Church was a fearful example, in former generations, of the corruption and worldliness to which an establishment is exposed, even with a Protestant creed, and pure formularies of worship. The last forty years have witnessed a mighty change. From being the most lifeless and corrupt, it has become, perhaps, the most faithful, zealous, and simply evangelical portion, of the three national-churches. At the present hour it is making a great and effectual inroad on the superstitious darkness that surrounds it. There may be, even now, many defects and evils within its pale; and its position may still be deemed, perhaps, by many Christians, a great social anomaly. The obloquy it has borne, partly from this cause, and still more from the guilt of former generations, may have sometimes produced in its clergy a jealous and polemical spirit, a readiness to impute the worst motives, when assaults were felt or thought to be unjust, an estrangement of heart from all dissenting Christians, and a point of view, in religious matters, too narrow, one-sided, and confined. Till of late, there was also a very faint sense of the obligation to spread the gospel among their Roman Catholic countrymen, and too little faith in its Divine power to break through the mighty barrier of superstitious prejudice, and recover Ireland itself to the liberty of Christ. Within these few years, the reproach has begun to be rolled away, and thousands are turning, in consequence of the zealous labours of the Irish clergy, from the idols of Rome to a simple and hearty faith in the Word of God.

3. The Scotch Church, during the present century, has also had a great revival. Its evangelical members, who had long been a weak minority, rose gradually in numbers and influence, and the zeal and eloquence of the lamented Chalmers had no little share, under God, in producing this marked and manifest change. It secured at length a majority in the General Assembly, and became the governing power of the Established Kirk. Those well-known discussions followed, on the right of patronage, which have issued in the Free Church secession, with a noble testimony to the

strength of conscientious conviction, and a grievous rent in the visible Church. It is needless and unwise to dwell on events in detail which are so notorious, and which are viewed so diversely by different Christians. The result has been, that the Free Church now comprises a large amount of simple, active, earnest piety, united in a full profession of evangelical truth, and abounding in works of love; while the Established Church, though sorely drained of its former life's-blood, has in part, but still imperfectly, repaired its loss, and contains, perhaps, more evangelical ministers than the whole Establishment possessed at the opening of the century. The bitterness of feeling which followed the Disruption seems also to have subsided, though convictions may remain unaltered on either side, and has passed into a zealous rivalry of benevolent activity. The earlier secessions have also received a new impulse towards union. The full creed, the compact organisation, and the northern energy of the Free Church, with its central position between the Established churches and the older Dissenting communities, have also fitted its members to advance the cause of union on a larger scale; and they have thus been among the foremost and most effectual helpers in recent efforts to re-unite the scattered tribes of the spiritual Israel.

4. The Congregational and Baptist bodies, the representatives of the Puritan revival, have advanced greatly during the last sixty years in number and social influence. Recovering soon from the political fever which seized on many of them at the time of the French Revolution, they devoted themselves to the work of home and foreign missions; and, while they were prospered in their labours abroad, and blessed with much usefulness at home, they achieved, after several fruitless efforts, their restoration to political power and social honour. Their outward prosperity, thus secured, was not free from spiritual temptation. Many of them, conceiving that the times were ripe for the full triumph of their ecclesiastical principles, turned from the direct work of preaching Christ to sinners, and devoted much of their strength to an earnest crusade against the Established churches. The sincere motive, in most cases, was a conviction that the fall of these would remove a hindrance to the spread of true religion. But whether this conviction, or other causes, had the chief share in the movement, it proved to be a failure, and brought in its train very serious evils. One of these was the alienation of pious Churchmen, who began to view Dissenters indiscriminately with dislike and suspicion, as their open and

avowed enemies. This feeling prepared the way, within the Church itself, for the success of the Tractarian movement. The Dissenters, on the other hand—if a bystander may be an impartial judge—compromised their simplicity of faith and spirituality of feeling, by the worldly alliances into which they were led in the pursuit of their new object. Their moral strength, as Christians, consisted in the practical aim at a purer communion of saints than was practised, or perhaps attainable, in the national churches. But when once they appeared, to unfriendly eyes, a school of agitators, joined in league with Romanists, Unitarians, worldlings, and infidels, the talisman of their strength was lost, and their influence began to decline. The more spiritual among them at length saw and deplored the change. They began to feel that the disestablishment of the Church, however desirable they might still deem it in its own nature, could only be safe or beneficial if it were brought about by the altered convictions of pious Churchmen, and not by the hand of open violence from the dissolute, the profane, and the unbelieving, when all religion might be swept away in the general ruin. The cause of spiritual religion and true liberty, they also perceived, was betrayed and not advanced, by a hollow league, for a temporary purpose, with the Papist and the infidel. Thus the experience of evil brought with it largely, though not universally, the return to a sounder as well as a gentler course. A yearning arose among them once more for spiritual revival and Christian union. A large body of pious and orthodox Dissenters have thus been prepared to take part, not only in all direct efforts for the spread of the gospel, and to resist Popery and infidelity, but also in every sincere attempt to heal the breaches of Zion by mutual forbearance, friendly conference, and brotherly love.

5. The Wesleyan body, for sixty years, have shared largely in the common progress of the nation. Their labours have often been greatly blessed among the poorer classes; and a higher standard of education and refinement has been introduced among their ministers, many of whom, in the early days of Methodism, had small pretensions to scholarship or theological training. Along with this extension of their body, and social elevation of its teachers, there was also some danger of internal decay. Their neutral position saved them, it is true, from many evils to which Churchmen and Dissenters were alike exposed, in the conflicts that followed the shock of the second French Revolution. They were neither tempted to ally themselves with political Popery, nor yet to slide into eccle-

siastical Popery, in recoiling from external dangers. But peace, no less than conflict, has its perils. It was hard, amidst outward prosperity, and growing influence and credit, to maintain the holy standard of faith and practice which Fletcher and the two Wesleys had set before their fathers. Possibly, without any violent fall, there may have been some decline from their first love. There has, at least, been enough, here as elsewhere, to teach lessons of humility and prayer, in the view of those manifold infirmities which are shared by every branch of the Church of Christ. May the fires of affliction be purifying in their influence, that this great community, as its labours have been abundant, and its extension constant and increasing, may have its spiritual life renewed; and that all its members, along with other bodies of evangelical believers, may shake off every scandal, and rise out of every difficulty, and strive upward into the perfect unity of faith and love.

Such appears to be the origin and actual position of these main divisions, which compose the evangelical Christianity of Great Britain. What, then, is the present relation of these bodies to each other? Strifes and jealousies have not ceased, but they have been suspended or abated by the view of common dangers, and by the recollection of their common faith in Christ and his Word. Each of them seems awakening, in some measure, to the consciousness of its own defects, and a partial recognition of some excellence more conspicuous in its neighbours. Pious Churchmen, in general, with a hearty love to the Established Church, feel that there is much in it to regret and deplore—false teaching, lax discipline, worldly conformity—and that a strong Popish party, whose views of doctrine are adverse to the gospel, is still sheltered within its bosom. The painful conflicts of late among the Wesleyans have doubtless taught its members, in their turn, lessons of godly jealousy and deep humility, and produced a readiness to inquire whether this great offshoot of the Church of England has nothing still to learn from the mother whose roof she has just left, or from her sisters who left it earlier, and departed further from under its shadow. Our Dissenting brethren, in many cases, feel strongly the evils and dangers of endless separation in their churches, and the need of more spiritual life and love, and possibly of a more compact organisation, of more regard to precedent, and less to momentary impulses, if they are to prevent their assemblies from sinking into mere debating societies, as one of them has proposed to make them, and retain the dignity of solemn gather-

ings of the redeemed of the Lord, for acts of sacred and holy worship. While they retain a jealous attachment to what they account their special privilege—religious liberty, many a secret sigh is breathed among them, when they study the nature of evils which appear in the dim horizon, for more of order and unity, of quiet, simple faith in old truth, and holy reverence for Christian ordinances. All parts of the army of the Lord have begun to feel their own shortcomings and dangers, and are tending slowly, by the pathway of humility, to a higher unity in the faith and knowledge of the Son of God.

With these hopeful symptoms, which apply to many of the true children of God, there are others less encouraging. The stream of religion has grown wider, but has lost in depth, if not in purity also. Believers are multiplied, but the tone of piety is often lowered by the worldliness of our bustling age. The lust of the eye and the pride of life have an insidious and fatal influence. Our sense of God's presence is dim and feeble. Our worship is often so customary and formal, that it can hardly be called the service of the living God. Our spirits are so earthly, that we seldom rise to the experience of the early Christians—to wait for the Son of God from heaven. Amidst the countless details of religious activity in churches, chapels, meetings, and societies, a blight of littleness seems to pass over all the grandeur and the glory of eternal things. Covetousness has fearfully spread through the Church, and thousands have thereby made shipwreck of faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows. We want a living faith, a glowing, hearty, and generous love. Truth often sinks into a conflict of doubtful opinions, and religion into a matter of sect and party names. The inward life of the soul, communing with the Father of spirits, is then exchanged for a busy diligence in outward labours, the form without the power of godliness. Where, in these our days, is the Lord God of Elijah? Where is the overwhelming sense of the Divine presence, to abase our pride, rebuke our strife, still our passions and jealousies, and lay our souls in the dust before the footstool of Infinite Holiness? How little does our religion bear the stamp of the great apostle, when he uttered that instructive voice of adoring reverence—"Now, unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen."

What is the state of vital Christianity in the nation at large? There are silent accessions to the faith, but no eminent measure of

spiritual revival. The churches, to a great extent, languish in drought; and the spiritual ploughmen cover their heads, because the pastures are withered. The dews may still descend in silence upon the Lord's heritage, but there are no abundant showers of blessing. The means of grace are multiplied, though still very unequal to the wants of the population; but we are not humbled, as we ought to be, that the victories of grace are so few. Evils are crowding in around us. Popery is organising its forces, to kill and take possession of this favoured vineyard. Infidel publications are leavening the minds of tens of thousands in our great towns, and spread through the land like an hourly pestilence. New forms of delusion, such as Mormonism, have also swept away tens of thousands from their nominal faith in the gospel. All things incite us to earnest effort, mingled with deep confession of guilt; for the sins of our churches are many, and our backslidings have been increased.

III. Let us now glance at those duties which rest on British Christians, from the providence of God in these past revivals, the actual state of the world, and the solemn prospects that open before us.

1. First, what is the voice which speaks to us, and especially to evangelical Churchmen, from the tombs of the martyrs in the days of the Reformation? More generally it says, "Cleave to the pure written Word of God. Hold fast the worship of God alone, in spirit and truth. Maintain the prerogatives of faith in Christ against all the inventions of men." More specially, I conceive it also says, "Cherish your national testimony to the name of Christ. Cleanse it from the dross of superstition and intolerance, but maintain the boon itself as a sacred inheritance."

And here suffer me to explain, in a few words, the condition of those Protestant Churchmen, who appear to me the historical representatives of the first revival of true religion, or of the British Reformers. We are not blind to many evils in the past and present state of the Church of England. We can see, perhaps, not less clearly than others, the double evil to which national churches are exposed, of increasing strife and jealousy by social distinctions, and of lulling many into false peace, under a superficial profession of Christianity. If this were all, no sordid motives, we trust, would make us hesitate for a moment to yield to the friendly advice so often given, and to cast ourselves down from an unsafe elevation on the pinnacles of the national temple. Why,

then, do we cleave with fond attachment to a Church, in which we own the presence of grave practical evils, and which many, whom we honour for their sincere piety, are accustomed to load with reproach, as crippled, palsied, and degraded by union with the State? Because, in spite of these reproaches, we conceive that a sacred trust has been committed to us by the Lord; and that to surrender it, without the plainest call of duty, would be treachery to Him. While others may fix their eyes on dark shadows, that sleep around the towers of our national Church, we fancy that we see lofty pinnacles of truth above them, bathed in the pure light of heaven; and even to get rid of these hateful shadows, we dare not join in the cry of the sons of Edom, and say to the temple, where our martyred fathers worshipped, "Down with it!—down with it, even to the ground!" It may be hard, perhaps even impossible, in the present imperfect state, fully to reconcile the duty of kings, and princes, and rulers, to consecrate their power, their greatness, their wealth, and their authority, to Christ our Lord, the Prince of the kings of the earth, with the just claims of private conscience, and the obligation to aim at purity and sincerity of church communion. But we are persuaded that one duty is revealed as plainly as the other; and that, although its maintenance may involve difficulties and conflicts, and seem to interfere with the fulfilment of other duties, also of high importance, its wilful abandonment would be a grievous and fatal blow to the interests of true religion. If there be one fact above others on the broad face of history, which seems to us a blessed earnest of the coming redemption, it is this: There is an empire which spans the world, and rules over the antipodes, the foremost in the race of art and science and material greatness, the home of peace, and laws, and liberty, amidst the struggles of despotism and anarchy in other lands. And this empire owns the dominion of Christ, and is a public, though, alas! an inconsistent witness, against the claims of Antichrist. Its sovereign, at her coronation, receives the Word of God as the supreme law to which she vows allegiance, and lays her honours and her greatness, by a solemn act, at the foot of the Lord Jesus. In that land the palaces of commerce and industry bear on their front the testimony—"The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; the world, and all they that dwell therein." When art and science have gathered their choicest treasures, and all nations come to gaze on the unequalled spectacle, the sovereign of that empire, before her assembled subjects, and strangers from



every land, joins in a solemn thanksgiving for all these gifts of civilisation to the God of heaven; so that Britain, like Tyre, and by a more public profession, consecrates "her power to the Lord, and her substance to the Lord of the whole earth."

We would say, then, to our brethren, Help us to sustain this glorious standard, the public testimony of Britain to the kingdom of God, and the power of Christ, in the sight of the whole world. Reprove, if needful, the sins of the standard-bearers. Repair, if necessary, the tatters of the standard; but let not Christ our Lord cease to have a public, an open testimony borne to his name and rightful authority, in the high places of the earth. Soon, perhaps, when the conflict thickens around us, and the kingdoms of the earth reel to and fro, because they have built on sands of lawless self-will, and forsaken the rock of God's everlasting covenant, the servants of God will forget their petty strifes about the pay or the honour of the standard-bearers, and rally around the glorious truth itself;—that our crucified Saviour is the true fountain of all authority, and of all happiness and peace, to men, to families, and to nations—the First and the Last in every part of the wide range of human thought and action—the Lord of lords and the King of kings.

What is the voice of Providence in the second great revival, still addressed to all British Christians, but especially to the orthodox Dissenters of our land? It is, as I humbly conceive, in one word—"Cultivate and maintain a living communion of true believers." To aim at this, however imperfectly, is our common duty; but it is also your own more especial trust. If the boast of superior liberty, or the fascinations of religious novelty, or the pursuit of worldly alliances, seduce you from this one great object, the locks of your strength will be shorn, and the moral strength of the Dissenting churches will be like a summer brook, and pass away. As you honour Christ, he will honour you. The more simply and the more earnestly you aim at a real fellowship in the glorious truths of the gospel, and to stir each other's hearts with the dying love of Christ and the hope of his coming, the brighter and the happier will be your course, and the larger your share in all the privileges and blessings of the universal family of God. Thus, too, your hearts will be most powerfully drawn to all those who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity, though trained in a different school of thought and experience from your own, and love and peace will abound more and more among the followers of the Lamb.

There is a further message, again, from the third revival, in the last century, which is perhaps addressed more immediately to our Wesleyan brethren, but in which all Christians, of every name, have also their share. It says to us, as from the lips of Christ, "Revive in your hearts a deeper and closer experience of the power of godliness. Be not content with national professions, or solemn forms of worship, or communions rigidly cleansed from grosser scandals and transparent worldliness. Let each one keep his heart with growing diligence, for out of it are the issues of life. Be not satisfied with a name to live. Aim at earnestness in prayer, and lively affections in praise, at unfeigned humility of heart, and growing resemblance to your Saviour." Alas! how much dross there is still mingled with the gold of our Christian profession—how much deadness in our worship, and infirmity and corruption in our lives! We all need to aim at a higher standard, and to emulate the Leigh-ton and Rutherfords, the Baxters and Howes and Henrys—the Brainerds and Venns and Martyns—the Fletchers and Wesleys of former times. There are now many lovely flowers, but how few there are of goodly cedars in the garden of the Lord! We need, everywhere, a deeper sense of sin—more earnest desires for pardon—more fervent longing after holiness—more lively assurance of hope—and habitual preparation for the coming of the Lord. May God pour out his Spirit upon us, that our weak faith and shallow experience may be strengthened and deepened a thousand-fold!

There is a further voice of the Spirit to the churches, which may be drawn from the history of the two last generations, and now speaks to us more loudly than ever by the present aspect of the heathen world. It says, in clearest accents, to Christians of every name: "Cultivate a missionary spirit. Pray earnestly to the Lord of the harvest for more labourers, and then send them forth into his harvest." Never were those words of Christ so emphatically true as at this hour: "The field is the world." The continent of Europe, in its darkest regions, long sealed against the gospel, Palestine, Egypt, the whole continent of Africa, North and South America, India, Burmah, China, Borneo, New Zealand, the isles of the immense Pacific Ocean—all at the same moment, with loud cries of want, invite our aid, and say to the Church of Christ, in England and America, "Come over and help us." Shall we not respond to the call of Providence? Shall we not rather say, when we think of our national greatness, and the opportunities it affords us, "Who knoweth but thou art come to the kingdom for such a time as this?"

The Christians of Britain and America, if God shall only maintain in their hearts a strong love to Christ and to each other, and to the perishing heathen, might now pierce deeper into the adverse ranks of the powers of darkness than has ever been witnessed in the history of the world. We may now hear the voice behind us, "Speak to the children of Israel, that they go forward." The post of honour in the missionary field seems given to us; but the children of God, in every land, will share alike in the labour and the triumph, until the first-fruits are followed by a glorious harvest, and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of the Lord.

*Finally*, The Word of God, and the signs of the times, have a further voice to British Christians of every name, if the spiritual influence of the gospel is to be revived in its early power. It speaks to us in all the convulsions of states and kingdoms, and in repeated warnings of the Divine Spirit—"Cultivate a heavenly mind; keep the word of Christ's patience, and wait for the coming of the Son of God." It is yet a little while, and He that shall come, will come, and will not tarry. Let our strifes be hushed into peace by the thought. There is one Lawgiver, who is able to save and to destroy. The Judge standeth at the door; who can tell how soon he may appear? Who are we, that, with the Word of God in our hands, we should calculate upon centuries of peaceful progress, unbroken by the solemnities of the kingdom of glory? There is a voice which speaks to us loudly, in almost every page of the Divine oracles, and is reflected to us in thrilling and solemn echoes by the troubles of Europe in these our days—"Let your loins be girt about, and your lamps burning, and yourselves like unto men that wait for their Lord, when he shall return from the wedding, that when he knocketh they may open to him immediately. Blessed are those servants whom their Lord, when he cometh, shall find waiting. And if he come in the second watch, or come in the third watch, and find them so, blessed are those servants."

All these voices from heaven, various in themselves, agree in one crowning message to the British churches, and call us to a closer union of brotherly love. What have we not lost already by our own sin? The voice of our brother's blood has cried against us from the ground. How has the strength of the Church been wasted by strife, and palsied by mutual jealousy! How

much have we cared for our own things, as men and as churches—how little for the things of Christ! How dim has been our faith, how cold our love, when Providence, with a voice of thunder, has been summoning us to the battle-field against the powers of darkness! Why should we not, by gazing more on the Man of sorrows, have been moulded into the image of his perfect love? And what are the fruits of our neglect? Millions, even in our own country, still sitting in spiritual darkness, having no solid hope, and without God in the world—Ireland, the prey of superstition, and the home of violence—colonies ready to relapse into heathenism, or raising a parricidal hand against an unnatural mother, that has neglected to feed them with the bread of life—and a hundred and fifty millions of heathen fellow-subjects, who look for it from our hands, but look for it in vain! O what a noble prize has been set within our reach, and how little have we hitherto done, through our strife and selfishness, to secure the blessing!

We have indeed trespassed greatly against our God, and yet there is still hope of recovery. The onward progress may be comparatively small, but now the preparation has been made, in this very Alliance, for future and fuller triumphs of Christian love. Old prejudices have been undermined—new sympathies have been formed and ripened—new perceptions of defects and excellencies, of excellencies abroad and defects at home—have grown up within the hearts of Christians. There is no one, however sincere in his preference for his own communion, who dares to view it as the model of perfection—hardly any one who does not feel the duty of aiming at a higher and purer standard. Like the sons of Israel, we begin to feel that we are all brethren. We have each confessed our sins before our true Brother, and been reconciled to him with tears of joy; and now, while we travel home, as ransomed sinners, to our heavenly Father, we catch his voice of love sounding in our ears—“See that ye fall not out by the way.” From this day forward, then, let us obey the voice of our Lord, his new commandment, and see to it that we love one another with a pure heart fervently. Let us labour to enter, even here, into the deep and quiet rest of true-hearted love, and it will be our best preparation to enter hereafter on the rest of glory. The state of Britain, the wants of our foreign brethren, the convulsive throes of Europe, the sepulchral gloom of death that still rests on the

heathen world, nay, even the events of this year, and the striving of natural men after a sublime unity, which only the gospel can secure, all re-echo the same command, and carry it back with us to our homes, accompanied with a delightful and awakening promise. "Finally, brethren, farewell! Be perfect, be of one mind, love as brethren, live in peace, and the God of love and peace shall be with you." May the Lord himself hasten the fulfilment in his time!

## FOREIGN MISSIONS.

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THE object of the following paper is to present a brief view of the foreign labours of British Christians in the department of missions; and in aiming to attain this object, it is intended to give—

I. A brief historical sketch of the origin and progress of missionary societies in England.

II. A list of these societies, arranged according to their modes of labour—translations, education, preaching; and according to their fields of labour—our Colonies, the Continent, the Jews, and the Heathen.

III. A summary, under this twofold arrangement, of their operations, and of the results.

To illustrate and explain these statements, a few remarks will be made.

IV. On the progressive character of these labours, and of their results.

And, in closing, it is intended to consider—

V. How far the labours of British churches are fairly proportionate either to their ability or to the wants of those parts of the world which justly look for religious instruction to Great Britain; and,

VI. What prospect there is of enlarged effort and of greater success in coming years.

The paper, it will be observed, is purely descriptive and historical. Its business is to state what we find. If, from the statements made, any questions should spring up involving principles or plans of operation, the writer will rejoice. Fifty years of labour in

this department can hardly have passed away without suggesting topics of inquiry and remark. We want nothing newer than the gospel, nothing mightier than the cross. But does the gospel suffer no disadvantage from defective modes of presenting it? Is the cross always so preached as that many believe? These and similar questions are important. The time seems even to have come to consider them; but it is no part of our present business; and it may, perhaps, be deemed an advantage to have simply the facts apart from all theory and discussions.

I. The missionary spirit of the Church of Christ in this country is scarcely older than the present century. It is the characteristic of our times. Partial and individual efforts had previously been put forth, but they were partial. As early as the year 1676, our countryman Boyle pressed upon the East India Company the duty of promoting Christianity in the East, and devoted a considerable part of his fortune to the work of translating the New Testament into the Malay and Turkish tongues. In 1701 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was incorporated by William III. Three years later a similar society was formed and incorporated in Scotland. Earlier still, the noble missionary church of the United Brethren had commenced their work, preparing versions of the sacred Scriptures in the Bohemian tongue; and, in the days of Charles II., had received help from English Protestants on the recommendation of Archbishop Sancroft. About the middle of the eighteenth century, also (1769), Methodism had shewn its true character as "Christianity in action," by sending out labourers to America; and a little later (1786), Doctor Coke was driven by stress of weather to Antigua, where he commenced one of the most successful of modern missions. Nor were Christians in other nations less active. The Danish mission on the Coromandel Coast, and the Dutch mission in Ceylon, gained honours which their later history has not sustained; while, elsewhere, the labours of Elliot and of the Brainerds had done much to render missionary efforts fragrant throughout the whole Church. These efforts, however, were all partial, being either confined to our colonies, or maintained as incidental and exceptional labours by portions only of the religious communities to which they belonged. They do not seem to have sprung from the conviction that the churches of Christ were constituted, and are charged, to give the gospel to the world. This conviction has grown gradually during the last sixty years, and few engagements can be more

instructive or more delightful than to review our labours during that time.

2. The missionary spirit itself seems to have originated, in modern times, in the revivals in America and Scotland. Tidings of the labours of Edwards and Whitfield excited great "searchings of heart" at Cambuslang, Kilsyth, and in the centre of England. Towards the middle of the eighteenth century monthly meetings began to be very generally held—to pray for the outpouring of the Spirit upon the Church and upon the world; first "upon him that was thirsty," and then "upon the dry ground." Prayer prompted the question whether Christians were not bound to "use means for the conversion of the heathen" (see Carey's *Inquiry*); and at Kettering, in October 1792, the first English Missionary Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Heathen, was formed. The catholic spirit of that first association is delightfully clear; all sections of the Church of Christ aided it; more than once its committee voted a part of their funds to the support of kindred institutions, and the reason assigned in the first resolutions of the Society for taking a denominational name was, that "in the present divided state of Christendom it seems that each denomination, by exerting itself separately, is most likely to accomplish the great end of a mission."

3. In rapid succession other societies were formed. In 1795 the London Missionary Society, having in its direction members of several evangelical bodies; the Church Missionary Society in 1800; and the Wesleyan Missionary Society in 1817. The multiplication and progress of these various societies, and others of a kindred order, may be gathered from the fact, that last year upwards of thirty societies were at work in this country, seeking the evangelisation of nations beyond the bounds of the British isles, and having an income devoted chiefly to this work of about £500,000.

II. But these facts need to be examined in detail.

1. The efforts of these various societies may be classed according to the modes of operation employed by them, or according to their fields of labour. The aim of all is identical—it is to make known among the nations "the unsearchable riches of Christ," to fulfil the parting command of our blessed Lord, which bids us to "preach the gospel to every creature." But this end is sought by various means—by the translation of the Scriptures, and the preparation of religious tracts and books; by scriptural education;



and by the preaching of the gospel. In many cases these diversified means are combined.

2. Or these efforts may be put forth among our countrymen in the colonies; or on the continent of Europe; or among the Jews in all nations; or among the heathen properly so called. In some instances all these fields of labour are cultivated by the same society; in others, different societies have been formed for each field. According, therefore, to their WORK, we have Bible and tract societies; educational institutions; and, lastly, missionary societies. Then, according to their FIELDS of labour, we have colonial missions, continental missions, missions to the Jews, and missions to the heathen.

3. The Bible societies of Great Britain are six:—The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, formed 1698; the Naval and Military Bible Society, 1780; the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1804; the Edinburgh Bible Society, 1804; the Trinitarian Bible Society, 1831; and the Bible Translation Society, 1840. In fact, all these societies, except the last, spend a large proportion of their funds on home objects, but all have devoted part to foreign fields, and all are free to devote to those fields any proportion of their funds which the necessities of the world may seem to justify.

The tract societies, which contemplate foreign as well as home labour, are three:—The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; the Religious Tract Society, 1799; the Prayer-book and Homily Society, 1812. Of these the Religious Tract Society especially has done great service to the cause of missions. It has granted money and materials to the stations of all missionary societies, and works have been published by it in about 110 different tongues.

4. Educational institutions among the heathen are supported by the various missionary societies:—By the Sunday-school Union, 1803; by the British and Foreign School Society, 1808; by the Society for Promoting Female Education in China, India, and the East, 1834; and by the Home and Colonial School Society, 1836.

5. Missionary societies are the following:—The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701; the Missions of the United Brethren; the Baptist Missionary Society, 1792; the London Missionary Society, 1795; the Church Missionary Society, 1800; the London Society for Promoting Christianity

among the Jews, 1808; the Général Baptist Missionary Society, 1816; the Wesleyan Missionary Society, 1817 (missions commenced 1769); the Primitive Methodist Missions; the Wesleyan Methodist Association Missions; the Methodist New Connexion Missions; the Missionary Schemes of the Established Church of Scotland, 1824; the Missionary Schemes of the Free Church, 1843; of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 1840, and in England, 1844; the Missions of the United Presbyterian Synod, united in 1847; the Colonial Church Society, 1836; the Colonial Missionary Society, 1836; the Foreign Aid Society, 1841; the Continental Evangelical Society, 1847; the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews, 1841; the Borneo Church Mission.\*

6. On ranging these societies according to their fields of labour, we have for our colonies—the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, whose efforts, confined by their constitution to the dependencies of the British empire, now provide for the instruction of many thousands of heathen; the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, a considerable part of whose funds are devoted to the erection of churches in the colonies; the Colonial schemes of the four Presbyterian bodies, the Established Church of Scotland, the Free Church, the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, and the United Presbyterian Synod; the colonial efforts of the Wesleyan, the Primitive Methodists, and the Methodist Association Societies; the Colonial Church Society; the Baptist Missionary Society; and the Colonial Society, sustained chiefly by the Congregational Body.

7. For the continent of Europe we have—the Wesleyan and Baptist Missionary Societies; the Foreign Aid Society; the Evangelical Continental Society; and some efforts of the Church Missionary Society; the Colonial Church Society; the Methodist Association; and the Free Church of Scotland.

8. For the evangelisation of the Jews of different countries we have—the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, sustained by members of the Church of England; the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews; and the Jewish Schemes of the Established Church of Scotland,

\* The writer has reason to fear that the names of some small local societies are omitted in this list. Their income and the number of their missionaries are allowed for, however, under III.

the Free Church, and of the Presbyterian churches in Ireland and England.

9. For the evangelisation of the world we have the various Bible and tract societies, and all the missionary societies previously mentioned, except the Methodist New Connexion, the Primitive Methodist Society, the two Colonial Societies, the Jewish Societies, and the Continental Societies, whose missionary efforts do not extend to the heathen.

III. Arranging the labours of these different societies, and the amount spent by them on their several fields of labour, we have the following general conclusions:—

1. The benevolent income of the six Bible societies—Naval and Military Bible Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Edinburgh Bible Society, the Trinitarian Bible Society, and the Bible Translation Society—for the last year, amounted to about £63,000. Of the three tract societies—the Christian Knowledge Society, the Religious Tract Society, and the Prayer-book and Homily Society—to about £37,300;—or of the nine societies, to £100,300. Of this sum there was devoted to the colonies, £16,000; to the continent of Europe, £27,340; to the heathen world, £13,500; in all, £56,890.

2. Taking into account the income of the colonial societies, and so much of the income of the missionary societies as was last year devoted to colonial objects, there was spent by the different missionary societies on the religious instruction of our countrymen in the colonies about £100,000, of which about £70,000 was appropriated to this field by the Propagation Society; and about £12,000 by our Wesleyan brethren. The number of European agents employed is about 630. In addition to this amount, the Christian Knowledge Society devoted £15,000 to the erection of churches; and the Religious Tract Society, to its objects, about £1000;—total, £116,000.

On the continent of Europe the amount spent by the different missionary societies is about £12,000. Of this sum about £5000 is appropriated in aid of the various evangelical societies on the Continent. The Religious Tract Society also devotes about £2000 to this field, and the gratuitous grants of the British and Foreign Bible Society amounted last year to about £25,000 (the total expenditure of the Bible Society on the Continent being about £40,000). The Prayer-book and Homily Society, and the

Edinburgh Bible Society have also made grants to the amount of £300 ;—total, £39,300.

4. For the conversion of the Jews, the sums contributed in Great Britain amounted last year to upwards of £40,000—the London Jews' Society receiving upwards of £30,000 ; the British Jews' Society about £4000 ; the Established Church of Scotland, the Free Church, and the Presbyterian churches in Ireland and England, upwards of £7000. The number of agents employed in England is upwards of twenty-five, and on the Continent about one hundred.

5. Turning now to efforts for the heathen, we have the following results :—The income of all the missionary societies appropriated to evangelical labour among the heathen amounts to £345,000. The number of European agents whose time and labour are devoted to the heathen is about 1050, and of native teachers and preachers about 3000, scattered over Asia, Africa, America, and the islands of the sea. Adding to the income of these societies the amount contributed by the Bible and Tract societies, the votes of the various educational societies, and the expenditure of the Female Education Society, we have for the conversion and education of the heathen a total expenditure of £359,000 a year.

6. Or, adding to this amount the expenditure of the various societies for our Colonies, for Europe, and for the Jews, we have a grand total of £554,300 ; the number of ministers supported being about 1860, and of teachers and native helpers about 3400.

7. Adding again to this sum of £554,300 the benevolent income of the Bible and Tract societies devoted to home objects, we have a total of £597,710, or say, of £600,000 a year.

The results of these general labours we can describe but briefly.

8. The Bible, or parts of the Bible, have been published by the various Bible societies (translated for the most part by missionaries) in about 160 different languages or dialects ; 180 versions have been made, and of these 130 were never printed before. By far the greater part of the heathen world have thus heard, in their own tongue, of the story of peace.

In preparing for this work, languages had to be learnt, and in many instances to be reduced to writing. In the case of one missionary society alone (the Baptist), fourteen grammars, and nine dictionaries, besides a large number of elementary treatises

in different languages, several of which were thus raised to the dignity of a settled tongue, are among the contributions which missionaries have incidentally made to the cause of humanity and religion.

The total number of copies of the Scriptures issued by the British and Foreign Bible Society for Europe has been, within the last fifty years, 8,575,657, or, including those issued by fifty-four Continental societies, 15,873,688; for India there have been issued by the Bible Society 791,760, or, including other societies, 3,122,121; for all the world besides there have been issued but 541,916: the total number of Scriptures, therefore, circulated beyond the British isles, by all our societies, but not including America, has been, in fifty years, about 20,000,000.

9. Of tracts and religious books it is not easy to speak so definitely, but 500,000,000 copies of more than 5000 different publications have been issued by the Religious Tract Society, in as many as 110 different tongues. As a specimen of the rest, it may be noticed, that Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* has been published by that Society in twenty-eight languages, spoken by more than half of the inhabitants of the globe.

10. Of incidental temporal advantages resulting from these labours, of cruel practices abolished, of commerce promoted, of liberty diffused; and of incidental spiritual advantages—churches at home revived—their theology corrected or preserved—brotherly love deepened and diffused, it is not necessary to speak. The general result which explains and crowns all is, that there are of professed converts from among the heathen, in connexion with our different missionary societies, not fewer than 170,000; and that there are under instruction, including children in schools, upwards of 700,000 more—less than could be desired, but forming an ample confirmation of the Divine promise, a solemn admonition, and a glorious encouragement to ourselves. These are visible results; results invisible, which there is reason to believe are not less cheering, eternity must disclose.

IV. Few facts in the modern history of the Church of Christ are more cheering than the continuous progress of these various institutions. Comparing them year by year we might be tempted to despond, but comparing them after intervals, their progress is undoubted and delightful.

1. In the case of the Religious Tract Society, its first year's benevolent income was £203; its sales amounted to £263 more.

Its present benevolent income is about £6000—its sales amount to nearly £50,000 a year. It issued the first year 200,000 copies of various publications; it issued the last upwards of 18,000,000. Or, marking its progress by decades of years, we have between—

1805 and 1814	an issue of	16,248,852	and an income of	£29,829
1815 and 1824	„	47,949,995	„	73,866
1825 and 1834	„	107,844,977	„	252,311
1835 and 1844	„	167,613,831	„	592,911

Nearly all the other societies have shared in this blessed increase in a similar degree.

2. During the first ten years of the Church Missionary Society's labours (from 1799 to 1809), the income of the Society did not exceed £2500; in the second ten it repeatedly reached £30,000; in the third period of ten years it rose to £47,000; in the fourth ten it reached to £100,000, and here it has remained stationary, though the number of missionaries connected with the Society has largely increased.

3. In the case of the Propagation Society the result is also remarkable.

In 1725	its income was	£1,550;	number of missionaries,	31
In 1772	„	2,294	„	86
In 1825	„	8,350	„	103
In 1835	„	15,435	„	200
In 1840	„	54,000	„	355

Besides, in this last period, an average income of £16,000 for special purposes. The large increase in this case is explained by another fact. The first parochial association in aid of the Society was established in 1819; at the close of 1840 there were but 410 associations; in 1850 there were reported no fewer than 2500.

4. In a similar way, the number of churches contributing to another missionary society (the Baptist) has increased within the last fifteen years from 459, the number in 1837, to at least 900, the number in 1847. The increase of labourers, though not in all cases in proportion to the increase of funds, has been most cheering.

5. In the Church Missionary Society, the number of—

European clergy	in 1836	was 70,	in 1845	it was 115
Of catechists	„	59	„	35
Of native clergy	„	3	„	10
Of native teachers	„	426	„	1042

Or, in all, in 1836, 558      in 1845, 1202

—more than double the previous number.

In the Baptist Missionary Society, the number of missionaries has increased, between 1837 and 1847, from 35 to 70; of native teachers, from 50 to 159—an increase in all of nearly threefold.

6. In turning from the contemplation of the agency employed by these different Societies to the results, we are led to conclusions still more cheering. The fruit increases and matures much more rapidly of late years than at first. In the history of biblical translation, for example, it is found, that while in India 240,065 volumes of the Scriptures were printed by one society between 1793 and 1837, between 1837 and 1847 the number printed by the same society amounted to 503,205, *i. e.* in the last ten years the volumes printed were more than double the number printed in the preceding forty.

7. In connexion with the Church Missionary Society, we mark the following changes:—

The number of converts connected with that society was, in

1836	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1315
1837	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1514
1838	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1901
1839	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2721
1840	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3050
1841	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4603
1842	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6051
1843	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6315
1844	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	8205
1845	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	9628

In ten years the increase was sevenfold.

8. After fifteen years of labour in Jamaica, the Baptist Missionary Society numbered 10,500 converts and fourteen missionaries. In fifteen years more, its converts amounted to 30,000, and the missionaries to thirty; while the chapels had increased in the same time from twenty-five to sixty.

9. For many years the labours of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in Western Africa were comparatively unproductive. Now, after forty years of labour, that mission comprises twelve circuits, sixty preaching stations, fifteen missionaries, 6000 communicants, and 14,000 hearers.

As an example of Christian heroism it may be added, that these results have cost the lives of fifty-four English agents out of 120, and of those fifty-four, thirty-eight died before having been a year on the field.

10. Turning from all individual societies to a particular field of

labour, it is found, that while, between 1793, when evangelical missions commenced in British India, and 1803, twenty-six persons professed faith in Christ, in connexion with all the missionary societies labouring in Bengal; between 1803 and 1813, the professed converts, in the same district, amounted to 161; between 1813 and 1823, to 403; between 1823 and 1833, to 675; between 1833 and 1843, to 1045. Since 1843 the additions have averaged about 250 a year, or, in the ten years (if this average be maintained), 2500;—twenty-six converts the first ten years, and 2500 converts the last.

11. These facts, it will be observed, suggest no comparison between the labourers of these different periods, but only between facilities of labour and consequent progressive success. It is not that later missionaries are abler translators than the earlier ones, but only that they labour amid richer facilities and with ampler preparation. They start at a point which their predecessors spent years in reaching. The time which was at first devoted to reducing languages to writing, and in preparing grammars, dictionaries, and rude elementary translations, is now devoted to the revision of those translations and the multiplication of copies of the Scriptures. Nor is it that missionaries are now holier and abler evangelists than were our fathers. In truth, each convert becomes an accession of strength and an instrument of new victory to the Christian host. The achievements of one era become agencies for future achievements. The velocity (so to speak) which truth attains from rest at the end of the first decade, is the velocity with which she begins the following; and it becomes true of the Church, as it is true of its individual members, that “the righteous shall hold on his way, and he that hath clean hands shall be stronger and stronger.”

V. Gratifying in some respects as these results are, it is still a solemn question how far they are equal to the emergency; or proportioned to the ability of the churches of Christ in this country. Nor does either of these questions receive a very satisfactory reply.

1. The income of all our missionary societies does not equal a hundredth part of the sum raised in Great Britain in taxation, nor does it amount to a tenth of the sum annually spent on tobacco, or to a hundredth part of the cost to the country of intoxicating drinks.

2. The income of individuals in England and Scotland who have upwards of £150 a year, amounts to more than £250,000,000. Were they each to give one-fifth per cent, 4s. for every £100 of income, one-twelfth of the present Income-tax, the amount of their



contributions would exceed all that is now raised for the support of our missions.

3. Estimating the number of professing Christians at only 3,000,000, a penny a week from each, for the conversion of the world, would raise nearly a half more than is now raised. And on examining the statistics of particular societies, this estimate is confirmed—the income of the Baptist Missionary Society, for example, falling short by £6000 of what would be obtained if each of the members of the Baptist churches in this country gave a penny a week to this cause; and, estimated on the same principle, the income of the United Presbyterian Missions, in several respects among the most prosperous, would be augmented from £16,000 to upwards of £30,000 a year. Will any one affirm, with these facts in view, that British Christians are doing all they can?

4. Or look at the wants of the world. In fifty years the British and Foreign Bible Society has issued 25,000,000 copies of the Scriptures in various languages. Of these 25,000,000, 15,000,000 were in English, and have been circulated chiefly at home; in all Europe the issues of the Bible Society, and of fifty-four European Bible societies, have not exceeded this number. All Europe, therefore, has not had more in fifty years than we deem necessary for ourselves.

In British India there is a population of about 150,000,000. The issues of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and of six East Indian Societies, including, in fact, all that has been done in fifty years, amount to barely 3,000,000 copies of Scripture or of parts of Scripture. The vast empire of China has not received in all 130,000 copies of any part of the Bible. Africa, with its 150,000,000, has not had more than 50,000 copies.

4. Or to look at our missions. There is in Bengal a population of upwards of 20,000,000, and, including its dependencies, of 70,000,000. That province contains some of the principal seats of British influence, and several central missionary stations—as Calcutta, Benares, Orissa, Krishnaghur, and Mirzapore. The number of missionaries connected with all evangelical societies (both European and American) is about 100 (99), of native preachers and teachers 120 (118). This proportion gives to each missionary a population of 200,000; a similar proportion would give to London ten evangelists, and to Great Britain 125. In fact, whole zillahs, containing each a population of 1,000,000 and

upwards, have no missionary, and others, as Jessore, Midnapore, Birbhum, Berhampore, and Dinajpore, have but one. Here we have an open field, a comparatively healthy climate (for the average deaths out of the 100 missionaries have not of late exceeded two a year), every facility for prosecuting our work, and some of the most important missionary districts in the world, and yet the number of agents is so small as to risk the success which, with greater faith and earnestness, we might certainly gain.

5. Grouping our facts more largely, it may be noticed that the number of missionaries supported by all English missionary societies does not reach 1100—a number not larger than the number of Christian ministers labouring in London alone. In all Europe the amount expended by English missionary societies is under £12,000, though it is certain that openings for usefulness in that field may be found on every hand, and there the Man of Sin is to be overcome. India, with its millions, has fewer labourers than the county of Lancaster; while in China, in South America, in Hayti, and in Africa, our work has only begun. In truth, the great lesson of the past is as much humility as thankfulness—humility that we should ever have faltered in our toils, and that those toils should have been at best so inadequate and unworthy; and thankfulness that God has been pleased so signally to own and bless them.

VI. One question more remains—What prospect is there of enlarged effort and greater success in coming years? It is confessed that while much has been done, incomparably more remains to be done. During the time the churches of Christ have been bringing into work the machinery which is now employed in instructing less than 1,000,000 persons, nearly two generations have twice passed to their account. It is confessed, too, that for some time the resources of some of our missionary societies have not been increasing. In particular instances there is even a diminution of income, and a consequent diminution of agency. Is this diminution to continue? or is Christian effort to be enlarged? Without affirming that the efforts of the churches of Christ will all be continued in their present form, it may be safely affirmed that there will be a large increase both of effort and success, on two conditions—first, that we place greater reliance for contributions on principle and habit; and secondly, for success on the promised blessing of the Spirit.

1. The first of these conditions is intended to deny that we are doing all we can, and that novelty or excitement is essential

to our vigour ; and the second, to affirm that the great want of the Church is a profounder, more healthy, habitual conviction of our dependence.

At the outset much was done in connexion with missions from excitement ; nor can we condemn this spring of action. It means, in relation to our work, strong earnest feeling either of pity for the heathen or of discontent with the world and ourselves as they are, combined with an ill-defined desire to do something to improve them. It is impulsive rather than thoughtful—natural, perhaps, rather than gracious ; it is common to the commencement of every great enterprise—it is common to the young of every age. Its defect is, that it grows feebler by repetition, and is certainly not the noblest motive of action. Let its place, then, be supplied in the Christian Church by principle ; let the conviction grow and spread that we are the salt of the earth, preserving or recovering it from decay ; that a stewardship of the gospel has been committed unto us ; that our great example is the self-denying life of our Lord, and that we are to be conformed even to his death. Let all classes, moreover, young and old, be trained to act in accordance with these convictions, and we have no fear ; excitement will prove feebler than rooted self-sacrificing love, and impulse than habit ; present contributions will be but as drops before the shower ; agents will be multiplied—we shall count them by thousands, and the income of our missions by millions ; while the spirit of consecration which those gifts will betoken will secure a band of self-supporting agents who, in the discharge of their daily callings, will go “everywhere,” as of old, “preaching the word.” Let any one think over the donations of those who give under the influence of these motives, and who give habitually, and the moral force of these springs of action will at once appear. Let such examples become the rule, instead of being, as now, the exception, and the Church will have enough to meet the wants of the world.

2. But we need to combine with these habits a more devout spirit of dependence. The theoretic truth of our dependence—for gifts, for grace, for success of both—we all allow ; it is part of our creed ; but we need (if one may speak for the rest) to have it wrought into the very substance of our minds. The activity of the times, the appeals of all sections of the Church for increased effort, make this dependence the more difficult. To be active and humble, to labour and pray, to identify ourselves with the noblest cause and yet feel our nothingness, is one of the hardest lessons of the Divine

life. Let it be learnt and practised, shewing its power in the increase of the Church's humility, and love, and prayer, and this truly Pentecostal spirit will be accompanied with Pentecostal success; God will give the increase, multitudes will be added to the Church; not by might nor by power, but by the Spirit of the Lord, a temple will be reared above the tops of the mountains, and all nations shall flow unto it.\*

\* The writer begs to acknowledge the courtesy of the Rev. Dr Morgan of Belfast, Rev. Dr Hamilton, Rev. A. Somerville, and others, in sending statistics of the societies with which they are connected.

## SCHOOLS AND HOME MISSIONS.

BY THE REV. W. H. RULE,

WESLEYAN MINISTER.

THE Divine Author of Christianity defined the duty of his Church when he commissioned his earliest ministers to "go and teach [*make disciples of*] all nations, *teaching them,*" said he, "to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." When the heralds of Christ have gathered converts into his kingdom, the teachers of Christianity must instruct these converts in their duty towards God and man. The understanding and the heart are equally to be brought under culture, and therefore, in a nation that is nominally Christian, the functions of the preacher and of the teacher ought to be discharged simultaneously—the one calling sinners to repentance, the other instructing them in the first elements of truth, and both uniting to build up believers in their most holy faith.

This implies awakening of the conscience and information of the mind, and indicates the diverse yet concurrent agencies of the pulpit and the school. These agencies are sometimes combined, and at other times separate; but neither of them can be independent of the other. The Council of this Organisation of the Evangelical Alliance has proposed to draw the attention of the Conference to the state of religious instruction among the masses; and I am requested to present some statement of the Religious Schools and Home Missions of England.

Before attempting to discharge this duty, I must respectfully cast myself on your indulgence, premising that my performance will be necessarily imperfect. Even if I could present a full statistic of our public religious schools—which I cannot pretend to do—a multitude of private schools, entitled to equal consideration, would remain unnoticed. They are distributed all over the kingdom, and consist of children and youth from all classes of

society. No national census could shew what public schools fitly come under the description of religious, and what do not. No enumeration of private schools could tell of the diligence of those teachers, nor exhibit their influence on the moral character of England. No classification could suffice to discriminate between those that are effective for the promotion of vital Christianity, and those that are merely secular, or even injurious in their influence.

We can acknowledge that such Christian schools exist, say that the remembrance of them is interwoven with the earliest recollections of many of us, and express our assurance that their general influence is in a high degree salutary. We would make honourable mention of them in general, as anterior to all public schools—for, in the history of our own country, as of all Christendom, there was domestic teaching for many ages before charitable, or collegiate, or proprietary schools were thought of—and profess our sympathy with those who in domestic life, and without the incentive of public observation, labour to impart the rudiments of sacred knowledge to the young. Many of them toil with a solicitude almost parental, to prepare their charge for the duties and responsibilities of future life. Of every Christian who faithfully pursues this vocation, it must be said that “his work,” although not performed under the authority of any public body, “is in heaven, and his record is on high.” We must also remember that many benevolent persons support charity schools at their own expense, which are not included in the report of any society, and therefore cannot be enumerated here. The number and influence of such schools must be very considerable.

In mentioning the principal efforts for Christian teaching, and the home missionary institutions of England, I shall follow the order of their establishment, placing the oldest first, and omitting all notice of their foreign operations. The two classes shall also be separated. I begin with the *Schools*.

1. In the year 1803, a Sunday-school Union was established in London, having for its objects—“1st, To stimulate and encourage Sunday-school teachers at home and abroad to greater exertions in the promotion of religious education. 2d, By mutual communication to improve the methods of instruction. 3d, To ascertain those situations where Sunday-schools were most wanted, and to promote their establishment. 4th, To supply the books and stationery suited to Sunday-schools at reduced prices.” Experience taught the supporters of this union, that “religious education”

could not be promoted without adherence to religious truth; and that it was needful to avow this adherence, and refuse to admit into their association schools conducted by persons who did not hold the doctrines of the Deity and atonement of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Divine influences of the Holy Spirit, and "that all Scripture is given by inspiration of God." This Union is chiefly in connexion with Congregational or Independent churches of the leading denominations; and comprehends, according to the last report, 2009 schools, 45,762 teachers, and 330,421 scholars.

2. Two years after the Sunday-school Union, arose the British and Foreign School Society, proposing to promote "the education of the labouring and manufacturing classes of society, of every religious persuasion." For a religious or evangelical education in the schools assisted by this society, the guarantee is not offered in its constitution, but must be sought in such ministers and pious members of Christian churches as may be associated in local committees, and in the Christian teachers who are placed over many of them. The degree of religious influence may therefore be presumed to correspond, in general, with the constituency of these committees, determined, however, by the amount of piety and judgment which may enable the masters and mistresses to impart an effectively scriptural instruction, without infringing on the principles which are thought necessary to secure the united action of various communions. In the general preparation of teachers, the society contributes valuable service. The schools are perfectly independent, and therefore there are no returns from which to calculate their number, but it may be roughly estimated at about 2000.

3. After the Sunday-school Union had given a new impulse to the zeal of those who were instructing poor children on the Lord's Day, after the British and Foreign School Society had endeavoured to promote their secular education throughout the week, and when the resources of both institutions had already multiplied—the former through a growth of eight years, and the latter of six—the Incorporated National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales, came into the field; the Archbishop of Canterbury as president, the Archbishop of York and the bishops as vice-presidents, an influential committee, and diocesan and district boards, give assurance that the society acts up to its official designation. By means of this society the Established Church takes its place side by side with Nonconformists, and at its birth the

collective representation, in regard to schools, advanced far towards completion. St Mark's College, and the Training Institutions of Whitelands, Westminster, and Battersea, are conducted with efficiency, and, no doubt, awaken emulation. The schools are evangelical, or not, according to the fidelity or the failure of the parochial ministers under whose direction they are taught. I cannot ascertain the precise number of schools in this connexion, but quote from the report thus:—"Since the last report, schools in 206 places have been received into direct union with the society, making the total number of schools in union with the society 9629, in addition to those united through the Diocesan Boards of Education."

4. The establishment of infant schools gave rise to the Home and Colonial Infant-school Society, which dates from the year 1836. Its object is to train infant-school teachers, of whom nearly 200 are certified every year. If half of these enter on their duties in schools at home, we have reason to rejoice in the annual reinforcement by 100 persons, from this source alone, of the host of Christian teachers. Their preparation in scriptural study is conducted with an assiduity and solicitude which ought to conciliate universal confidence.

5. In the year 1838 was formed the Wesleyan Education Committee. Until that time the schools of Wesleyan Methodism had not been taken under a collective oversight, and the period of thirteen years which has elapsed since the formation of the committee must therefore be considered as one of gradual organisation, and, as to day-schools, of but incipient action. It has, however, overcome the greater difficulties, and taken its position in the country. A new Normal Institution for the preparation of teachers is opened in Westminster, for the reception of 100 students. There were last year reported in the Wesleyan Church—

4275 Sunday-schools,	82,804 teachers,	441,741 children.
369 daily schools,	... ..	37,792 ..
4644 schools,	82,804 teachers,	479,533 children.

The instruction given in these schools is evangelical, and we are thankful to know that there is constant and abundant evidence of its efficiency, under the Divine blessing, for the spiritual benefit of the children.

6. The Congregational Board of Education, which began its



career in 1843, declares itself "expressly constituted to promote popular education, *partaking* of a religious character; and under no circumstances receiving aid from public money administered by the Government;" and commends "this principle to every lover of free trade, every advocate of political elevation, and especially every adherent of Protestant and Evangelical Non-conformity." The board reports seventy-seven schools, with about 7000 children on the books, and nearly 6000 in regular attendance. Details are not given.

7. The Church of England Sunday-school Institute was established in 1844, in order to promote union among Church of England Sunday-schools, supply teachers with information, assist in the establishment and extension of Sunday-schools, and "obtain and record statistical information respecting such schools." Its investigations are minute, and elicit very instructive information, but do not furnish material available for our present purpose.

8. Among the institutions formed for specific objects, Ragged Schools are deservedly conspicuous. After a trial of more than six years, and after enduring a severe ordeal of public scrutiny, they exhibit a rapid but steady increase. The Ragged School Union reports in London and its suburbs 102 schools, 21,454 scholars, 2242 teachers (of whom 180 are paid). But these numbers would only shew a small part of the aggregate, could it be ascertained, from all parts of England.

9. The Voluntary School Association, established in 1848, rests on the same principle as the Congregational Board of Education, but has a distinct existence. Its operations are confined, at present, to two normal schools, in one of which eight young men are reported to have qualified themselves for situations during the past year.

10. Connected with the evangelical part of the Church of England, the Metropolitan Training Institution has been occupied, during the last two years, in organising a system for training students for the offices of master and mistress of national, parochial, and other schools for poor children, in connexion with the Established Church. Twenty-one students are now inmates of their institution.

The attempt to prepare one general school statistic might have been more successful in other hands, but by none could it be brought near to completeness without extensive correspondence, and a minute elaboration, which I have been unable to under-

take. But even this first and rude essay brings me to some general conclusions.

All the leading religious denominations of our English Protestantism are now engaged in the common work of teaching the people. All, indeed, are not free from considerations of party, which, so far as they exist, cannot but detract from the usefulness of their performances; but still it is to be hoped that, by the favour of God, the educational movements which have been brought into view, if not originated within the present century, and are therefore very recent, may, even within the century, make large advance towards the standard of Christian perfectness which many see, although few can reach. Perhaps there are few towns, or even villages, in England, where provision is not made for the secular instruction of the poor; but still there is a wide-spread want of pure and vigorous religious teaching.

Beyond the institutions here enumerated, and the Christian schools which we acknowledge, but cannot count, there are infidel schools—in London, and it may be feared in the great centres of British manufacture, avowedly infidel schools—where the children are taught the foulest enormities of a lawless and ribald atheism. Popish schools, for the higher as well as for the lowest classes, multiply, and very many that should be Protestant are intensely Romanised. We have only been viewing the fairer side of English education; but while we have yet to seek a full and uniform statistic of our Christian schools, the work would still be incomplete, until we have enumerated the doubtful and the bad.

For one class, Christian benevolence has not yet provided any sufficient method of instruction. Children of both sexes, withdrawn from day-schools perhaps at the early age of twelve years, are employed in shops, warehouses, factories, and other places, from morning until evening. The males are too young for admission into Young Men's Christian Associations; and although many of them retain a desire for knowledge, and some tenderness of conscience, the wish to learn dies away because it is not gratified, and conscience is hardened under the repeated strokes and conquests of temptation. The condition of the females, too, at this period of their life, is often such as to demand a protection which has yet to be provided. Day-schools they have left; Sunday-schools they soon forsake; ragged schools are not for them. They are breaking away from the

restraints which lay upon their childhood; ministers and teachers lose sight of them; they are lost in the crowd, and fall into the snares of infidelity and sin? May I ask, then, whether some existing institutions cannot extend their care to them? There are a few evening schools; and might not some strenuous and united efforts be made to extend and multiply these schools in the metropolis and throughout England? Can the hand of charity cover these flickering flames of early piety from the mephitic breath that so often quenches in youth what was hopeful, and even brilliant, in the simplicity of childhood? To attempt this in conjunction with other efforts for the welfare of our youth, would evince a Christlike benevolence, and could not pass unrewarded with success. The two millions of our Sunday-school children—if this be the number—await the benefit, and an entire generation is ready to bless the hand that shall, under God, help to snatch them from perdition.

We now proceed to *Home Missions*.

With the revival of Protestantism first, and subsequently with the revival of religion in the former half of the last century, there were a few combinations for benevolent and spiritual purposes, which, however important, scarcely come within the scope of our present review.

1. Attempts to raise the standard of religious literature in England were made by some, of whom Wesley was not the least diligent, and originated an institution which has flourished ever since; and another society, yet existing, the Book Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor, instituted in the year 1750, now exhibits a select and characteristic catalogue.

2. In 1780 arose the Naval and Military Bible Society, as if to anticipate an age of revolutions, and, while the continent of Europe was re-plunged into a spiritual darkness scarcely less profound than that of the fifteenth century, to bestow the Word of life on the army and navy of Great Britain, and by honouring God therein, bespeak that honour which first crowned our arms, and then raised our country into a position as peaceful as it is pre-eminent. The last reported annual issue of this society was 1679 Bibles and Testaments to 7000 men in thirty-nine ships of war, 12,120 to merchant seamen, 90 to mariners on shore, and 1388 to the army, making a total of 15,277 copies of the Sacred Volume, in whole or in part.

3. The Baptist Home Missionary Society began in the year 1797 to pursue its peculiar object, "to encourage the formation and growth of Baptist churches," by means of itinerant and village preaching. Within the last ten years it has established seventy-two preaching stations, and raised fifty feeble churches into pecuniary independence.

4. But the great institution of the last century was the Religious Tract Society, founded in the year 1799. Its tracts, volumes, and periodicals, embracing a wide circle of sacred knowledge, are distributed over the world. The grants at home, this last year, have been 2,875,502, at the cost of £3067, while the total issue, at home and abroad, have been more than seven times as many.

5. Its next successor, in 1804, was one yet greater, the British and Foreign Bible Society, which issued last year in England alone 21,342 copies of the Holy Scriptures, nearly half the number being entire Bibles.

6. Unless Methodism be regarded as the home mission of England from the year 1793 until its complete ecclesiastical establishment, there had not yet been any society fully answering to the designation, but, as to England, special objects continued to engage the attention of the more zealous. Thus rose the London Society for the Conversion of the Jews. This society is now exclusively associated with the Church of England.

7. After the Jews, the sailors found pity in the hearts of English Christians. It was in the year 1818 that the British and Foreign Sailors' Society originated under another name. During the last year, more than 10,000 seamen were assembled in small congregations to hear the gospel, and 11,166 reported visits; from 40,000 to 50,000 must have been personally addressed in ships, lodging-houses, and private dwellings; nearly 3000 copies of the Holy Scriptures have been sold among them, and more than 105,000 tracts distributed.

8. Then the multitudes of London began to draw forth new efforts, and, in 1825, the Society for Promoting Christian Instruction came into existence. About 2000 persons are now enrolled as visitors, and about 25,000 families are visited in the course of every year. Accredited ministers, or gifted laymen, preach every Lord's Day at 73 stations, and, in the last year, about 1500 persons were induced to become attendants at places of public worship. The labour is all gratuitous, and it should be noted

that the metropolitan Independent churches, by united action, set a good example to their provincial neighbours. Their voluntary labour, however, is said to be somewhat intermittent, but it is free, and susceptible of great extension.

9. An appropriate auxiliary to this, and all similar efforts, is the Lord's-day Society, formed in 1831, and still persevering, which raises the standard of Sabbath observance before the churches and the world.

10. A variety of circumstances concurred to arouse the vigilance of the more earnest members of the Church of England, who saw that vast masses of the population lay beyond the reach of her ordinary ministrations. And it must be acknowledged that, although other churches were not unsuccessful in winning souls, and that their successes deserved grateful recognition, there yet remained, as at this day, multitudes who scarcely ever heard the voice of an evangelist, but were made the prey of infidelity, or taken in the snares of Romanism, our common foe. To extend the ministrations of their church, the originators of the Pastoral Aid Society, in 1835, proposed to increase the number of ministers in destitute neighbourhoods, and to promote the employment of lay agents, under the direction of the incumbents, for the religious instruction of the people. Their object cannot be better stated than in their own words: "The salvation of souls, with a single eye to the glory of God, and in humble dependence on his blessing." For the promotion of this great object, there were last year in receipt of grants, 299 clergymen and 108 laymen, being a total of 407 labourers, providing, as the committee calculates, "additional and more systematic pastoral visitation" to a population of nearly two millions and a half.

11. But some greater agency was needed amidst the two millions and a half of metropolitan population—for to this number it has grown\*—and about sixteen years ago, the London City Mission entered the lists with ignorance and vice. Its organisation is good; its spirit evangelical and catholic; its agents are generally well chosen; its operations are vast; and its effects encouraging. The number of city missionaries last year was 251. They paid 1,180,911 visits, not shunning the foulest haunts of crime; and 98,486 visits more, to the sick and dying. They held 20,377 meetings for prayer; 2283 persons became members of Christian congregations, and 489 converts from sin joined in

\* Or to three millions, including all the suburbs.

the communion of the Church; 5659 neglected children were sent to school; 107 shopkeepers closed their shops on the Lord's Day; 1,326,272 tracts were distributed. By means of one missionary alone, 88 couples in the previous year had exchanged concubinage for wedlock, and received Bibles from the ministers officiating. Similar fruit has, no doubt, appeared this year also. Instead of turning over each class of persons to a distinct society, the London City Mission cares for nearly all, and appoints peculiarly qualified missionaries to each: to policemen, for example, cabmen, soldiers, pensioners, Welsh, Irish, Italians, Jews, inmates of workhouses and penitentiaries, and even to thieves and outcast women. In order to counteract the wiles of Romanism, they bend their energies on quarters where chiefly Papists dwell. They watch the manœuvres of Tractarians, and go into the haunts of infidels. Yet this well-marshalled host is never diverted by the distractions of controversy. They take the fundamental truths of the gospel, in common with all true Protestants, as their own, and are absolutely interdicted from disputation concerning politics, ecclesiastical or civil. And as they thus labour, the Holy Spirit arms them with a power that cannot be resisted, and they are spreading an influence throughout the masses of this great population which no figures can suffice to represent.

12. A small society, under the title of London Female Mission, followed in the track of the City Mission in 1836, having for its object the protection of friendless females, and the restoration of the outcast. It is now known as the Female Aid Society, and supports three distinct places of refuge—the Friendless Home, the Servant's Home, and the Penitent's Home. In these homes 133, 165, and 158 respectively found refuge from peril, or asylum from guilt, during the past year. This benefit, conferred on 456 females, amidst the wretchedness and guilt of London, is a precious item in the great account of Christian charity, and we rejoice to find that it is likely to be larger in future years.

13. The examples given in London were not lost upon the provinces. The Town Missionary and Scripture-Readers' Society was instituted in order to provide evangelists for the neglected portions of the population in provincial towns. Its direct operations are but small, in comparison to the breadth of the common field, and the necessity for enlarged effort. The committee reports 54 missionaries, nearly 200,000 visits, 4000 cottage meetings, a large distribution of Bibles and tracts, and 1314 children sent to schools.

But it is certain that a very large number of town missionaries are employed independently of this society, although it gave the first impulse, or supplied the first labourers to those missions. We know certainly of 159, which would raise the number to 213. But there is a multitude of missionaries, catechists, and readers, of whom no report is to be found. Still, many districts are awfully destitute, especially in the north of England, where infidelity is rampant in the large towns; and it is said that, in some, not more than one-fifth of the inhabitants ever enter a place of worship.

14. Still there was one important class no less neglected than any of the others. None had ventured to make aggression on the nobility and gentry. A small beginning, therefore, was made in the year 1837, in the form of an English Monthly Tract Society, which issues new tracts every month, and, by means of the penny post, and otherwise, conveys appeals to the understanding and the conscience of many to whom no vulgar messenger could find access. This is good, but the pulpit and the press have yet a vast work before them in the circles of wealth and fashion.

15. In the year 1840, another Home Missionary Society, in connexion with Independent or Congregational churches, added its forces to those already on the ground, and now employs or aids 118 missionaries. Associated with these are 140 lay preachers, and 1691 Sunday-school teachers. They have 450 preaching stations, more than 40,000 hearers, and about 12,900 Sunday scholars. During the last year 463 persons have been gathered into communion with their churches.

16. An additional effort was made on the Thames by the appointment of a Wesleyan minister to preach to and visit the English seamen; a church has been built or purchased, and a mission organised, capable of great extension.

17. The London Society for the Conversion of the Jews being conducted in union with the Church of England, another society was formed in 1843 by persons not in that communion. Although far inferior in strength to the elder society, it employs ten missionaries in England, of whom five are in London, and have paid and received about 2500 visits in the past year.

18. A similar division of labour took place in London in the year following, when the Church of England Scripture-Readers' Association undertook to aid the parochial clergy. 106 Scripture-readers have been thus employed during the last year in the dioceses

of London and Winchester, and the same class of persons is to be found throughout the kingdom. If they earnestly read the Bible to the sick and the poor, and enforce its truths alone, they will be a valuable auxiliary to the parochial ministers, and to the common cause of Christ.

19. The last institution which I shall mention, although not missionary in name, is so in effect. This is the Young Men's Christian Association, established about seven years ago, and now ranking with the most valued agencies we have. Its object is the spiritual and mental improvement of young men. By lectures, sermons, books, reading-rooms, meetings for conversation, meetings for prayer, and by whatever appliances ingenuity may suggest, or zeal may prompt, hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Christian young men, both in town and country, are brought into correspondence with each other, and with some of the holiest and most gifted ministers and laymen in the Church of God. They are at once withdrawn from the world, and prepared for usefulness in it by the formation of such habits, and the acquisition of such knowledge, as will fit them to be benefactors of society in time to come. The report of this admirable association does not enable me to furnish a statistic of its members and operations.

I have only given an enumeration, which is but one of the first elements of a statistic. A statistic, presenting the several numbers in an extended comparison with each other, with the population of England, and with whatever data may be necessary to estimate the effects of religious teaching throughout the land beyond the precincts of established churches, may be useful for the guidance of future labourers, so far as human wisdom can avail in the management of God's work; but it has yet to be constructed by a patient collection of materials from one year to another.

This enumeration, however, may serve to shew that, either from a pure love of souls, or from an effort to extend or to protect their respective interests, the several sections of the Christian Church have been drawn forth into the field within the last half century, until all are occupied in sustaining schools, or sending out missionaries to the neglected thousands, or to particular classes of the people, or in circulating the Holy Scriptures, or books, or tracts. We find that there is scarcely any room left for new societies consistently with the growth and efficiency of these existing; and scarcely any sort of people for whose special good some agency does not exist. A mere review of the institution and objects of these



societies confirms what we have already too well known, that sectarian antagonism has contributed its full share to their activities, and that one church has not unfrequently been moved to action, not only for the sake of preaching Christ, but to save itself from being worked down by more busy or more charitable neighbours.

And this mixture of human infirmity in our best performances, while it should cover us with shame and sorrow, should, after all, be an incentive to perseverance in our proper work of proclaiming the gospel of salvation to sinful men; to follow charity on its own account; to study the Holy Scriptures without bigotry, but without idle innovation and philosophy falsely so called; and, first and last, to pray for that baptism of the Holy Spirit which shall bring us into a unity of love, while the true centre and standard of doctrinal confession, the Bible, guides us into the unity of truth. This may God grant, for the sake of his eternal Son, the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour.

20. There is, however, one other agency which ought not to be entirely overlooked. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, founded more than a century and a half ago, adds to its more peculiar operations the circulation of the Holy Scriptures. The last annual issue of Bibles and Testaments numbered 210,752, and if but a moderate proportion of these are in our English dwellings, the society has made a powerful contribution to the great cause of evangelical Protestantism, which demands the cordial recognition of all Christians. The Word of the Lord cannot return unto him void.



IRELAND.

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THE RELIGIOUS STATE OF IRELAND.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM URWICK, D.D.



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IRELAND early received the gospel. To its inhabitants, the "Scoti," then "believing in Christ," Celestine, Bishop of Rome, sent Palladius in the beginning of the fourth century. Soon afterwards, Patrick, who had been brought to it a captive, and lived in its eastern portion as a servant, but had escaped to his native Brittany, came back to it the missionary of a purer faith than modern Rome calls Christian. He laboured with so much success, that we are told he planted three hundred and sixty-five churches, and ordained over them as many bishops and three thousand presbyters. In following centuries, colonies of Irish mission monks, some at least of whom were men of sincere piety and are described as eminent for their knowledge of Holy Writ, migrated to the neighbouring continent, with the view of Christianising and civilising its savage people. They nobly withstood attempts made to bring them under bondage to Rome's ecclesiastical chief; but, in the issue of the struggle, right had, for the time, to give way before might. The Irish churches, however, retained their liberty till about the middle of the twelfth century, when their spiritual guides succumbed, and, in token of their servitude and his sovereignty, sought and obtained four Palls at the despot's hand. On the country thus becoming a vassal of the Pope, its new lord assigned it by a Bull to England's king, to be entered and possessed by him. Perhaps a more striking contrast never was exhibited in the history of nations, than the restlessness and resistance with which Ireland has met this ordinance of the Pope constituting the king of England her civil head, presents to the uniformly meek and self-sacrificing devotedness with which she has obeyed, and to this day, in the majority of her inhabitants, obeys, the dictates of the Holy See in all other matters.

The "Reformation" of the sixteenth century, as it regarded Ireland, did little more than establish the King's supremacy instead of the Pope's, and introduce by authority the use of the English Liturgy. Preparation had not been made there, as in England, by Wickliffism, Lollardism, or Lutheranism, leavening the public mind and enlisting its sympathies in behalf of truth. Protestantism has, for the most part, until now, been known there as the religion of the government, rather than of the people. Yet, there has all along been a portion of them engaged for the gospel as opposed to Romanism—the names of Usher and Bedell deservedly ranking high, one among the mighty champions for evangelism, and the other among the earnest labourers for its diffusion. Early in the seventeenth century, numbers of Presbyterians from Scotland settled in the north of Ireland, under encouragement from the Crown, and their pastors ministered the Word of life. Dr John Owen, who accompanied Oliver Cromwell to Dublin in 1649, was deeply affected with the disposition he witnessed for hearing faithful preaching. On his return he expressed to the Parliament his hope that the "importunate cries" of the "gospelless" Irish "will disquiet our rest, and wrest help as a beggar doth an alms." A "great company" of preachers were settled through the country, as well as in Dublin, during the Commonwealth, at the charge of the government. They were chiefly Congregationalists and Baptists.

The restoration of the Stuart line to the throne placed the Protestantism of Ireland, as it did that of England, in circumstances most untoward for its purity and strength. A fearful blight fell upon its buddings of liberty and life. This was followed by the war of the Revolution under William the Third. The advantages of that event, great as they were, had an accompanying evil. The genius of Irish Protestantism became secularised yet more than before, and the spirit of political animosity, partisanship, and strife, possessed the hearts of those whose element ought to have been the spirit of Christ. A more melancholy picture can scarcely be contemplated than that which Ireland presented in a religious point of view, during the former half of the last century. "The conduct of the clergy, with few exceptions, instead of being an example to their flocks, was such as merited the severest reprehension; and when their lives were thus at variance with the precepts of the gospel, it will not be supposed that its doctrines were proclaimed from their pulpits. The people,

as the consequence, lost nearly all sense of religion, and became an easy prey to superstition and vice." Such was the state of things when Whitefield paid his first visit to the country. His earnest and faithful preaching, together with the evangelical labours of Wesley, and others who became their coadjutors, induced an awakening, the happy effects of which are still felt.

A minister of deservedly high standing in the Presbyterian body in Ireland writes—"Two hundred years ago Presbyterians colonised Ulster, chiefly from Scotland, and the class who settled were generally very *depraved*. They were followed by ministers from Scotland, of great life and power, and remarkable revivals of religion were granted. In these the foundations of our Church were laid. Matters proceeded favourably for about one hundred years, so far as the tone of religion was concerned. But coldness crept over the Church, and formality took the place of vitality. Arianism was imported from England, and spread largely, and prevailed for about fifty years, until our ancient standards became in many presbyteries neglected, and irreligion spread over the Church. About forty years ago a better spirit appeared, but especially since 1820 a growing earnestness was manifest, and great changes have taken place." To those changes I shall advert hereafter.

Of the Congregational and Baptist Churches which existed in Ireland during the Commonwealth, the great majority became extinct soon afterwards. The principal that survived of the former class was one in Dublin, continued subsequent to the Restoration, under the pastorates of Samuel and Nathaniel Mather and Nathaniel Weld. Associated with some other Dissenting congregations in the metropolis and south of Ireland, it at length became latitudinarian in doctrine, by degrees Unitarian, and is now one of the five constituting the Synod of Munster.

It is hardly possible for persons professing godliness to be in a state answering to the account given of the church at Sardis—"Thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead"—more truly than did the Protestants of Ireland in the last century. Mr Whitefield's ministry produced excitement and impression during his visits; and Mr Wesley and his followers formed permanent societies or congregations in Dublin and other parts. In connexion with Lady Huntingdon's plans, the Rev. Walter Shirley, rector of Loughrea, the Rev. Richard de Courcy, afterwards vicar of St Alkmund's, Shrewsbury, and faithful men of other

denominations, preached the gospel as they obtained opportunity ; but up to the close of the century, the truth as it is in Jesus was hardly to be heard within the settled ecclesiastical organisations of the land. A venerated father in Christ yet living, then a clergyman of the Establishment though he afterwards on principle seceded from it, was one of some half-dozen against whom its pulpits were closed, by authority, for the irregular matter and manner of their ministrations. He tells of there being only two booksellers in Dublin that sold Pocket Bibles—of only one of them having *new* ones for sale, and he only *two*—of the generality of ministers then having less acquaintance with the Scriptures than Sunday-school children ordinarily have at present—and of many other equally affecting proofs of the ignorance and listlessness that everywhere prevailed on subjects of vital moment to Christianity and to man. It is even within the recollection of persons whose acquaintance with the country parts of Ireland does not exceed some five-and-thirty years, that a faithful ministry was a rarity, to be met with only at distant intervals, and that teaching evangelical doctrine was bringing “strange things” indeed to most so-called Protestant ears.

Meanwhile, Romanism was doing its work on a broad scale. Notwithstanding the hate borne by political Protestants against the Papists, and the hate reciprocated by Papists against the political Protestants, the clergyman, the priest and the minister, it has been said, often met as boon-companions at “ordination dinners;” Roman Catholic sponsors stood and vowed at the baptism of Protestant children; intermarriages between members of the two communions were everywhere frequent, and almost always brought accessions to the Roman. Not that the priesthood were zealous while the Protestant pastors were lukewarm; zeal was not then wanted in the priesthood for its purposes. The craft was not in danger. There was no foe on the alert. The element of Protestantism itself was hardly less Romanising in reality, though not so apparently, than is the Puseyism of the present time. If the priest molested not the State or the Church, the people might enter his fold at will, and he had only the easy work of receiving them frequently as they came. Even the Roman Church was comparatively quiet and at rest within herself, and her members looked not for that incessant attention from their religious care-takers they have since learned to expect and require.



Among the ministers whose labours in the gospel contributed to produce serious thought on religion in the Protestants of Ireland, early in the present century, may be named the Rev. William Cooper, pastor of the Congregational Church in Plunket Street, Dublin; the Rev. Gideon Ousely, missionary in the Wesleyan Connexion; and the Rev. Benjamin W. Mathias, minister of the Bethesda Episcopal Chapel, Dublin. Mr Cooper in particular rendered important service, both in the metropolis and in the provinces, by his clear and powerful announcement of the leading doctrines of the gospel in their bearing on individual conscience, and by his fearless and able exposures of Roman and other forms of Antichristianism. He may be considered as having led the way in pulpit efforts, now generally making, to convince and convert the Roman Catholics by "reasoning with them out of the Scriptures."

Among agencies of another class aiding to revive attention to religion in the country, honourable mention is due to the London Hibernian Society, founded in 1806 for establishing schools, circulating the Sacred Scriptures, and promoting the preaching of the gospel in Ireland. It was constituted upon the same non-sectarian principle with its predecessors in wider spheres—the London Missionary Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the Religious Tract Society. After some years it devolved the mission portion of its labours on another society. Its schools and scripture-readers covered large districts in Ulster and Connaught, with some portions of Munster and Leinster, giving reasonable promise that, if persevering and well-administered, it would extensively bless the population with the light of life. But some years ago it virtually changed its constitution, then relinquished its labours, and now exists only as an auxiliary to another society.

From giving this brief sketch of Ireland *as she was*, I proceed to place before you Ireland *as she is*, in those particulars with regard to which it may be supposed that the brethren, as members of the Evangelical Alliance, are chiefly desirous of being acquainted with her condition. With this view I must notice,

#### I. STATISTICS OF HER POPULATION.

The late census returns shew that Ireland contains an aggregate of 6,515,794 inhabitants. This, as the public are aware, is a decrease of more than a million and a half upon the returns made ten years ago. The following statement gives the comparative

numbers, and increase or decrease, of the population during the last thirty years, in the proportions of the four provinces into which the country is divided:—

Province.	1831.		1841.		1851.	
	Population.	Increase per cent.	Population.	Increase per cent.	Population.	Decrease per cent.
Ulster.....	2,286,622	14	2,386,373	4	2,004,289	16
Leinster.....	1,909,713	9	1,973,731	3	1,667,771	15 $\frac{5}{10}$
Munster.....	2,227,152	15	2,396,161	8	1,831,817	23 $\frac{5}{10}$
Connaught.....	1,343,914	21	1,418,859	5	1,011,917	28 $\frac{5}{10}$
Total.....	7,767,401	14 $\frac{3}{4}$	8,175,124	5	6,515,794	20 $\frac{9}{10}$

The county in which the greatest change has occurred is Mayo, in Connaught. In the ten years ending 1831 its population had increased at the rate of twenty-five per cent, and during the ten years ending 1851 it had decreased twenty-nine per cent. The county which shews the greatest decrease since 1841 is Roscommon, in the same province—31 per cent. The whole country in 1831 shewed an increase, during ten years, of nearly fifteen per cent. In 1851 the whole country shews a decrease, during ten years, of nearly twenty-one per cent. The population is this year less by 286,033 than it was thirty years ago. Then it was advancing, it had for twenty years been advancing, and continued for ten years more to advance, in the ratio of nearly a million of inhabitants in each ten years. For the ten years now expired it has retrograded to the extent of 1,659,330 persons. This extraordinary fact is to be explained by a reference to emigration, famine, and disease.

Attempts have been made to ascertain the proportions which the several religious denominations in Ireland bear to each other in its population. On this point, however, it is difficult to obtain satisfaction.

The only returns which can be referred to as authentic are those obtained by the Commissioners of Public Instruction, in the year 1834. Adjusting the several dioceses, so as to correspond as near as may be with the provinces, the returns will stand thus:—

## ULSTER.

DIOCESES.	ESTABLISHED CHURCH.		ROMAN CATHOLICS.		PRESBYTERIANS.		OTHER DISSENTERS.	
	Persons.	Places of Worship.	Persons.	Places of Worship.	Persons.	Places of Worship.	Persons.	Places of Worship.
Clogher .....	104,359	66	260,241	81	34,623	32	26	30
Kilmore .....	46,879	50	240,593	76	8,736	12	97	17
Armagh .....	103,012	99	309,447	120	84,837	68	3,340	44
Dromore .....	41,737	32	76,275	34	69,264	45	933	19
Down .....	27,662	42	58,405	37	98,961	56	3,530	17
Connor .....	66,888	59	95,545	45	193,261	96	5,924	33
Derry .....	50,350	73	196,614	70	118,339	84	1,738	17
Raphoe .....	33,507	41	145,385	36	28,914	27	24	14
Total...	474,394	462	1,382,505	499	636,935	420	15,612	191

## LEINSTER.

Dublin.....	106,599	133	391,006	121	2,290	7	2,082	27
Meath.....	25,626	106	377,562	156	672	3	199	18
Ardagh.....	17,702	42	195,056	60	466	2	12	9
Kildare.....	13,907	39	120,056	46	9	...	384	17
Leighlin.....	20,391	53	169,982	64	191	2	288	12
Ferns .....	24,672	64	172,789	91	19	1	300	14
Ossory .....	12,361	58	209,848	94	8	...	108	4
Kilfenora .....	235	4	36,166	15	4	...	...	...
Total...	161,493	499	1,672,495	647	3,659	15	3,373	101

## MUNSTER.

Waterford ...	5,301	10	43,371	13	110	1	433	6
Lismore.....	5,970	37	209,720	65	164	3	382	11
Cashel.....	6,178	32	196,256	56	62	1	26	3
Emly.....	1,246	15	97,115	31	1	...	1	...
Cloyne.....	13,866	85	328,402	89	14	...	195	9
Cork .....	35,229	84	303,984	73	510	3	871	16
Ross .....	5,988	27	102,308	27	...	...	2	2
Ardfert & } Aghadoe }	7,529	43	297,131	76	...	...	27	8
Limerick.....	11,122	44	246,302	78	85	1	191	9
Killaloe.....	19,149	61	359,585	111	16	1	326	20
Total...	111,578	438	2,184,174	629	962	10	2,454	84

## CONNAUGHT.

DIOCESE.	ESTABLISHED CHURCH.		ROMAN CATHOLICS.		PRESBYTERIANS.		OTHER DISSENTERS.	
	Persons.	Places of Worship.	Persons.	Places of Worship.	Persons.	Places of Worship.	Persons.	Places of Worship.
Kilmacduagh	656	5	45,476	19	...	...	...	...
Clonfert .....	4,761	13	119,082	44	2	...	3	...
Elphin.....	16,417	42	310,822	80	250	1	135	8
Tuam.....	9,619	49	467,970	134	367	4	65	6
Killala.....	7,729	15	136,383	30	38	1	139	8
Achonry.....	5,417	11	108,835	33	143	1	27	1
Total...	44,599	135	1,188,568	340	800	7	369	23

## TOTAL OF ROMAN CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS IN EACH PROVINCE.

	ROMAN CATHOLICS.		PROTESTANTS.	
	Persons.	Places of Worship.	Persons.	Places of Worship.
Ulster .....	1,382,505	499	1,126,941	1073
Leinster .....	1,672,495	647	168,525	615
Munster .....	2,184,174	629	114,994	532
Connaught .....	1,188,568	340	45,768	165

It will be observed that, according to these returns, Romanism predominated in all the provinces, but in Ulster to a small degree compared with the other three, namely, about one-tenth, its majority being 255,564 in a population of 2,509,446; whereas in Leinster, its majority approached ten to one—in Munster, nearly nineteen to one—and in Connaught, more than twenty-six to one. Every person acquainted with the country knows that the measure of intelligence, industry, manliness, and general well-doing of the people, is in the exact ratio that Protestantism prevails in the population.

Adding the totals of the four provinces gives a general total for the country as follows:—

	Persons.	Places of Worship.
Established Church.....	792,064	1534
Roman Catholics.....	6,427,742	2115
Presbyterians.....	642,356	452
Other Dissenters.....	21,808	399
Total of all denominations.....	7,883,970	4500

The proportion of Roman Catholics to Protestants was—

	Persons.	Places of Worship.
Roman Catholics.....	6,427,742	2115
Protestants.....	1,456,228	2385

Making the Roman Catholics to outnumber the Protestants in the ratio of more than  $4\frac{1}{3}$  to 1.

Much inaccuracy, however, has been charged upon these returns. So far as they regard numbers of persons under the head of "Other Dissenters," they are obviously erroneous. Take as an example the returns for four dioceses under this heading:—

	Persons.	Places of Worship.
Raphoe.....	24	14
Ardagh.....	12	9
Ross.....	2	2
Clogher.....	26	30

These disproportions admit of some explanation. The Primitive Wesleyan Methodists, and the Wesleyan Methodists in connexion with the English Conference, it is believed, at the time the returns were made, preferred being considered as belonging to the Establishment. Many mistakes, no doubt, arose from ignorance, negligence, and prejudice or party purpose, in persons making or agents collecting the returns. A case is said to have occurred in the north of Ireland, in which the population of a whole townland were returned as Roman Catholics, when there was not an individual of that persuasion among them.

It is more easy to impugn the returns obtained by the Commissioners of Public Instruction in 1834, than to state the actual proportion of Roman Catholics to Protestants in the population of Ireland now. The former have been wont to magnify their numbers, thereby to magnify their importance and strength. The *Catholic Directory* for the present year mentions them as "seven millions"—about half a million more than there are of persons in the country. And others than Roman Catholics have sometimes given countenance to their unwarrantable exaggerations.

On the contrary, a noble lord in the Upper House of Parliament has lately stated that the Roman Catholics of Ireland now number only about 500,000 more than the Protestants; and his statement has been quoted as authentic in several of the leading journals, both metropolitan and provincial. What *data* his lord-

ship may have to warrant the conclusion at which he has arrived I am not aware of; but I fear they are as non-trustworthy as were the returns of 1834. Granting, as probably we must, that those returns represented the disproportion of numbers in the two great bodies to be larger than it truly was, and admitting further, that the number of Roman Catholics emigrating, and brought to an untimely end by famine and pestilence, has been considerably greater than that of Protestants, I question if we are warranted in reckoning that the excess of loss among Roman Catholics has reduced the proportion more than would make them now lower in number than seven to two of the Protestant population.

The cry long was that the hale and well-circumstanced Protestant yeomanry were all quitting the country—crowds upon crowds from Ulster itself—and abandoning the land to the other party.

Indeed, with every willingness to concede the utmost that can fairly be allowed, I venture to think that we place the number of Protestants at a sufficiently high figure if we reckon them as *one in four* of the population. This will give us at present in Ireland

4,886,846 Roman Catholics,  
1,628,948 Protestants of all Denominations;

reducing the number of Roman Catholics lower by 1,540,846 than it was stated to be in the returns of 1834, and increasing that of Protestants by 172,720 above what was then reported—a difference, I think, as great as we can believe to be required by error in those returns, and by causes of extra reduction in the number of Roman Catholics that have been in operation since.

Of course, this conjecture is made with regard to the proportion of the two bodies in the aggregate population. It admits that the relative numbers have altered materially in particular neighbourhoods, and in the provinces taken separately. The disproportion between Roman Catholics and Protestants may be greatly diminished in Connaught; but there is reason to believe that the relative number of Roman Catholics has been much greater in Ulster of late than it was in 1834.

## II. THE NUMBER OF CLERGYMEN OR RECOGNISED MINISTERS OF RELIGION.

### 1. The Roman Catholic.

The Roman Catholic Church in Ireland is divided into four archbishoprics and twenty-four bishoprics.

There are 2769 Roman Catholic clergymen, being a proportion of *one* to each 2353 persons of the aggregate population of the country. In the several provinces, the proportion stands thus:—

Ulster .....	615 Clergymen, or 1 to each	3259 Persons.
Leinster.....	885	, " 1884 "
Munster.....	844	" " 2170 "
Connaught.....	425	" " 2380 "

Supposing the conjecture before mentioned as to the number of Roman Catholics now in the country to be nearly correct, there is a proportion of *one* clergyman to every 1765 persons in that communion.

## 2. The Episcopalians, or Established Church.

This religious body divides the country into thirty-four dioceses under the government of two archbishops and ten bishops, with a small district called, "The Exempt Jurisdiction of Newry and Mourne."

There are 2261 clergymen, irrespective of those resident in the country without ecclesiastical charge. This aggregate of Episcopalian ministers divides in about the following proportions to the several provinces:—

Ulster.....	654
Leinster.....	735
Munster.....	673
Connaught.....	199

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2261

giving an average of one minister to each 350 persons in that communion as a whole.

The support of the Established Church is, of course, derived almost entirely from what is called the Church property of the country. I say "almost" entirely, for some of the largest and most effective congregations in its fellowship have their expenses defrayed by pew-rents, or other forms of what is called the "voluntary principle." The curates are generally paid by the rector, vicar, or other incumbent of the parish in which they serve.

It is proper to state here, that, in the year 1834, the legislature provided for some important changes in the appropriation of ecclesiastical property, by what is called the "Church Temporalities Act," retaining the whole, however, for the body to which it previously belonged. This act reduced the number of archbishops from four to two, and of bishops from eighteen to ten—the sup-

pressed sees to become void on the demise of the then present occupants. The average Episcopal income had been £150,635; the act fixed the amount for the two archbishops and ten bishops of the new arrangement at a total of £67,537, which, if divided equally, would give to each £5628 a year. The suppressed sees were vested in a board of ecclesiastical commissioners. The revenue received from them in 1849 was upwards of £39,000. The other principal sources of revenue to the Board are;—suspended dignities and benefices—a tax in proportion to income upon all bishoprics and benefices above £300 per annum—disappropriated tithes—and about £4000 a year from a private fund for the augmentation of small benefices. The total annual receipts and expenditure by the Board, for the sixteen years from 1834 to 1849 inclusive, averaged £112,000. The outlay, exclusive of the Board's expenses, has been principally for rebuilding and repairing churches, for providing requisites for Divine service, and for stipends to incumbents, curates, vicars-choral, and diocesan schoolmasters. It is said that the total amount of tithe-rent charges payable in Ireland to ecclesiastical persons, including the commissioners, is £401,114 a year, which is estimated as about a hundredth part of the annual produce of the soil. This amount does not include property consisting in glebe-houses and lands.

A voluntary association was formed in 1839, called "The Additional Curates' Fund Society." It supplies additional clergymen to parishes requiring them, but unable to support them. In 1850, the number aided was thirty-five, by grants varying in amount from £5 to £75 each. The Queen is patroness, and the Lord Primate president, of this society.

### 3. The Presbyterians.

Of this denomination there are several bodies in Ireland.

#### (1.) The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church.

Previous to 1840 two bodies existed—one in fellowship with the Established Church of Scotland, and called the Synod of Ulster; the other in fellowship with the Secession Church of that country, and called Seceders. In the year named, after due and amicable correspondence, the two bodies united under the name of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. It embraces about 480 congregations under the government of thirty-five presbyteries, giving a total of 514 ministers in charge of congregations. To these may be added ninety ordained ministers and licentiates having no charge—making a total of

+ This sum if divided equally among the 2261 Chuggan wards  
 give each £177:8:1 a year; but as it is said to include  
 the revenue of the Commissioners, one fourth will need  
 to be deducted, & thus the average money income is £133:1:1.



604 recognised preachers. As located in the several provinces, they are in—

Ulster .....	559
Leinster.....	20
Munster.....	10
Connaught.....	15
	604

(2.) The Reformed Presbyterian Synod of Ulster is divided into four presbyteries, containing twenty-nine ministers, and all situated in Ulster.

(3.) The United Original Seceding Presbytery of Down and Derry, containing four ministers—all in Ulster.

(4.) The Eastern Reformed Presbyterian Synod has two presbyteries, containing nine ministers—all in Ulster.

(5.) The Associate Presbytery of Ireland, containing six ministers—all in Ulster.

(6.) The Presbytery of Munster, containing ten ministers—two in Leinster and eight in Munster.

(7.) The Remonstrant Synod of Ulster, divided into three presbyteries, containing thirty-four ministers—all in Ulster.

(8.) The Presbytery of Antrim, containing twelve ministers—all in Ulster.

(9.) The United Presbytery or Synod of Munster, containing seven ministers—all in Leinster.

Of these nine bodies professing themselves Presbyterians, those numbered from 1 to 6 adopt the Westminster Confession as their symbol of faith. Those numbered from 7 to 9 are Unitarians.

Towards the support of the Presbyterian ministry in Ireland, an annual Parliamentary vote is made to the amount of £35,000, under the name of *Regium Donum*. The allowance to each minister from this fund is about £75 a year, and is granted irrespective of doctrinal opinions. But the bodies numbered 2 to 5 do not accept it.

The total number of ministers and licentiates belonging to the six evangelical bodies of Presbyterians in Ireland is 662, which are located, as to the provinces, thus :—

Ulster.....	607
Leinster .....	22
Munster.....	18
Connaught.....	15

4. The Methodists.

Of Mr Wesley's followers there are three bodies in Ireland, namely—

(1.) The Methodist Church, or Wesleyans in connexion with the English Conference, has 157 ministers and missionaries.

(2.) The Primitive Wesleyan Methodists. This body has eighty-one ministers and missionaries.

(3.) The Methodist New Connexion has ten missionaries, of whom nine are in Ulster and one in Leinster.

The total number of ministers and missionaries in the Methodist bodies in Ireland is 248, divided as to provinces, thus:—

Ulster.....	135
Leinster.....	57
Munster.....	40
Connaught.....	16

5. The Congregationalists.

The number of their ministers in Ireland is twenty-four, namely—in Ulster, fourteen; in Leinster, six; in Munster, three; in Connaught, one.

6. The Baptists.

This body has sixteen ministers in the country, namely—in Ulster, five; in Leinster, six; in Munster, three; in Connaught, two.

7. The United Brethren have twelve ministers in Ireland, of which are in Ulster, ten; in Leinster, two

Altogether, then, there are in Ireland of Protestant ministers, not including the Unitarians—

Episcopalians.....	2261
Presbyterians.....	662
Methodists.....	248
Congregationalists.....	25
Baptists.....	16
United Brethren.....	12
Total .....	3224

outnumbering the Roman Catholic clergy by 455, and being in the proportion of one Protestant minister to each 2021 persons in the population, and to each 508 Protestants. As located in the several provinces, they are as follows:—

Ulster.....	1425, or 1 to each 1405 persons.	<i>one third - 937</i>
Leinster.....	828, or 1 " 2014	<i>two thirds - 1343</i>
Munster.....	737, or 1 " 2485	<i>under 10 years of age - 1657</i>
Connaught.....	233, or 1 " 4342	<i>age - 3895</i>

x deducting one third for persons under 10 years of age, there is thus one Protestant minister to each 1340 of the population or 339 of the Protestants

The proportion of Protestant ministers to Roman Catholic clergy is, in the several provinces—

Ulster.....	1425	Protestant ministers to	615	R. C. clergy.
Leinster.....	828	”	”	885
Munster.....	737	”	”	844
Connaught.....	233	”	”	225

425

The Society of Friends have a number of congregations, and have honourably distinguished themselves in benevolent works.

### III. COLLEGES IN IRELAND FOR THEOLOGICAL STUDENTS.

#### 1. The Roman Catholic Colleges.

Of these there are six.

- (1.) The Royal College of St Patrick, Maynooth.
- (2.) The College of St Patrick, Carlow.
- (3.) The College of St Patrick, Thurles.
- (4.) The College of St Kyran, Kilkenny.
- (5.) The College of St John, Waterford.
- (6.) The Catholic Missionary College of All-hallows, at Drumcondra, near Dublin. This college educates ecclesiastics for foreign missions, and is sanctioned by the Holy See and the Propaganda. The *Catholic Directory* states, that a number of clergymen have formed themselves into a community, modelled upon that of St Sulpice, and gratuitously devote themselves to the direction and education of the young missionaries. There are at present between eighty and ninety students, under the care of a president, vice-president, and seven professors. The destinations of the students are said to be, “Agra, Calcutta, England, Hobart Town, Van Diemen’s Land, Madras, the Mauritius, Scotland (W. D.), Trinidad, Rhode Island, Texas, New Zealand, Sydney and Melbourne (Australia), Oregon city, Nesqually (Oregon), Vancouver’s Island, Cape of Good Hope (E. D.), Montreal and Kingston (Canada).” “The holy sacrifice of the mass is offered up every morning for all the subscribers and benefactors, living and dead, and for their intentions; they will, moreover, be entitled to a participation in the merit of the apostolic labours, conversions, masses, prayers, and other good works, which may be the fruit of this institution, throughout the world, to the end of time.”

The Roman Catholic colleges in Ireland, for preparing a priesthood for the country, have collectively a staff of thirty-five professors, of whom fourteen are engaged in the departments of Theology, Sacred Scripture, and Ecclesiastical History.

With the exception of the Maynooth College, none of these institutions receive aid from Government.

### 2. The Episcopal or Established Church.

The ministers of this body generally receive their education in Trinity College, Dublin, which is also a university. It was founded by Queen Elizabeth in 1593. It is on a more liberal basis than the sister establishments at Oxford and Cambridge, inasmuch as it admits Protestant Dissenters and Roman Catholics, as such, equally with members of the Established Church, to attain degrees in arts, though it restricts the ecclesiastical courses to the last-named class. Its staff of professors in that department includes two of Divinity, with fifteen assistants among the junior fellows, one of Biblical Greek, and one of Ecclesiastical History. The number of students of all kinds who entered Trinity College during the five years from 1844 to 1848 inclusive averaged about 350 a year. The number who annually passed their examinations for the Bachelor's Degree in Arts, during the same term, was about 240. And the number who received divinity certificates during that period was about 111 annually. By which it appears that nearly one-third of those entering the College, and approaching one-half of those who pass their degree examination, are candidates for the ministry in the Established Church.

### 3. The Presbyterian Church.

This body has its General Assembly's College at Belfast, having a staff of eight professors, namely, two of Systematic Divinity, one of Ecclesiastical History and Pastoral Theology, one of Sacred Criticism and Interpretation, one of Biblical and Ecclesiastical Greek, one of Oriental Languages, one of Moral Philosophy, and one of Sacred Rhetoric. The students have to attend for six sessions, of an average of six months, in each successive year. The average number of students is about 200. The usual fee is £2 from each to the professor he attends during the session. Each professor is paid £250 a year by Government.

A bequest of £20,000 for the foundation of another Presbyterian college, in connexion with the General Assembly, is in progress of arrangement.

## IV. VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES FOR PROMOTING THE GOSPEL IN IRELAND.

Of these there are a goodly number. They consist of two classes—General and Denominational.

## 1. General.

Of these ranks

(1.) and chief, The Hibernian Bible Society.

This was founded in 1806, upon the model of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and was designed to do for Ireland the work which that nobler institution projects for the world. Besides the authorised English version, it has published a translation of the entire Scriptures in the Irish language and character. It has a large number of auxiliaries, branches, and associations, through the country. From its commencement, its issues of Bibles, Testaments, and portions of the Scriptures, up to March last, amounted to 1,913,857. Those for the year ending at the date mentioned amounted to 103,138, being 5264 above the previous year. The expenditure from the beginning has been £185,611, 7s., including for the last year £3451, 5s. 4d. Its distributions have been by sales at cost or reduced prices, and by grants to schools, emigrants, societies, colporteurs, &c. It has at present twenty-three colportage agents, occupied solely in the sale of the Sacred Writings.

(2.) The Sunday-school Society for Ireland.

It affords aid to Sunday-schools by sales at reduced prices or by grants of Bibles, New Testaments, portions of the Scriptures, and other books and printed helps in the good work. The number of schools, scholars, and gratuitous teachers in connexion with the Society on the 1st of January last were—

Province.	Present Population.	Schools.	Scholars.	Gratuitous Teachers.
Ulster.....	2,004,289	1931	164,635	14,151
Leinster.....	1,667,711	457	32,314	3,006
Munster.....	1,831,817	400	17,160	1,774
Connaught.....	1,011,917	216	12,403	822

Giving for the country a total of 3004 Sunday-schools, containing 226,512 scholars, under the instruction of 19,753 gratuitous teachers, which is an *increase* of fifty-one schools and 2454 scholars, and a *decrease* of fifty teachers, from the preceding year.

(3.) The Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor, commonly called the Kildare Place Society, was established in Dublin in 1811. Its principles were the admission of pupils, uninfluenced by religious distinctions, and the reading of the Bible or Testament, without note or comment, by all the pupils who had attained a suitable proficiency; excluding catechisms and contro-

versial treatises; "the Bible or Testament not to be used as a class-book, from which children should be taught to read or spell." A pledge having been given by the committee that "no attempt should be made to influence or disturb the peculiar religious tenets of any sect or description of Christians," a grant of £5538 was made by Government to the Society in 1819, at which time it had 241 schools, containing 16,786 children. Subsequently the Society's operations greatly multiplied, and the Government grant was increased, until in 1826 it reached £30,000, from which year till 1830 it was £25,000 annually. It was then discontinued. The Society had at that time 1621 schools, containing 137,639 scholars. The Society was left without resources, and it has since declined so far as to have been for many years unable to do more than support a model-school in Dublin, and make occasional grants of school requisites for helping on education in other parts of the country. The Roman Catholic hierarchy objected to the reading of the Scriptures by the young, even with the limitations prescribed by this Society; and, as the Society would not yield that principle, to meet the wishes of the priesthood, the Government established a system of its own, which forbade the reading of the Bible in ordinary school hours.

(4.) The Religious Tract and Book Society for Ireland was formerly active and useful, but at present it has little more than a nominal existence.

(5.) The Religious Tract Society of London is an institution to which the interests of Christian truth and piety in Ireland have been long, and continue to be, largely indebted. An Hibernian branch has been lately formed in Dublin, partly with the view of promoting its colportage agency in the country; but as yet little has been done in that respect, through the great difficulty, experienced also by other societies, of obtaining suitable men for the work.

## 2. Denominational.

(1.) Connected with the Episcopalian body.

1st, The Association for Discountenancing Vice and Promoting the Knowledge and Practice of the Christian Religion.

This Association was instituted in 1792, and incorporated by Act of Parliament in 1800. It corresponds nearly to the London Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Its funds were derived principally from Parliamentary grants, till the year 1832, since which time it has depended altogether upon voluntary

contributions. From its commencement up to September 1850, it had sold at reduced prices, or given gratuitously for catechetical premiums or otherwise—

190,124 Bibles.
305,475 Testaments.
3,895 portions of the Scriptures.
423,471 Books of Common Prayer, and
2,704,552 religious and moral books and tracts.

Of these, 1960 Bibles, 911 Testaments, 408 portions of the Scriptures, 7810 Prayer-Books, and 11,041 tracts, were issued during the year ending with the above date.

How far the “religious and moral books and tracts” circulated by this Association are what would be considered evangelical, I am not aware.

2d, The Church Education Society for Ireland was formed in 1839. Its “objects” are “to assist schools at present existing in the country, and to establish *new* schools on an *improved system*, for the purpose of affording to the children of the Church, instruction in the Holy Scriptures, and in the Catechism and other formularies of the Church, under the direction of the bishops and parochial clergy, and under the tuition of teachers who are members of the United Church of England and Ireland.”

The Society works chiefly through diocesan societies in the several parts of the country, of which there were twenty-seven in the year 1850. The number of schools upon the list in the same year amounted to 1882, and of scholars upon the roll in them were 108,450, being an increase of fourteen schools and a decrease of 3507 scholars upon the previous year. The average attendance of scholars enrolled in the schools was, in 1850, 64,647. Of the 108,450 scholars on the roll there are reported, to be of

Children of the Established Church.....	60,019
” Protestant Dissenters.....	15,134
” Roman Catholics.....	33,297

The receipts of the Society for the same were—

	£	s.	d.
By the Diocesan Societies.....	33,647	18	5½
” General Society.....	4,610	2	2

The London Hibernian Society is now an auxiliary to the Church Education Society for Ireland. Urgent applications have been made to Parliament for a pecuniary grant to the Society, but hitherto in vain.

3d, The Irish Society for Promoting the Scriptural Education and Religious Instruction of the Native Irish through the Medium of their own Language.

Among other friends not resident in the country who have shewn a deep concern for the Irish-speaking portion of its inhabitants, the Rev. Christopher Anderson of Edinburgh deserves particular mention. He repeatedly visited and traversed the land, obtaining information, and endeavouring to awaken in Protestant ministers and others reflection and activity on the subject. His "Historical Sketches of the Native Irish" had a wide circulation. Partly, at least, in consequence of his generous efforts, the Society now spoken of was formed in 1818. It employs three clerical agents—one in Ulster and two in Munster; thirty-seven Scripture-readers—two in Ulster, seventeen in Munster, and eighteen in Connaught; and has 667 schools—247 in Ulster, 217 in Munster, and 203 in Connaught. These schools contain 29,119 scholars, of whom 11,050 have passed examination.

It is to be observed, that the schools under this Society are voluntary assemblages of the peasantry, adult as well as youth, in what place may happen to be convenient. A competent person is engaged to teach them the Irish language sufficiently to read the Irish Scriptures, and he is paid in proportion as his pupils pass examinations. Nothing else is taught in the schools.

The Society has issued during the past year, by grants from the Hibernian Bible Society—

365	Irish Bibles.
146	English ditto.
2,397	Irish Testaments.
4,527	Irish portions of Scripture.

The Society also issued during the year—

16,831	Irish Primers.
51	Irish Grammars.
90	Irish Dictionaries.
12	English Prayer-Books.

The Society has appropriated the following sums, to be paid annually, to encourage the study of the Irish language:—

Endowment of Four Bedell Scholarships in Trinity College.....	£80	0	0
Premiums to Irish Students in College.....	30	0	0
Premiums to Students in Lucan School for the sons of the Clergy, not exceeding.....	25	0	0
	<u>£135</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>



4th, The Irish Society of London for Promoting the Education and Religious Instruction of the Native Irish through the Medium of their own Language co-operates with the Irish Society in Dublin, taking under its supervision the greater part of the mission work. It includes among its agents 17 Irish-speaking clergymen—1 in Ulster, 8 in Munster, and 8 in Connaught; 4 lay agents—2 in Leinster and 2 in Munster; 90 Scripture-readers—21 in Ulster, 8 in Leinster, 22 in Munster, and 39 in Connaught; and 10 schoolmasters—2 in Munster and 8 in Connaught.

5th, The Ladies' Auxiliary to the Irish Society was at first merely what its name imports; but has for some time had an agency of its own. It employs 95 Scripture-readers and 3 teachers of schools, located thus:—in Ulster, 19; in Leinster, 7; in Munster, 43; in Connaught, 29.

Of these agents, 29 are paid by the Irish Society of London, and several others are paid for by associations, congregations, and individuals in Ireland, England, or Scotland. £20 is mentioned in the statement of accounts as paid in "salaries to Irish-speaking clergymen."

6th, The Scripture-readers' Society for Ireland.

"The simple object of this Society is, to employ, after most careful examination of character and qualifications, men of humble rank and approved piety to read the Scriptures amongst the poor, from house to house. Being of the same grade with the persons amongst whom they move, they are most willingly admitted to houses where a Protestant minister could not so readily obtain access." The agents are "strictly prohibited from carrying about with them, for the purpose either of reading to the people, or of distributing amongst them, any book or publication but the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments." They are also "strictly prohibited from preaching, either in houses or elsewhere; and must avoid altogether assemblies of the people at fairs or markets." Their "business is to be with families and individuals."

The Society was formed in 1822. It has now under its care 68, of whom 27 read or speak the Irish language. The 68 agents are located thus:—

Ulster.....	20
Leinster.....	16
Munster.....	20
Connaught.....	12

7th, The Islands and Coast Society,

Mr Anderson, before named, in his "Sketches of the Native Irish," called attention to the "Islands of Ireland," numbering in all 196, of which 140 were inhabited by a population estimated at 42,999. Separated from the mainland, they lived and died without the instructions of the gospel. To meet the spiritual wants of those insulated thousands, and of the thousands more upon various portions of the coast of the country the islands bordered upon, a society was formed about sixteen years ago, and employs for the purpose missionary clergymen, Scripture-readers, and schools. It has at present 43 stations, and as many schools, —containing in all 3000 children. Of the stations there are, in Ulster, 9 ; in Leinster, 3 ; in Munster, 17 ; in Connaught, 14.

The Society has found it necessary in some cases to administer "temporal relief."

*8th.* The Dingle and Ventry Mission Association, for the Promotion of Protestantism, and Protection of Converts from Popery in that district.

Dingle is a small town on the north shore of a bay of the same name in the county of Kerry, containing, in 1841, a population of 3400. In 1829, a clergyman then on a mission-tour preached in the market-house at Dingle in the Irish language, and from that visit arose the occupancy of the place as a station of the Irish Society. A clerical missionary was appointed to the sphere. Difficulties were gradually overcome, agency increased, and, although priestly influence did its worst to check the work, success was realised, until, in 1845, the number of converts and their children amounted to 800 individuals. Many of the converts have been employed in erecting churches and school-houses, and in farming, for which latter purpose some portions of land have been taken. Gratuitous relief has also been administered, rendered necessary partly by the destitution which prevailed, and partly by the persecution to which the converts were exposed. In the time of famine and pestilence many of the converts left the neighbourhood for other parts of Ireland, or emigrated to England or America. "The Mission extends over six parishes, forming the western extremity of the peninsula of Dingle, which stretches out forty miles into the Atlantic ocean, and includes also the Great Blasquet island. Twelve years ago there was but one small church, and three or four Protestant families, in the whole district. There are now five places of worship—three large churches, and two licensed school-houses—in four of which Divine service is

performed, principally in the Irish language. There are 255 families of converts, consisting of 1150 individuals, independently of the recent conversions in the Dingle Poorhouse, and nine daily schools under the care of the Mission. More than seventy adult converts have sealed the sincerity of their conversion by dying in the faith, and nine converts from this district have been ordained for the ministry of the church, and are still engaged in the ministry or have died in the faith. A Roman Catholic priest, sent by the Roman Catholic bishop expressly to put down the reformation in the district, became himself a convert in connexion with it."

*9th, The Achill Mission.*

Achill is a large island off the coast of Mayo, which, by the census of 1841, contained a population of more than 6000. A mission colony was planted there in 1833, when, with the exception of a few coast-guards, there was not a single Protestant among its inhabitants. The evangelising agencies are three mission clergymen, and schools containing 1800 children. There is also a training-school for schoolmasters and Scripture-readers. The secular department includes a dispensary and hospital, farming operations, a printing office, building, and other works connected with a colony. Two churches, with several school-houses, have been erected. The most determined opposition that Roman influence, headed by Archbishop M'Hale, could command, has been brought to bear against the work, but happily in vain. At a visit from the Bishop of Tuam, in September 1849, 400 persons were "confirmed," of whom only 28 were originally Protestants. A parish church has been built at Achill Sound, on the neighbouring mainland, and missionary operations are extending in the district.

*10th, The Society for Irish Church Missions to the Roman Catholics carries on operations with great vigour in Dublin, Belfast, Limerick, Enniscorthy, and the county of Galway. In Dublin, besides a clerical missionary, "there are thirty-two agents employed, whose daily occupation is to visit amongst the Romanists, and strive to bring them to an acquaintance with the gospel of Jesus."*

The summary of the agency is as follows:—13 ordained missionaries, 1 lay superintendent, 3 lay agents, 83 readers, 41 schoolmasters and mistresses; making altogether 141 agents employed.

This does not include the agents in the employ of the several

local committees for missions, whose salaries are paid by the Society, while the responsibility of engaging them rests with the local clergy.

The lower instrumentality of Irish teachers, which is of very great importance in carrying on the work, includes 274 persons, who instruct 3520 Romanists in reading the Irish Scriptures.

11th, The Ladies' Hibernian Society makes grants toward the support of female schools in Ireland.

12th, The General Irish Reformation Society for the Restoration in Ireland of her Primitive Religion and the Necessary Protection of Converts.

Of this Society, "conversion is the first object, and protection the second." During last year, it had in connexion with it 17 Scripture-readers, 14 schoolmasters, 4 schoolmistresses, and made grants to several other schools. It had also built, or assisted in building, 17 school-houses, 9 of which are to be used as churches. Several Scripture-readers' houses and schoolmasters' houses were also built, giving employment to destitute and persecuted converts. It has built a church in Ennis, where a missionary now preaches the gospel.

13th, The Priests' Protection Society, "the great objects of which are—*first*, to protect priests of good character who conscientiously abandon the apostasy of Rome for the pure faith of the gospel; *second*, to afford protection and education to a class of young men originally intended for the priesthood in the Romish Church; *third*, to disseminate throughout the world, by means of the pulpit and the press, scriptural and anti-Popish instruction; *fourth*, to reform Romish priests throughout Great Britain, Ireland, and foreign countries.

"Since the formation of the Society in 1844, fourteen reformed priests, and twenty-five reformed Romish students, have received aid and protection. The Society has also issued from the press 202,910 copies of scriptural and anti-Popish publications."

(2.) Connected with the Presbyterian denomination.

1st, The Home Mission of the General Assembly, whose labours embrace two departments—the support of gathered congregations not yet in receipt of the *Regium Donum*, and aggressive movements upon the masses of population that are still in the darkness and superstitions of Popery.

During the year ending July 1850, 34 congregations received aid from the funds—19 in the north, and 15 in the south and

west. Some of these have, during the year lately expired, become entitled to the "Bounty," and thereby are no longer dependent on the Mission. The "principal members" of these congregations are said to be "old Presbyterians from Scotland or Ulster, bound by strong associations to the Church of their fathers, to the land of their fathers' homes and graves."

The Assembly's Mission to Roman Catholics embraces five principal spheres.

1st, The Irish schools in the county of Tyrone were established sixteen years ago. There are now 46 teachers, with 340 scholars, under the superintendence of the minister at Six-mile-town. 25 of the teachers, reared as Romanists, "attend Presbyterian worship; and the minds of the children are stored with Christian truth, as expressed in the Shorter Catechism."

2d, At Petigo, in the county of Donegal, are 20 Irish teachers and 397 scholars, also privileged with evangelical oversight and instruction. "Two of the teachers, with their families, have ceased attending mass," and "three others have sought admission to the Presbyterian Church."

3d, The mission at Birr, or Parsonstown, is under the care of the Rev. Dr Carlisle. There, among our English-speaking population, are greater openings for usefulness than can be supplied. A medical missionary is connected with the station, and his professional attentions to the people prepare for and aid direct attempts for their evangelisation. There are three daily schools in which industry is taught, in addition to other secular instruction. Several Scripture-readers are employed, who have been gladly received by 660 families.

4th, In the county of Kerry "the cause of truth," says the Society's last Report, "flourishes notwithstanding the success of the Romish priesthood in doing what in many places they have not influence to do now—stirring up the lowest of the people to oppose reformation by lawless violence." There are also schools with a large attendance of pupils.

5th, The province of Connaught.

In Connaught are "twelve ministers doing missionary work, nine catechists or Scripture-readers, forty schools, in which are forty-seven teachers, of whom five are male teachers, and the remainder female teachers. There are on the rolls above 2000 children, and about 1500 in daily attendance. In the female schools the sewed-muslin work is taught to about one-half of the

girls." "Preaching, prayer-meetings, and Sabbath-schools are being conducted constantly in each of the missionary districts." "Through means of the schools, there is access to a larger extent, for the missionary and Scripture-reader, to Roman Catholic families, whose children constituted about four-fifths of the scholars." In Galway, under the superintendence of the missionary, are fifty Irish schools, with 530 pupils.

In Ulster, sixty-six Irish teachers and 747 scholars; in Leinster, three industrial schools and 180 scholars; in Munster, one missionary; in Connaught, twelve missionaries, nine catechists or Scripture-readers, fifty Irish teachers and 430 scholars, forty industrial schools and 2000 scholars.

In relation to "Irish" schools, it is stated that circumstances have greatly changed. The native language is rapidly falling into disuse; Romanist parents wish their children to learn English; and it has become difficult to find a sufficient number of pious persons to conduct schools in the Irish tongue.

2d, The Belfast Ladies' Relief Association for Connaught.

This association employs forty-four female teachers in as many schools of female industry, where Scriptural instruction is imparted, while the scholars are trained in needlework, and many of them already earn what contributes to their support.

(3.) Connected with the Methodists.

Each of the three Wesleyan Methodist bodies, already named, has its missionary operations for evangelising the country. The ministerial agents connected with each have been numbered with the circuit preachers under a former heading.

1st, The Methodist Missionary Society embraces Ireland as a department of its general operations. It has in Ireland, eighteen missionary stations, occupied by twenty-two missionaries. Of these stations, there are five in Ulster, two in Leinster, eight in Munster, and three in Connaught. Some of the missionaries preach "in the open air, and are much encouraged by the crowds, who are anxious to hear the Word of God." They state that "they never saw the Roman Catholic population so willing to hear them preach as now." Connected with the Mission are sixty-two day-schools for religious and general instruction, attended by from 3000 to 4000 children, some of whom are Roman Catholics. Several of the schoolmasters are also local preachers, and some of them can preach in the Irish language.

2d, The Primitive Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society

belongs to the Methodist body which remains in the communion of the Established Church.

This Society has twenty-six stations, and twenty-one ministerial agents, including a resident secretary and a travelling agent. Of the stations, ten are in Ulster, six in Leinster, seven in Munster, and three in Connaught. It has also Scripture-readers and mission schools—in Ulster, seven; Leinster, one; Munster, two; Connaught, two.

“From as accurate a calculation as can be made of the labours of the Primitive Wesleyan Methodist itineracy in Ireland,” including those of the circuit-preachers and the missionaries, “the following result appears:—in the course of each year 40,000 sermons in English and Irish are preached; 100,000 family visits are paid, and 120,000 miles travelled.”

3*d*, The Methodist New Connexion Missionary Society occupies Ireland as a sphere. It has ten missionaries, namely, as before stated—in Ulster, nine, and in Leinster, one.

It is to be observed that all the Methodist bodies have a large number of preachers called “local,” who are engaged in making known the gospel in their respective neighbourhoods.

(4.) Connected with the Congregationalists.

The Irish Evangelical Society is a branch of the British Missions connected with the Congregational Union of England and Wales. It contributes to the support of twelve ministers, who also itinerate. Of these are—in Ulster, ten, and in Munster, two. It has also seven Scripture-readers, of whom are—in Munster, one, and in Connaught, six.

(5.) Connected with the Baptists.

The Baptist Irish Society of London supports, in whole or in part, sixteen ministerial agents, namely—in Ulster, five; Leinster, six; Munster, three; and Connaught, two.

It has also six Scripture-readers, and seventeen daily schools. Of these there are—in

	Scripture-readers.	Day-schools.
Ulster.....	...	2
Leinster.....	1	1
Munster.....	1	1
Connaught.....	4	13

(6.) Connected with the United Brethren.

This body employs eight Scripture-readers—all in Ulster.

(7.) The Trustees of the late Countess of Huntingdon support eight Scripture-readers, of whom are—in Ulster, five; in Leinster, one; and in Connaught, two.

To the above may be added several agencies reported by particular congregations, and individuals in different localities.

#### V. THE GENERAL STATE AND RELATIVE POSITION OF ROMANISM AND PROTESTANTISM IN IRELAND.

1. Of late years the Roman Catholic clergy have risen greatly in their social status.

At one time the Roman Catholics of Ireland were down-trodden by the Government. They were hostile to the Protestant succession in the British Crown, and it was then deemed right and pious for “the powers that be” to enforce Protestantism and its observances upon their subjects by pains and penalties. Both parties considered it a political not less than a theological conflict, and sought each, by carnal weapons, to overcome and to crush its antagonist. With the secular arm of Great Britain, the Protestants of Ireland kept the Papists under. Nor can we much wonder that they did so, remembering how Rome used the sword against Protestants when she had opportunity—how little the doctrine of religious freedom was understood—and how the Pope and his government act towards Protestants in Italy and Rome itself at present.

The establishment of Maynooth College by the Irish legislature in 1795, for giving a home education to the priesthood, was an important step towards raising the Roman Catholics, as a body, from depression. That measure was resolved upon from policy, not principle. It did more than provide a college for the priesthood—it gave the priesthood to understand how important their influence was in the reckoning of the British Government. The Emancipation Act of 1829 freed the Roman Catholics from civil disabilities, and placed them on a level with Protestants in the rights of citizenship. But that measure also did much more than it ordained. Emancipation was granted by the Government of the day, not because the advisers of the Crown deemed it just, nor as a boon which they were forward to bestow in their large-hearted and frank generosity, but from a motive of state necessity; both Houses of Parliament being told by its proposers, that, though contrary to their consciences, it must be conceded, for there was no longer a possibility of governing Ireland without it.



Parties who most approved of the measure itself, deplored that it should be sustained and carried by such considerations, and they foresaw what followed of tumultuous agitation pressing yet greater demands.

The power which the Roman Catholic clergy possess over the consciences of their flocks, and which they have never failed to exert for their own purposes when opportunity arose, made it an object of moment with our rulers to secure their goodwill. They have received attentions, and have had hints given of a disposition to award to them a pecuniary support, from parties high in authority. The last-named suggestion was not, however, met as was perhaps expected it would be. We may differ in opinion as to the propriety of civil establishments of religion; but I apprehend there are few evangelical Christians who would not, with the Bishop of Cashel, "prefer the voluntary principle to the endowment of two antagonist churches."

2. The Protestant communities in Ireland are greatly revived in practical regard to evangelical truth.

This happy change is most apparent in the Episcopal or Established Church. What was its condition in the last century, and the beginning of the present, has been already noticed. Various causes have concurred to produce a better. Earnest evangelical preaching by ministers of other denominations drew public attention, and it was seen that if the Bread of Life could not be had in conjunction with the ordained formularies, the formularies would be relinquished for it, if it could be had elsewhere. The few faithful clergymen that were scattered over the country early in the century, gradually induced some of their less decided brother clergymen to join them in clerical meetings, for reading the Bible, and free conference upon it, and for joint prayer. By this means the leaven of heartfelt piety and ministerial fidelity was widely spread. The gatherings and addresses at Bible Society anniversaries had a most beneficial effect. The discussion of the points at issue between Romanists and Protestants did much to diffuse information, and awaken thought, respecting the doctrines termed evangelical. The extent to which the great tenet of justification by faith alone is preached in the pulpits of the Established Church in Ireland, must be highly gratifying to every wellwisher to the land, whatever may be his conscientious objections to the peculiarities of that Church itself. This truthful preaching is also generally accompanied by vigilant pastoral visitation, and other means of congregational

usefulness. There are many ministers in that section of the Church general, whose honest piety and devotedness entitle them to be loved and valued as good servants of Jesus Christ. At the April anniversaries of the principal religious societies in Dublin, some hundreds of evangelical clergymen, from various parts of the country, have met day after day for conference upon matters connected with the cause and kingdom of their and our Lord. To a considerable degree the people imbibe the spirit of the pastor. And the statistics given of evangelising agencies connected with this body prove that it is not negligent of the interests of the gospel and of souls in the yet unenlightened masses of the land.

In the Presbyterian denomination, there has been a revival of Christian zeal not less real than among the Episcopalians, particularly within the last thirty years. Previously to that date, as before mentioned, Arianism prevailed to a melancholy extent in the synod of Ulster, and instances were not very rare of ministers in that Synod, and in the Secession Synod, being addicted to intemperance. Measures were taken by the former to insure orthodoxy in all who were admitted to the ministry; and the Temperance movement remedied the other evil. Occupation in farming took off many of the ministers from a due attention to God's husbandry, which consequently lay waste; the rising ministry are devoting themselves to the cure of souls. The junction between the two synods, under the name of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland, has been succeeded by vigorous mission efforts in various fields. The body, previously almost confined to the north, is now, by its Home Mission, establishing itself in the south and west. It has a Foreign Mission in the province of Katakawar in India; a Jewish Mission in Germany and Damascus; and a Colonial Mission, which sends out about six ministers annually to those places, such as Canada, to which Irish Presbyterians are emigrating.

On the present state of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, I have received the following account:—

“The great central doctrine of Jesus Christ and him crucified, as the only ground of the sinner's peace and hope before God, is preached from all our pulpits. No form of heresy has been permitted to corrupt the truth for the last twenty years.

“Great attention is given throughout all our Presbyteries to pastoral visitation, to Sabbath-schools, to Bible-classes, and to other subsidiary agencies, for upholding and maintaining the gospel of Christ.

“There is growing attention to the subject of Popery. There are few of our pulpits in which at present there is not frequent elucidation of the points at issue between the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches.

“The practice of open-air preaching has been lately commenced by about twelve of our ministers, and is becoming more and more prevalent.

“Courses of lectures are being delivered in various districts by ministers associated for that purpose, on the present duties and responsibilities of the Church.

“In some districts intemperance is re-appearing, and threatening to regain its former strength. The cause of Total Abstinence is beginning to attract the attention of our ministers, and fifty of them are already members.

“The growing poverty of our agricultural population is thinning attendance on public worship, and exercising an influence on the spirit of many, which is powerfully counteractive of the gospel.

“The intense exertion required to secure to the humbler classes the comforts, or even the necessaries of life, is operating to indispose and to unfit a very considerable number of persons for spiritual exercises and objects.

“There is, I verily believe, a growing sense of our need of the outpouring of the Spirit of God, and a growing desire expressed for the bestowment of that great blessing, diffused over the whole Church.”

With regard to the Methodists, I have been assured that the Reports given in at the late Conference in Belfast, were truly refreshing. Probably a similar representation may be made of the state of piety among the Primitive Wesleyans.

3. The Roman Catholic Church in Ireland is in full activity for its purposes.

Its clergy, and in most cases its laity, were never more thoroughly alive. Notwithstanding the fearfully and almost necessarily demoralising tendencies of the Confessional and other parts of their system, there are among the priesthood men of respectable character, who are pious and earnest in their way. How far the generality, particularly in the non-Protestant districts are so, I will not undertake to say. In the early part of this century, there were scattered through the country a number of refugee clergy—men of cultivated minds and liberal or latitudinarian spirit, perhaps

sceptics as to Christianity, but who, as its professed ministers, had been obliged to leave France in the troubles of the Revolution. They presented a wide contrast to the native priests. When the new College of Maynooth began to send forth its *alumni*, another state of things commenced. As its influence progressed and matured, a race of ecclesiastics appeared with intellects quickened, sharpened, instructed, and trained in the best possible way for doing the drudgery of Roman ministrations *con amore*. In the outset of their curriculum, what mental independence they had was broken down, and their freedom of thought and will was wholly merged in the authority and concerns of the "Church." Though thus reduced to servitude, their pride was flattered, and their diligence quickened by being taught to regard themselves as, in no very modified sense, lords and saviours of the people.

Under their care the community awoke to new spirit and energy. One of the earliest of their public movements occurred in the autumn of 1824. The Hibernian Society, the Bible Society, and the Kildare Place Society, had done much to produce throughout the country attention to the Scriptures, and endeavours to promote an acquaintance with them among the peasantry. In the south and west, the Roman Catholic clergy, doubtless by concert, took a course which they calculated would at once stay and turn the tide which they felt had set in strong against them. They came forward at the meetings of the Auxiliary Bible Societies, and at other times, challenging to oral discussion upon the indiscriminate circulation and reading of the Scriptures, the right of private judgment, the authority of the Church, and other correlative topics. They were met. The mind of the whole population became engaged in the controversy. God's truth prevailed against Rome's assumptions and sophistries. In a few months the rulers of the priesthood saw that their underlings had gone too far. A pastoral appeared from the pen of the late Dr Doyle, forbidding that questions on which the "Church" had given judgment should be submitted for argument as undecided. But Protestants were effectually stirred to their religious principles, and especially to the claims of the Bible. On the other hand, the adherents of Romanism, driven from the open field, changed their line of tactics. Maynooth and kindred colleges applied themselves more vigorously than ever to discipline candidates for the priesthood. Parishes in which danger existed were watched and worked with unexampled vigilance and industry; altar

denunciations were unsparingly resorted to; and other methods which Rome well knows how to use were adopted to keep its faith and membership intact.

The Romanism of Ireland is the Romanism of Rome itself. In the evidence given by Roman Catholic prelates before the Parliamentary committees in 1824-5, for inquiring into the state of Ireland, it was affirmed that, although the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland had never formally received the articles commonly called the "Gallican Liberties," many individuals in its pale adopted them. Since that period, however, it has become known to the world that the doctrine of the Irish Roman Church is ultramontane in the strictest sense of the word. The authority of the Pope is absolute in all theological and ecclesiastical matters; and it is hard to say what secular affair may not be construed to involve the creed or the Church sufficiently to warrant his being consulted and his decision bowed to as final upon it. The Jesuits have their establishments; and their principles and *animus* everywhere prevail. Time would fail to record particulars of the other confraternities which abound, in conjunction with sisterhoods yet more numerous. Where shall we find devotedness more assiduous than is evinced by them in educating the young, in visiting and relieving the sick and poor, in building up the faithful, in making proselytes, in attending masses, in raising funds? The convents, nunneries, and monasteries or Christian schools, in Ireland, are stated to be 183, besides which are associations for religious or charitable purposes almost without end. Romanist congregations have their revival meetings, their solemn processions, their Sunday-schools, their charity sermons. Besides the bulls of indulgences to particular sodalities, and for works of charity, of devotion, and of service to the Church, there are eight bulls granting plenary indulgences, available by all Irish Catholics, four of them applicable also to souls in purgatory. There is not a country in the whole Roman world where Rome's dogmas have a firmer hold on the understanding and heart of the people than they have in many parts of Ireland. That the Papacy is prepared to keep Ireland in fellowship with itself, and that the Roman hierarchy in Ireland is prepared to keep it in full fellowship with the Papacy, is manifest from the proceedings and resolves of the Council at Thurles last year, of which the public are well informed.

4. Considerable advances have been made by Protestantism among the Roman Catholics in several parts of the country.

Notice has already been taken of successes in the Dingle district, and in Achill. But let us take a more general view.

An esteemed brother, on whose knowledge of the western district, including portions of Kerry, I place much reliance, has given me his opinions as follows:—

“So far as I have been able to examine and judge, I would say that the feeling of Roman Catholics at present on matters of religion is considerably different from what it was twenty or even ten years ago, and may in a word be expressed as a feeling of growing indifference. On the one hand, less superstition, less slavish subjection to the priest, less dread of his ghostly frown; but, on the other hand, in many quarters, I fear, proportionally less concern for the missionary and his message, unless they expect some temporal boon from him. I consider on the whole, however, that the advantage of this change of feeling is decidedly on the side of the truth. This sheer indifference to all religion, of course, wherever it prevails, at least disarms opposition to us, makes the people less unwilling to admit us to their cabins, nay, even in many cases enables us to prevail on them to let their children attend our schools, especially when we can hold out the inducement of industrial training. In short, you will best understand what I mean to convey when I say, that Popery in many parts of Ireland is becoming less like that of Spain, and more like that of France.

“The causes of this change no doubt are various. I would hope that one is the extension of education within the last ten or twenty years, as well as of higher notions of civil rights and privileges. The national schools, for example, however good men may differ as to their constitution, are, I am convinced, in the hand of God, an instrumentality which is silently springing a mine under the foundations of Rome in this country. And the prolonged agitations of O’Connell and other demagogues, the reading-rooms for years maintained and encouraged by them for their own political purposes, and the consequent growth of free inquiry on matters of civil liberty, &c., have no doubt been powerfully leavening the minds of thousands in regard to the higher questions of religious liberty, &c. Then, the character of many of the priests is so positively low, both intellectually and morally, that it is impos-

sible they can have much influence unless over an ignorant and depraved people; so that, of course, their power is waning just in proportion as the general light waxes. I may add that I have little doubt but the famine has in various ways been expediting the above process. Many of the people who once paid the priests well are reduced to beggary, and so are not now looked after by them with the same eagerness. Many, too, are so utterly famine-stricken, as now scarcely to have a thought beyond the supply of their bodily wants. The priests are, by emigration, famine, &c., themselves in deep poverty, and are therefore now greatly discouraged, both because of the decrease of their numbers generally, and their own personal privations particularly.

“So that, on the whole, I believe there never was, in our day, so favourable a moment for the diffusion of the truth in the land as now. God himself, in his own way, has been breaking down the people’s prejudices, and weakening the priests’ arms. Neither should we overlook the remarkable fact, that political agitation has now, for the first time in our day, been hushed to stillness; and not only are the people cooling down from their past feverish excitement, and thus enabled to listen calmly to the truth, but I believe they are to a large extent thoroughly convinced that, throughout this agitation, they were for the most part the dupes of designing demagogues. On the other hand, Orange excitement has on the whole been subsiding, and the kindness of Protestants during the famine has done much to conciliate the feelings and win the confidence of the Roman Catholics of this country.”

To this general statement I will add an extract or two from the last report of the Sunday-school Society for Ireland:—“It is a striking fact connected with the issues during the past year, that upwards of 3000 Bibles and Testaments, and 5000 portions of Scripture and Scripture reading books, were granted for the instruction of Roman Catholics or converts from the Church of Rome, principally in the west of Ireland.”

One of the Society’s agents writes—“In one district of this county (Galway), I had the happiness of seeing on many occasions upwards of 1800 children and 400 adults, Roman Catholics or converts, receiving instruction from God’s Word in the Sunday-schools; and these also attend, with a considerable number in addition, at Divine service on the Lord’s Day, as well as at weekly lectures which are held in the several school-houses.”

Another agent writes—"I have lately visited some of the districts in the counties of Limerick, Kerry, and Cork, where conversions from Romanism have been going on for some time in a manner most surprising, if we consider the persecution the poor converts experience, not only from priests, but from their nearest relatives, especially in the parishes of ———— and ————, in the county of ————, where an attempt has been made to deprive them of the use of wells by the roadside. No one dare offer them any kindness, or even speak to them; but, notwithstanding all their trials, between 500 and 600 Roman Catholics of all ages have joined the Church of England, and are constant attendants in the churches and Sunday-schools in their parishes."

The "Occasional Paper" of the Society for Irish Church Missions to the Roman Catholics, for August 1851, states—"The missionary work which was first adopted by this Society had been commenced in Galway in the year 1846. An extraordinary progress has been made since that period: multitudes of Romanists have been converted from Popery, and led to make a decided profession of the gospel. This is evidenced by the demand which has arisen for churches, schools, and missionaries, in various parts. The Bishop of Tuam, in whose diocese the county of Galway is situated, has found it necessary to issue an appeal for the erection of at least eight new churches, and the enlargement of others, without delay, to provide for the increasing congregations of converts, who have come out of Popery. Some of these churches are now in course of erection, and an urgent necessity exists for more funds to commence the building of others. In West Galway alone, upwards of 3000 children are now under regular instruction, all of whom are the children of converted or still Romanist parents. Some idea of the amazing progress of the work may be gathered from the fact, that, whereas in one district alone (West Galway) there were ten years ago not more than 500 Protestants, there are now between 5000 and 6000. The reality of the work has been attested in a variety of ways. Resident English gentlemen who have purchased land in Connemara, and are able from local knowledge and observation to speak on the subject, declare there is every prospect, should the present movement go forward as it has hitherto proceeded, that ere long the whole of that part of Galway will become Protestant. The poor converts themselves have evinced remarkable consistency under the trials of physical



privation on the one hand, and violent persecution upon the other. The influence and power of the Romish priesthood have declined in a sensible degree."

The Report of the General Assembly's Home Mission also abounds in gratifying statements.

Of "open-air preaching" by the Primitive Wesleyan body, I am told, "the result has been the conversion, according to the best information, of several hundreds of Roman Catholics, who are now consistent members of different Protestant churches, but especially of the Established Church."

On the whole, by the judgment of all parties engaged in the work, there never were greater openings or encouragements for its prosecution than at the present time.

Although the attention of the British public has been directed chiefly to the work in the south and west of Ireland, much has been done also in Dublin itself; perhaps, indeed, the metropolis is becoming one of the most interesting and encouraging fields of evangelising effort.

For many years past controversial sermons have been frequently preached, particularly during Lent, from both Roman Catholic and Protestant pulpits; but of late they have been continuously delivered by clergymen of the Establishment, in six of the parish churches, and have been listened to by numbers of Roman Catholics as well as Protestants. Several courses of lectures have been delivered also in the Rotunda, by the Rev. Alexander King, and crowds flocked to hear. He likewise had an inquirers' class there week after week, for the benefit of Roman Catholics.

On the contrary, Roman Catholic pulpits have been occupied for defending and extolling Romanism, by the Rev. Dr O'Connell of Waterford, who, month after month, held forth with untiring power, making full use, for his purpose, of all matters and movements connected with English Puseyism.

5. There is still very much required to be done in Ireland for promoting evangelism among both the Protestant and the Roman Catholic portions of its population.

Thankful as we are for the revived practical regard to evangelical truth among Protestants there, since the beginning of the present century, we must not flatter ourselves with the supposition that all is with them as it ought to be.

Happily, Ireland contains little of avowed Puseyism in the

Episcopal body. We are perhaps in too close and constant antagonism with Popery itself, for that semi-Popery to find a place between the contending parties. But I am not sure whether there may not be in some quarters an *animus* of ecclesiasticism, and a value for "orders" and "sacraments," and "such like" things, which ill comports with the simplicity that is in Christ. That a large number of its ministers are honest, hard-working, evangelical men, has been before stated; but how far this description will apply to all its 2261 clergymen I am not able to say; the two classes do not now stand out so distinct from each other as they once did—they blend more generally and freely, and zeal in clerical duty is not always accompanied by a clear knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus.

And as to the Protestant Dissenting ministry, if the consciousness of one be the consciousness of others, included under that designation, it must be confessed that we are, with comparatively few exceptions, all more or less wanting in intelligent, prayerful, and earnest devotedness to our work. Revived as is the Dissenting ministry, it needs to be yet more thoroughly revived.

Reflecting that there are upwards of 3200 Protestant ministers in Ireland, if the ministry were effective to its ends, evangelical piety ought to be highly prosperous among the so-called Protestants of the country. Yet it is not thus everywhere. A calm-judging brother of not a few years' standing in the ministry in the most Protestant town in Comaught, replies to my inquiries on the subject—"Vital religion is low, low, low!" A minister in one of the most Protestant parts of the province of Ulster, writes me—"In relation to the state and prospects of evangelical truth and piety in Ireland, my conviction is, that we are yet in a very low condition, and that our prospects are far from encouraging. I am aware that orthodox doctrine is proclaimed to a much wider extent than formerly, and that efforts are made for circulating the Scriptures and instructing the rising generation beyond any that characterised former times. But on close inspection, I fear it will be found that much of the public teaching of the truth, whether from the pulpit or otherwise, is in the way of dry argumentative statement, without attempting to impress it on the heart and conscience. The Spirit is little honoured or sought, either by teacher or taught, and the duties of practical godliness are greatly neglected. I think I have observed in many quarters, during the

last ten or twelve years, decline, rather than revival, in this latter article. Many have a form of godliness, but are evidently without its power." This correspondent mentions "the prevalence of a low sectarian spirit—the ambition, common among the different sections of the Protestant Church, to have large numbers of adherents, and those of a respectable class—the want of discipline in the larger bodies, and their unhappy connexion with corrupt statesmen and mere men of the world," as among the causes which "sadly render the Church low and insufficient."

What proportion of the persons who partake of the Lord's Supper in the Protestant communities have spiritual fellowship with Christ, it is impossible to say. The ministration and forms of evangelism are now much more frequented among Protestants than they were. But attendance upon them is a much less sure sign of persons being right with Christ, than it would have been formerly. There is, it must be feared, a large portion of worldly-mindedness beneath the profession of godliness. Polemical preaching is not favourable to the nurture of spirituality. However necessary and useful, in certain respects, pulpit controversy may be, there is danger that the thought of the speaker and the hearer should be fixed upon exposing an error or vanquishing an antagonist, rather than upon winning and saving souls. It would be well if arguments directed to confute Romanism were always so proposed, as would make the Romanist feel it was Divine wisdom and love pleading with him to enlighten his darkness, and bring him to life, and holiness, and God. What is called political Protestantism is on its decline in Ireland. Parties once thoroughly possessed with it are becoming weary of it. If they have not learnt the sinfulness of trusting in man, they have felt the folly of making flesh their arm. And when the Protestants of Ireland come to put from them pride, and strife, and ambition—when they come to seek counsel and help of the Lord—that will be the day of the uplifting and triumph of their faith.

While we rejoice in the success that has attended the efforts made for the conversion of Romanists, we are liable to overrate these successes. Persons forward to state or to believe all that is good, are in danger of applying to a whole district what is true of only some particular localities. It is surprising and humbling, after hearing or reading a vivid description of things achieved, to find, on comparison, how small a proportion what has been done

bears to what has to be accomplished. It is lamentable, also, to reflect how much the liberal contributions and co-operations of Christian people towards forwarding the work of God depend upon our being able to tell them of "signs and wonders" wrought in connexion with it. Enough has been effected in Connaught, and in other parts, to shew that God is with us, and to stimulate us to yet greater efforts in his name. But if the entire amount of missionary and educational agency now being brought to bear on the Roman Catholicism of Ireland were placed before us in comparison with the amount of darkness that has to be enlightened, and the amount of depravity that has to be renewed, the disparity between the means and the end might almost discourage us. There are large tracts of the country yet unoccupied by evangelising influences. And we need to be careful lest, while truth gains in Connaught, it loses in Ulster.

"As to Popery," writes a friend, "its energy is wonderful. It may be in its *last* struggle; but the belief that it is so must arise from other data than what appearances furnish. And it has had so many *last* struggles, that you see no reason why it should not have many more." Nothing it can command will be left unemployed to counteract our endeavours. Industrial schools are gathering many under instruction in the Scriptures, along with instruction in needlework and other modes of earning a subsistence. Peradventure the Roman Catholic clergy will, ere long, begin schools of industry in Connaught, as they have begun them in Dublin. No money that Rome's well-stored coffers can supply—no agency that Rome's authority can bring into the field—will be wanting to undo what has been done—to counterwork all that we yet attempt.

It will not be without a hard struggle, and perhaps a long one, that Ireland will be gained for Christ. But the prize is worth striving for with all our might, and at all cost.

Oh, if our Divine Saviour put life into the three thousand Protestant ministers, making them very able men for the work of the service of his house—and if he put life into the sixteen hundred thousand Protestant persons, making them strive together for the faith of the gospel—the victory might soon and easily be won. May Ireland's Protestant ministers and people prove themselves true to their profession, to their God, and to the land they love!

And let Christians elsewhere accord to us their sympathy, their help, their prayers. Britain and her colonies should do it for their own sake; the United States should do it for their own sake; all Protestants should do it for the sake of their common Protestantism; and all evangelical Christians should do it for the sake of their common Christianity.

Brethren of the Evangelical Alliance, we ask these things of you. And we know that we shall not ask in vain.



# FRANCE.

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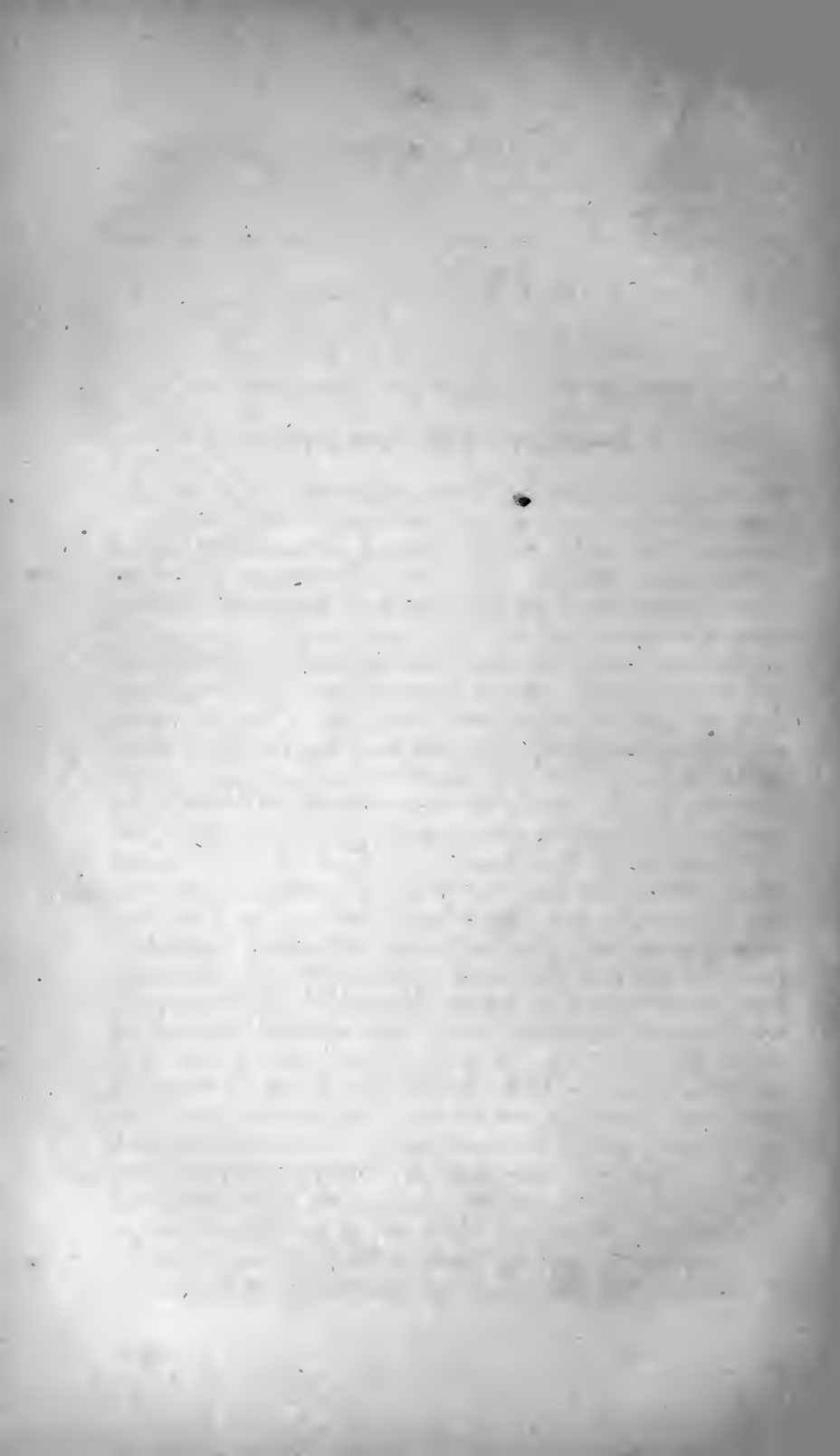
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# FRANCE.

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## ON INFIDELITY IN FRANCE.

BY THE REV. NAPOLEON ROUSSEL.

MY subject may be stated in the following terms—What infidelity exists in France with regard to the religion of Jesus Christ?

I propose to treat it in the following order:—What are the Causes of this infidelity? What are its Results; or, under what forms does it present itself? Finally, what are the Remedies which should be opposed to it?

*The Causes.*—The first reason why Christianity is disbelieved is that it is unknown. Such a statement may excite surprise in Paris—in London it will be better understood. Yes, the country which bears the name of “most Christian,” which counts churches by thousands, ecclesiastics by tens of thousands, is yet ignorant of Christianity; and, what is still more remarkable, all, even the most ignorant, pass judgment, with an imperturbable assurance, on that Christianity which they know not. Whatever hesitation may exist elsewhere, here men have so good an opinion of themselves, that they imagine they can define by instinct that which they have never studied. They have read, perhaps, an objection of Dupuis, a witticism of Voltaire, some sarcasms on Christianity from the workshop or the drawing-room—and with this superficial view they are satisfied; on these slender grounds Christianity is judged and condemned. Others go yet further, and without being even able to read, or having heard either side of the argument, they reject Christianity, and frame for themselves a religion composed of two dogmas—the existence of a Creator, and the hope of a future state;—a Creator, whom they regard only as the First Cause of the universe, and deny or forget his relation to them as their judge; a future state, which, resting on hope, and not on faith, is supposed to belong equally to all, less or greater degrees of happiness being assigned to those who are more or less culpable.

Besides, how should Christianity be known in a country which has barely emerged from a long series of ages in which the Bible, the very source of Christianity, has been unknown? Where the Bible itself has not existed, how shall we look for the religion which it teaches?

I know, indeed, that for the last quarter of a century the Bible has been freely distributed; but what, after all, are a million of Bibles in a population of thirty-six millions?—especially when it is remembered that half of them are by this time worn out; others are doing double and treble service in Protestant families; others have been carried off by the priests; others used up in schools, where Bible-reading is made a weary task. How many unread Bibles lie on dusty shelves! How many are read without being understood, their possessors knowing no more of reading than is barely sufficient to decipher the words, the sense and meaning of which escapes them!

But there is a yet more dangerous evil than ignorance—and that is, error. I would rather have to do with a man who avows and feels his ignorance, than with one who veils it under false notions. The second cause, then, which I shall notice, of infidelity in France, is confounding Christianity with Roman Catholicism. For the doctrine of free grace Rome substitutes works; with her, to worship in spirit and in truth, is to worship relics; the Saviour is the Virgin Mary. In a word, Christianity is the mass, confession, abstinences, ceremonies, processions. How should not religion, under these pagan forms, repel the superficial but intelligent multitude, who will not be at the pains of raising the Popish veil which covers the main features of Christianity?

But, it will be asked, has Christ no place in the Roman Church? Yes, he has; but *what* place, a fact which came under my own observation will best illustrate. Some years ago I was visiting the Papal church at Avignon. On the altar was a splendid image of the Virgin; around the nave were twelve arm chairs for the canons, with a throne for the bishop. Pained by these indications of idolatry and pride, I turned aside to an empty and ruined chapel. There, in a corner, and covered with dust, a small figure was thrown. The purple robe, the crown of thorns, the reed in the hands, shewed whom it was intended to represent. "This, then, is your Romanism!" exclaimed my companion to our guide; "it puts the Virgin on the altar, the clergy in the choir, but Christ in a shameful and forgotten corner!"

Only under this form is Christ known in the Romish Church ; only as a crucifix, or, in other words, a *fetish*, which is revered, kissed, worshipped, because it has been blessed by the priest. Otherwise there is no Christ—there is only the sacrifice of the mass, that potent spell for releasing souls from purgatory, which is celebrated in honour of the saints, or to commemorate any remarkable event. Christ, as a living and personal Saviour, an Intercessor, is unknown. As the host has supplanted the Saviour, so has the Virgin supplanted the Intercessor ; and the God-man is held in tutelage by his mortal mother, being always represented as a child in the arms, or at the feet of the Virgin Mary. All that remains of Christ in Romish doctrine is the sacrifice of the mass ; that is to say, salvation retailed by the priest at the price of a few pence.

I repeat it, for the great masses of our French population Christianity is Romanism, and Romanism is the mass, confession, ceremonies, fasts, and a thousand ridiculous superstitions ; and here we have a distinct reason why infidelity prevails in France. The gospel is, on the one hand, unknown ; on the other, seen through the distorting medium of Romanism.

The French bear the character among other nations of being good Catholics ; so they are, in name—but in fact, they are bad Protestants. You will find them, a thousand to one, mocking both the pretensions and the doctrines of the Romish Church. It is a perpetual subject of raillery among the very people, who yet have recourse to its ordinances, who in it are baptized, instructed, married, and interred, submitting, from custom, from decency, or from imitation, to its empty forms.

But, it will be objected, the Christianity which you thus represent as ignored by some, and ill-understood by others, has, nevertheless, been faithfully proclaimed in France. That is true ; but here, as in all other ages and countries, infidelity has a vantage ground in the natural repugnance of the heart to a doctrine which condemns its corruption and humbles its pride. This impediment to the spread of Christianity is so universal, as scarcely to need here a particular mention, were it not that certain features in our national character, which it may be well to bring forward, render it a more formidable opponent here than elsewhere.

Christianity addresses itself pre-eminently to the heart and the conscience ; but a Frenchman is essentially a reasoning and intellectual being, and every system which does not satisfy his reason

is suspected by him. Now, it must be acknowledged that such is the case with the gospel. Doubtless, when once the doctrines of grace have been received into the conscience, and, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, welcomed into the heart, the mind too is enlightened, and all becomes intelligible and harmonious to him who believes. But the natural man comprehends not the cross of Jesus Christ. We are not stating this as an accusation, but as a fact. If it is true that the gospel condemns the sinner, it is also true that it is condemned by the sinner; and the accusation against the gospel, that it is irrational, illogical, finds a strong response among our countrymen, who see, in the claim put forth by Christianity on our simple and unquestioning faith, a sufficient evidence that she feels herself incapable of proof. In their eyes, faith is not the surrender of the heart to a moral truth, which, in its very enunciation, finds its proof; but faith is an act of the imagination, creating its own phantoms, and the believer is one who shuts his eyes that he may persuade himself of what he desires; thus, the construction put upon the statement, that "we are saved by faith only," would be—that it suffices to be persuaded of an error, in order to have all the advantage which would ensue were it a reality. Christianity, I repeat it, in the demand it makes upon our faith, avows, in the eyes of Frenchmen, that it cannot be proved by simple good sense, by pure reason, or by logic—the basis, as they conceive, of all truth. It is not surprising that, starting from so false a principle, they arrive at the false conclusion of infidelity.

To these general causes—ignorance, superstition, and human pride—which, more or less, exercise an universal influence, must be added those which are peculiar to France. Such are the past vices and crimes of the Romish clergy. It might, doubtless, be advanced on this head, that the gospel of Jesus Christ is not responsible for the decretals of the Popes; but few will be at the pains of making this distinction, and the masses will charge upon Christianity the disorders and the crimes of its pretended adherents. The history of the Popes is better known in France than that of Jesus Christ, and the history of the priests better than that of the apostles. On the Church falls the reproach of having more than once enkindled war, of having convulsed the kingdom by intrigues, and spread corruption of manners by their evil example. And though, in the present day, the standard of clerical character is higher, the blame still attaches to them of avarice and ambition;

\* This paragraph is incautiously copied: The gospel  
 when properly understood & explained, is "the manifold  
 wisdom of God"—"that which is seen of all"—"the highest reason."

whether with or without cause, their manner of life is the frequent subject of suspicion, and becomes a fresh source of infidelity, according to the well-known proverb, "As is the fruit, so is the tree; as are the priests, so is the religion." This reproach, of course, legitimately falls on Roman Catholics; but if we keep in mind what I have already pointed out—the confusion which exists between the religion of the Pope and the religion of Christ—we shall see how readily the blame and responsibility belonging to the one may attach to the other. That which, above all other things, irritates the people against the clergy, is their rapacity, that is to say (for I would not assume the position of a judge), their rapacity, real or supposed; it will suffice to state that this is the general opinion; and I may even make a further concession, and say, that the priest may sometimes appear rapacious, because the people are avaricious. This is especially true in the rural districts; for to ask a peasant for his money is like asking his heart's blood. He will give it, indeed, rather than incur public contempt by throwing off ecclesiastical charges; but while he gives, he curses the demand and the priest who makes it; his hatred is roused against religion itself, and he is a ready victim for the snares of infidelity.

This reproach of rapacity is connected with another similar and very general accusation against the priest—that he makes a trade of the mass. The doctrine of *opus operatum* held by the Roman Church favours the idea. If the outward act be accomplished, all is well; and the temptation of entering into the priestly office, as a means of livelihood, is thus very great. The mass is equally celebrated, confession received, absolution given, whatever be the motives which induce the priest to assume his office; and the suspicion that these are often worldly ones has its effect; his discourses and counsels are received without affection, as they are supposed to be delivered without conviction; if there be no personal charge to lay against him, he is accused as belonging to a hypocritical body, whose most sacred duties are made a means of advancing their private interests.

This opinion of the priest extends also to his patrons; thus those governments which have protected the Church have generally shared in the hatred excited by the clergy. They are regarded as having an ultimate view to the preservation of their own place and power, in the encouragement which they give to the preaching of order and peace. The salaried priest is thus looked upon as the spiritual soldier of the State, and the charge of

hypocrisy extends to his employers. Thus the State and the Church became mutually dependent. This was well exemplified in the revolution of 1830. On the fall of the elder branch of the Bourbons, the priests fled, the churches were closed, the crosses rooted out from the provinces, and the archbishopric overthrown at Paris. And, by way of an opposite proof, when, some years later, the new government appeared to isolate its cause from that of the priests, the popular favour at once returned to the forsaken Church; finally, to complete the demonstration, when Louis Philippe, in imitation of his predecessors, leaned on the clergy for support, the people again included both in their hatred.

Being at that time occupied in the evangelisation of Roman Catholics, I have almost everywhere found antipathy to the Church united with antipathy to the government. Both, in the eyes of the people, were hypocrites, who preached religion to enforce obedience. From the foregoing facts, we arrive then at the conclusion, that the official religion in France has contributed to develop infidelity, from the sweeping charges of hypocrisy against both governments and clergy to which it has given rise; the people having seen, in their civil or ecclesiastical defenders of religion, only men who preached the faith to ensure obedience and the peaceable enjoyment of riches coveted by the poor. On the strength of this the natural inference has been, "If our superiors do not themselves believe the doctrines they preach, or cause to be preached, why should we?" Here we have a fruitful source of infidelity.

Now, let us examine into *the Results* of this infidelity, or, in other words, under what outward forms it is manifested.

In the first place, the hypocrisy of rulers has, as a natural result, produced hypocrisy in their subjects. It is a well-known and received maxim in France, that religion is *necessary* to conduct the affairs of the family and the state. Strange indeed it is, that those who see the necessity of religion for all but themselves, are blind to the contradiction involved in such a notion. There can be no doubt that it proceeds from a real disbelief of the truth—and I do not here speak of Christian truth, but of truth in general; there is no inwrought conviction that the *true* and the *good* are inseparably connected as principle and result; they do not think it a matter of importance to arrive at the discovery of the truth; they think it impossible to attain to such a discovery; in short, to state my whole conviction in few words, they do not think that truth

exists! As a natural consequence, they think that beneficial results may even flow from the polluted springs of error and falsehood. This dangerous and immoral doctrine finds expression in another popular axiom—"All religions are good, for all recommend morality and virtue; we will, therefore, hold to the one already established, for our children, our wives, our servants; we ourselves will remain philosophers"—that is to say, infidels.

It is thus that infidelity, incapable itself of producing morality, has had recourse to religion, and has assumed the garb of hypocrisy. It is thus that numbers, according to their rank and position, call themselves Christians, while unconvinced of Christian truth; under pretext of giving an example, they frequent the mass, which they inwardly despise; lest they should shock the prejudices of their wives, they bring their children to holy baptism; to introduce them to the world, they cause them to attend their first communion; often, too, the wife herself communicates, to escape the reproaches of stricter devotees. On the principle of concession to family feeling, marriages are celebrated in church; the fear of being considered avaricious induces men to pay the priest for interring their relatives; and, among all these motives, we may single out, as the highest, the consideration that religion, though in itself a refuge of lies, has a consoling power for the poor, the sick, the old, and does repress clamorous complaints and overgrown covetousness. Who does not see here the mutual working of selfishness and hypocrisy?

I cannot repeat it too often—whether men are conscious or not of this hypocrisy, whether it is more or less distinct, it is *general* in France, nay, under the specious name of philosophy, it is gloried in, and that by our rulers themselves. Does it, then, accomplish the end for which it has been adopted? Is religion really embraced by the subordinate classes—subjects, wives, children, workmen, servants? No; the crafty of this world are here taken in their own snare; each class detects the *ruse* practised upon him by his superior, and imitates his example. The religion passed on from the ruler to the citizen is by him consigned to his wife—the wife leaves it to the servant—the servant to the children—and presently the children see through the flimsy artifice; they, too, make sport of religion, and wait for the time when it will be their turn to deceive others. This is indeed horrible, but it is true.

Shall we follow out this general hypocrisy into its various and

fatal effects, producing a sensual, lying, immoral, dishonest, and vicious course of life? Shall we shew you hypocrisy in religion leading to hypocrisy in morals, and causing it to be adopted as an axiom, that scandal is worse than ill-doing—that concealed sin loses half its guilt—that all is permitted which does not offend against the property and life of others—that impurity, intemperance, blasphemy, violation of the Sabbath, are unimportant, because they do no one any harm? Shall I remind you of the principle of popular morality—"I have neither stolen nor killed?" Here even conscience is at its maximum, and general practice falls far short of this. No, I cannot enter into these details, but will content myself with the general statement, that there are *no* moral principles in France—I repeat it, *no moral principles*. If honourable exceptions are brought before me, I will say that such exceptions do but prove the rule. I do not, indeed, mean to affirm that every one is, for instance, guilty of injustice; but I do say, that they are for the most part held back by self-interest, or points of worldly honour, and rarely, indeed, by any principle of morality. Even this degree of probity is more apparent than real. Unfaithfulness is tolerated under its varied forms of deception, lies, and broken promises. All this is allowable; conscience, the voice of God in man's heart, is far less heard than human opinion; man is feared, not God; justice and probity are forgotten, if injustice can be practised without drawing upon the offender the frown of his fellow-men.

On the inclined plane of immorality, France is descending with an ever-accelerating speed, till it seems almost to have reached the lowest point of depravity; without faith, without conscience, its only safeguard a feeble respect for human opinion, a sense of honour, which exercises a continually-diminishing influence, sensual pleasure is boldly proclaimed as the legitimate object of life; such is the fearful state into which our country has fallen. If I am asked how, with such views, I account for our numerous charitable institutions, our hospitals, savings' banks, benefit clubs, &c., I would reply, one single principle explains all—fear, fear of revolution, fear of *emeutes*, fear of theft, and the rear which, alas! is least influential, the fear of hell. Hence the works of charity, which look so fair! But these works will prove insufficient to keep back the roaring and famished lion; socialism has not given up the conflict, it has sought a season of repose, but with the purpose of recruiting its strength. The leaders of the combats



rejoice even in the sufferings of their adherents, trusting that they will thereby be rendered desperate; and, be assured, the calculation is a just one. The long reckoning may not be settled at once, but it is held in reserve; wrath is gaining strength, miseries are accumulating, and the principles of communism taking root in the national heart.

Oh, could I transport you for one hour into the scenes around me, in those densely-peopled parts of Paris, where I am the continued witness of a population struggling with misery, want, contempt, and disease, you would see at a glance how imminent is the danger which threatens us, and your ready question would be, "What can be done? how can this wide-spread infidelity be checked?"

But here I would explain myself. My *first* object, in seeking a remedy for French infidelity, is not that society may be rescued from revolutionary danger, and put on a more secure footing, but that souls may be saved. Otherwise, I should be myself chargeable with the hypocrisy I have exposed in my countrymen; though I may here say that the higher end to which I direct my efforts—the salvation of souls—would, in proportion as it was extensive, lead to public security and prosperity.

Now let me turn to the question, how France is to be cured of its wide-spread disbelief of the Christian religion. The sources of the evil will in themselves suggest *the Remedies*. We have seen that France rejects Christianity—

1st, Because many are wholly ignorant of it.

2d, Because others have a gross misconception of its nature.

3d, Because it does not primarily address itself to human reason.

4th, Because it is patronised by the priests and by the state.

We must, therefore,

1st, Make it known to the ignorant.

2d, Combat the false notions of those that are deceived, that is, the Romanists.

3d, Establish religious institutions which are independent of the Government, and which are conducted rather by laity than clergy, and calculated to satisfy the characteristic demands of the French mind.

To state it yet more concisely, we must evangelise France, enter into controversy with Rome, and use for the purpose chiefly lay agents.

But how? It has been already attempted by evangelical societies and by publications—have they succeeded? Yes, up to a certain point, but, I must say, less than is generally supposed. Some of these works have fallen to the ground, others maintain a feeble life. Whence is this? from the insufficient support they receive, or defects in the means employed? Probably from both causes. In the first place, our evangelical publications do not answer to the wants of our population. Books and sermons are written in an old and heavy style, presenting an obstacle which those only surmount who are habituated to them. Imagine a worldly man sitting before one of our orthodox preachers, or taking up one of our religious books—I beg pardon of my hearers and readers, but, I must say, I should expect him to be presently the victim of a hopeless *ennui*. We employ too conventional a language, one which the uninitiated cannot understand; and this, again, tells strongly as a reason for the employment of laymen, who would treat of matters of faith in ordinary language, understood by all. Would you evangelise more successfully than heretofore by preaching and books, employ other agents than our old orthodox teachers; it may have the effect of disposing them to adopt themselves a more simple, modern, and true, and therefore a more useful style.

The work of evangelisation, thus committed to fresh hands, will involve the necessity of new places of worship. There will be a return to the “upper chamber” of the apostles, and these being more abundant than churches, will become common places of resort; the formidable pulpit will give way to a chair behind a table, which a layman will occupy without hesitation, and then, instead of five hundred evangelists, we shall have five thousand. The exposition of Holy Scripture will be no longer confined to the Sabbath, nor will religion any longer appear in the invidious light of a matter belonging only to the priests—an official business, to be transacted on the Sabbath; it will be seen to enter into everyday life, and to have a claim upon all. Again, let laymen share the important work of visiting from house to house. The diligent employment of these means would, in my opinion, do much to arrest the progress of infidelity.

What steps, then, are to be taken? Shall fresh societies be formed, or shall men be urged to individual exertion? If societies are thought requisite, shall they be worked by paid agents, or left to men of benevolence and leisure? These questions of detail, and

many others of a similar nature, must not, however, occupy space in an address which is, perhaps, already too long.

As to evangelical publications, they have been hitherto too exclusively on religious subjects, and thus have found their way to those only who least needed them. I should like to see books of history and science written in a religious tone and spirit. How can we get such? It is rather a difficult question. Perhaps the best means would be to offer prizes, or to commission particular individuals to compile them.

But when they are written or compiled, how are we to ensure their being read? By distributing them gratuitously, or at reduced prices? By putting them in large public libraries, or in our smaller religious ones? Probably all these means might be successfully used; but we must not forget that a book received as a gift is rarely read, and an exclusively religious book is still more rarely bought; our religious libraries are unknown, or despised by the world; and in theirs, our Christian books would stand a good chance of being buried and lost sight of. The real way of bringing into notice religious books on science and history, will be to admit none which cannot stand on the ground of their intrinsic excellence; it will be better to have a few which are really superior, than many of second-rate ability.

Another point for consideration is, where shall we send our books and preachers? Of course, if it were possible, everywhere; but while we have to make a choice, I should say, send the books into the provinces, and the preachers to Paris. Books travel more easily than men—they penetrate small localities with greater facility; they have more chance of being acceptable where they are more scarce, and people have more leisure. For these reasons I would send the books into the provinces. Preachers, on the contrary, will be employed to more advantage in densely-populated towns, and especially at Paris. The people there are accustomed to more independent habits of thought; they are less subject to the priestly yoke, and can attend the preaching of the gospel with greater impunity than in a village or small provincial town, where a rupture with the Romish Church would draw upon a man the hatred of the clergy. And I am especially struck with this advantage in stationing our preachers at Paris, that meetings in various parts of the town may be carried on by one man, in the same week. Besides, kindle a spark at Paris, and the electrical influence is felt everywhere; set a light there, and its rays pene-

trate to all parts of the kingdom. Do revolutions come from Alsace or La Vendée? Were you not struck with seeing, in 1830 and 1848, how readily the country followed the example of Paris? Picture to yourself, not here and there a preacher, lost in the overwhelming population of our Parisian suburbs, "*rari nantes in gurgite vasto*," but a hundred evangelists, located in the most important parts of the city, each delivering his message, several times a week, to many hundreds of hearers, visiting their families, distributing relief, and thus gaining a softening and enlightening influence over thousands upon thousands of ignorant minds! Each town in France ought to be the centre of a similar movement. What was done among us would, no doubt, be possible in other nations. These various centres of action, without giving up their own independence, might communicate with each other, and with a committee in London.

Why, for instance, should not the Evangelical Alliance, which has united so many hearts, and brought so many Christians together—why should it not employ its united efforts to evangelise the world, without any interference with existing churches or nations? If the simple fact of Christians of various denominations meeting together has already been productive of good, what results may we not expect from united action? Our mutual love is not to be merely contemplative, but practical. I close, then, with this proposition—that the Evangelical Alliance should seriously undertake the great work of evangelisation in the various countries to which its members belong; and that not chiefly by other agents, who may not always be attainable, but by organisation into little societies of its members themselves. Preserve, if you will, your individual forms of church government; but, above these barriers, stretch forth the hand of fellowship to one another, so you will gain a world-wide influence.

## ON THE STATE OF ROMANISM IN FRANCE.

BY THE REV. E. PRESSENSÉ OF PARIS.

“ They have nothing learned, nothing forgotten.”

### INTRODUCTION.

IT is evident that Romanism has just entered into a formidable contest, and with redoubled strength, against its enemies, for the recovery of lost ground. It has organised itself as for a decisive campaign; and it must be acknowledged that, from the beginning of this enterprise, it has shewn remarkable vigour and skill. While, on the one hand, it has despatched bold warriors into a territory where for a long period it had lost its hold, to make an aggressive war for conquest, it has, on the other, rallied all its adherents around its standards, to recover its position in those countries where its influence has been gradually declining. An exact statement of its plan of operation and success must be given; neither must we allow ourselves to be deceived by any anticipated devices of its principal agents. For ourselves, we have a thorough conviction that its momentary triumph is rather apparent than real. We do not found this opinion merely on a thorough belief that the present generation will not allow the advances of mental culture to be arrested by a return to disgraceful slavery, but we found it especially on those facts which demonstrate, in the very face of that outward development, now so great, signs of its decay and destruction. It is true that crowds fill its churches; but we call to mind those crowds of heathens of whom St Augustine speaks in his *City of God*, who, on the invasion of Rome by barbarians, threw themselves into the chapels of the martyrs, to invoke the name of Christ without believing in him, hoping by this means to escape from the sword of the barbarians, already half converted to the new religion; and who, the moment

this danger had passed, once more insulted the worship of the true God.\* Mere numbers, then, in times of danger are not to be depended upon. Fear never produces solid conviction; and we are persuaded that the fear of some social convulsion has had much to do with that struggle in favour of Romanism which has appeared amongst us. Let but danger pass away, and the result of this movement will then be seen.

General remarks, however, are not enough. The state of Romanism in France, a country now most agitated by it, and where it seems chiefly to succeed, must be carefully examined. To have a distinct idea of this, we must ascertain the actual strength of Romanism—which it derives either from itself or from the state—and also what, from these resources, has been undertaken and accomplished. Having described its external prosperity, we shall come to its moral condition, and shew that its aspect is by no means flattering. This will be yet more apparent by contrasting its actual power with its moral weakness.

#### PART I.—OF THE EXTERNAL PROSPERITY OF ROMANISM.

##### CHAPTER I.—OF THE RESOURCES OF ROMANISM DERIVED FROM THE STATE.

Romanism, as is well known, receives considerable pecuniary aid from the state. This supply, since the *concordat* made between Napoleon and Pius VII., has been regularly organised. Before the French Revolution, the riches of the Church were derived from tithes, and bequests of private individuals and of kings. Louis XVI., in a letter to the National Assembly, valued the tithes at from sixty to eighty millions of francs. The Bishop of Autun, in the same assembly, valued the revenue of the clergy at seventy millions beyond this, shewing a capital of two thousand millions. Hence, without reckoning the surplice fees, the revenue of the clergy, from tithes and other resources, amounted to one hundred and fifty millions, at a time when the entire population of the kingdom consisted but of twenty-five million souls.† The National Assembly, after having abolished tithes and church pro-

\* Augustin. de Civitate Dei, iii.

† An Appeal to Public Opinion for the Suppression of the *Budget* for Worship. Facts during the Discussion. 1848.

150  
40

6000,000

Dix millions  
plus 7

perty, decreed that provision should be made for the clergy by a regular salary from the state. An idea became prevalent that a clergyman was but a functionary of the state. Hence, when serious difficulties arose relative to the civil constitution of the clergy, the Republic thought itself perfectly at liberty to suppress the office, or rather the emolument granted to it, under a conviction that reciprocal independence would be better both for the State and the Church. The principle of worship without pay from the State was distinctly recognised by the Constitution of 1795. "No one shall be obliged," it is there said, "to contribute towards the expense of any worship whatever — the Republic granting a salary to no one." This new state of things lasted for eight years. The history of different churches during that period is most interesting; they were established and increased by the voluntary contributions of their respective partisans; furnishing, also, an unanswerable proof, that religion may be maintained without aid from the State. In 1802, Napoleon, then First Consul, by the *concordat* re-established the *budget* for worship; obtaining, in exchange, the protection of his government from the Pope. "With the French armies and such respect," he exclaimed, "I shall always retain the mastery."\*

We proceed to notice the actual amount which the Roman Catholic clergy receive from the State.

The official budget for Roman Catholic worship amounts to Fr.38,773,950

To which must be added—

1. A proportional part of the expense of administration to the Minister for Public Worship.....	302,100
2. Ecclesiastical pensions.....	535,000
3. The expense of worship and Roman Catholic instruction in the colonies.....	2,500,000
	<hr/>
Total.....	Fr.42,111,050

Another source of emolument, to which little attention is paid, consists of the large sums of money placed at the disposal of the Church for the celebration of its worship in various religious edifices, the number and value of which are enormous.

In the eighty Episcopal sees there are 240 diocesan edifices. The 37,113 communes of France have all churches, which, for the most part, are built, maintained, repaired, and enlarged, at the

\* History of the Consulate and Empire, by Thiers, vol. iii. p. 216.

expense of the State. If the capital employed in these vast buildings be considered, the yearly interest which it would produce, and the annual expense for their reparation and enlargement, it may easily be understood, from a calculation made with considerable care, that this second subsidy is much greater than the first. It follows, that more than a hundred millions of francs are yearly granted to the Roman Catholic Church by the State. \*

Although surplice fees do not properly belong to this chapter, yet, to give a complete idea of the financial resources regularly furnished throughout the country for Romanism, we here introduce them. For this it is scarcely possible to procure data which may be quite exact. We will therefore only refer to the receipts of the churches in Paris in reference to surplice fees. Seventeen of the churches receive from this source between 120,000 and 150,000 francs each; fifteen churches, from 60,000 to 90,000; and eight receive each 240,000. The annual receipts, therefore, of the churches of Paris, amount to 5,000,000 † francs.

From this data, the enormous resources which the Roman Catholic Church derives from the whole of France may be easily computed. It must not be understood that we are here speaking of voluntary contributions received in aid of the various efforts of Romanism.

The officiating clergy paid by the State amount to 40,429, without reckoning fellows of colleges. They may be divided as follows :—

Curates.....	29,353
Common Vicars .....	6,786
Rectors.....	3,350
Canons.....	681
Vicars-General.....	175
Bishops.....	64
Archbishops.....	13
Cardinals.....	6
Metropolitan Archbishop....	1
	40,429
Clergy ‡.....	40,429

Romanism certainly has no right to complain of the State. It has the lion's part in the budget; its wants are sumptuously pro-

\* An Appeal to Public Opinion, pp. 115, 116.

† An Announcement of Political and Statistic Economy for 1851, by Messrs Joseph Garnier and Guilleumin.

‡ An Appeal to Public Opinion, p. 113.



vided for. In estimating its moral influence, the enormous subsidies furnished to it by the State, and which effectually contribute to its influence, must not be overlooked. To judge of its external or moral strength, its resources should be derived from voluntary contributions, and not from a tax, imposed alike upon the sceptic and the believer—upon the Jew and the Protestant, as well as upon the Roman Catholic; its very enemies being obliged to furnish it with the sinews of war. It is, therefore, impossible clearly to decide what it owes to itself, and what to the help it derives from without.

CHAPTER II.—OF THE SUPPORT WHICH ROMANISM DERIVES  
FROM THE LEGISLATION OF THE COUNTRY.

It would be foreign to our purpose to consider the laws in themselves which seem to us to favour Romanism. This would be to enter the arena of politics, a course from which we entirely turn aside. It must suffice to shew the advantage which Romanism obtains from certain laws which have passed during the last few years. To judge of things simply by the Constitution, the Roman Catholic Church has rather lost than gained ground. Liberty of conscience and worship have never, since the foundation of the Republic, been more entirely acknowledged than at present. Romanism, far from being called the religion of the state, is no longer recognised as the religion of the majority of Frenchmen. The seventh article of the Constitution merely says—“*Every one may freely profess his religion, and receive equal protection, in religious worship, from the state.*” But if equality for different kinds of worship be acknowledged in principle, it is not so in fact. Thus, for the last two years, the Roman Catholic clergy alone have taken part in all public religious ceremonies. And this is not to be wondered at, since the Archbishop of Paris could solemnly take part in proclaiming the Constitution; and thus unwittingly, in blessing it, did he, in effect, violate its spirit; since called to give proof of the fact, that an equality in religious worship had not in truth entered into the practice of the people. And since, no public ceremony has taken place without the presence of the Roman Catholic clergy; not an inauguration of a statue, or the opening of a railway, where they have not taken a leading part. Some may think that all this is nothing, and that it is childish to mention it. This is by no means our opinion. If

one particular form of worship is alone found in such great ceremonies—in national *fêtes*—it is evident that this proceeds on the assumption of its being the worship of the nation. It is, in effect, saying to other forms of worship — “ You are not regarded, you are of no consequence; France is a Roman Catholic nation.” Thus are we brought back to former abrogated rights; we have a tendency towards the old theocratic state of society; and a fatal idea becomes spread, that the religion of France is Romanism—a prejudice entirely favourable to it. Should we not thus think, when a bishop, for example, is seen officiating at the inauguration of a statue erected to Nicholas Poussin, and in his discourse attacking the religion of the minority, and combating with Protestantism, as if in the name of the religion of the State? \*

But Romanism has obtained more honour than that of its tacit alliance with Government. It has also received substantial advantage. Two points have always been considered by it as of the greatest importance; the first is, to hinder preaching by restrictions opposed to it. It cannot bear discussion—controversy troubles it. It depends more upon gagging the lips of its adversaries, than any answers it can give them. The second point which it thinks important is, to have the direction of youth—to mould them to its pleasure. Well, in reference to both these points, it has obtained its wishes! And first, religious proselytism is now shackled in every possible way. Before the revolution of 1848, the right of opening a new place of worship was submitted to a court of previous authorisation, which referred it to the good pleasure of a local administration, to give authority or not, at its pleasure. An appeal to such a court no longer exists, religious liberty being fully acknowledged as a right. But it is still very limited in its operation, and for the advantage of Romanism.

All liberty is much restrained. Religious liberty cannot be separated from liberty of any other kind. It is evident, that if the latter be restrained or suspended, the former cannot continue entire. But who has special need of religious liberty, free scope for proselytism? Is it the religious minority, or majority? Is it the church with the greatest number, or the church which outwardly is the weakest? Is it not evident that the church with the greatest number has everything to lose in reference to proselytism, if it trusts to the doctrine of passive submission in religion? On the contrary, the weakest church, with its ardent

\* The Discourse of the Bishop of Evreux, on Sunday, June 27, 1851.

convictions, has everything to gain, provided that an expansive movement be allowed it. Restraint, which has injured the second, has been advantageous to the first; and all the laws which have shackled proselytism, and liberty also, in every sense must be regarded as favourable to Romanism. We may therefore say, that for the last two years its interests have been well promoted. To whatever party we may belong, it must be confessed that restraint has been tried upon a large scale by our most recent legislation, and that Romanism has profited by it.

For instance, the first thing required in proselytism is the free power of planting the standard of an energetic faith upon a new soil. This supposes a right of beginning by an announcement of the faith, without the celebration of worship, properly so called. How can worship be celebrated before the faith be propounded? The first thing to be done is to propound the faith, and, for that purpose, to give an exposition of it. If the liberty of exposition be not granted, except in connexion with the celebration of worship, it must follow that we may have liberty to continue worship previously established, without having that of founding a new one: this is but saying, that proselytism shall be impossible, or at least much shackled. This, in fact, is the present state of things. Facts might be cited which would demonstrate this. The positive celebration of worship from the very beginning of a work of proselytism is required, even when it has been proved to be entirely foreign to anything political. We have witnessed unions for preaching, conferences intended simply for religious proselytism, interdicted and destroyed by the law against clubs; because they were not characterised by religious worship, strictly so called. The law against clubs has more than once been interpreted as against religious proselytism.

A second thing required for proselytism is the power of attacking such religious opinions as we may wish to overturn. Without controversy, it is smitten as by death. Controversy is the first means of conquest. The only conditions should be, respect towards persons and moderation in speech. The right of controversy is now more than ever contested. Controversy is denied to be an element of worship; and those unions which oppose Romanism are compared to a club. Notwithstanding, we can but perceive the length to which anti-Protestant controversy is permitted to go.

Religious proselytism requires a third thing, namely, the free

use of that grand lever of modern times—the press. The rigid constructions which are given to the law in reference to the press, demanding respect for accredited religious worship, impose likewise great restraint upon the expression of objections against Romanism.

Books of controversy circulated throughout France have been lately condemned in the court of Draguignan, and with closed doors, which decision has since been confirmed at Paris. The editors of such publications have even been committed to prison. The seller of books on ancient Reformed controversies is not now tolerated. Where does legal right terminate?—where does crime begin? This is precisely what every writer against Romanism importunately asks for, since he is perpetually exposed to threats of condemnation. This sword of Damocles suspended over him, greatly cripples his resources. He must suppress his energy, drawn out by his pen. Danger everywhere surrounds him. Undoubtedly, all this is favourable to Romanism. The very last law on the press has the same design, enacting that every pamphlet of more than five sheets must be stamped: this greatly augments the expense of publication, and removes from proselytism its most efficient agency—the increase of tracts at a low price.

A last resource for proselytism is the power of circulating freely those books which treat of its faith. If the slow pace of the bookseller can alone be followed, its progress must be slow. The law upon the press, in its enactments on *colportage*, has added good order to its zeal. “All distributors,” we find by article 6th of the law of July 1849, “or *colporteurs* of books, writings, and pamphlets, must be provided with an authority, to be granted them by the prefect of police, if in the department of the Seine, and the prefects for all other departments. Such licences must always be renewed by the same authorities by whom they were first granted.” Hence, we are absolutely dependent upon the local authorities. The best books, even the Bible itself, cannot be circulated but by their good pleasure, which good pleasure is often that of the Roman Catholic clergy.

It is quite apparent, then, that Romanism is powerfully sustained, and takes full advantage of those terrors of this critical period which have dictated all these measures. One of the most distinguished representatives of the Roman Catholic party has asserted, that all this is but a crusade from Rome, made upon the interior—a crusade from Rome in favour of the old doctrine of the

Church, as to its Pope, which is sought to be restored amongst us, as it has been elsewhere.

As to the first point, that of restraining proselytism, Romanism has succeeded better than could well be imagined. It remains for us to inquire, whether it has been equally successful in recovering the education of the young.

Rightly to understand the later triumphs of Romanism, it is necessary to be well informed as to the organisation of public instruction in France. Before the French Revolution it was almost entirely entrusted to monastic establishments. When a new state of society, emanating from the revolution, became established, and took a definite form, under the powerful hand of Napoleon, public instruction was vigorously organised by him. The new organisation, in common with all that he did, certainly bore the impress of his despotic mind. Order was better maintained than liberty. The military genius of the emperor was more apparent than it ought to have been in an arrangement of such delicacy. Education was monopolised by the state, and conducted immediately by himself. The university formed one hierarchical body, gradually ascending from the lowest professor to the great dictator. It was, in truth, an educational army, conducted in military order. The necessity imposed upon all teachers to receive their degree from it brought every one within its power. Unrestrained tuition became very difficult; and, in all cases, such a course was under the care of the university officers. With such a system, it will be perceived that predominance was completely conferred upon the laity, not upon the clergy. The latter even were held as with an iron hand. This organisation of the university, with certain modifications, under the restoration, and monarchy of July 1830, continued; only that, in addition, the law of primary instruction was passed, in 1833, under the auspices of M. Guizot, doubtless his best work, and which gave considerable impetus to popular education, and, as a consequence, to the formation of teachers. Such an organisation, it is obvious, kept the clergy greatly in check; and hence their utmost malice was levelled against it. The quarrels of the clergy with the university continued during the latter years of Louis Philippe's government. The whole of the clerical party were determined upon recovering the right of instruction, without the control of the state, and of overturning the monopoly of the university. M. de Montalembert carried this cause, with much *éclat*, to the tribune

of the Chamber of Peers, whilst writers of talent advocated it through the medium of the press. The great principles of liberty were invoked, and with reason, since the monopoly of the university openly violated them. The revolution of February took place—and after the agitation of a year's revolution, what reaction are we to expect?

The Roman Catholic party is very strong in the Government through M. de Falloux; in the Legislative Assembly, through M. de Montalembert. We shall presently see how he applies his great principles of liberty in the law upon public instruction which passed last year.

This law has a twofold character. On the one hand, it retains the university, making it subservient to Romanism; on the other hand, it extremely favours clerical instruction—thus doubly satisfying the Roman Catholic party. It retains the university, even increasing its framework, by appointing an academy in every department, yet still keeping the upper hand for itself. Four archbishops or bishops are to sit in the supreme council, as delegates for all the clergy; and what influence they may obtain there requires but little explanation. In every academy for a department, the bishop has a seat in the council; in every school the rector is to be the inspector. It is indeed stipulated that ministers of other accredited denominations have the same right; but such an equality is a mere chimera, when placed in juxtaposition with the numerical strength and political importance which Romanism enjoys. The general council at Paris has the management of every university, as every council of a department governs the public instruction of that department. It follows, that since great influence almost everywhere belongs to the bishop—thanks to the interest which he possesses!—every teacher may be said to depend upon his good pleasure; and that so much the more, since the inviolability of schoolmasters and professors no longer exists. The least fault is sufficient for a citation before the Academic Council; and every schoolmaster or professor not a Roman Catholic may be threatened with suspension, and that without an appeal. Even a schoolmaster not at all dependent upon the government may one day or other find his course interrupted. On the contrary, it can easily be understood what security a schoolmaster approved by the clergy possesses. For the latter, however, special privileges may be obtained. The Academic Council has a right to give permission to schoolmasters to

take girls as well as boys, provided the locality be kept distinct; and in many places, where two schools cannot be found, such a privilege is most advantageous.

The clergy, therefore, in a university so constituted, find a valuable auxiliary; and since the abuse which injured it has become a privilege to the clergy, it is regarded less unfavourably. It possessed at the same time the privilege of liberty. What formerly annoyed the clergy was the necessity of having a university degree as a qualification for teaching. That necessity is abolished; and it is sufficient for a noviciate to have a guarantee, which is easily obtained.

Moreover, the law acknowledges that persons charitably disposed have a right to instruct children without any licence. These charitable persons, for the most part, are *the Sisters of Charity*.

The inspection of the state over free establishments is very limited. Small seminaries and ecclesiastical schools may, for whatever is wanted, be conducted with closed doors. There is a privilege for those who possess unrestricted tuition which admits them to the highest university offices, without passing through the ordinary ordeal. The Roman Catholic party, it will be seen, take a large share in dispensing the law. It derives great advantage, also, from the liberty which it possesses of readily controlling that of others: since, by its great influence in the upper councils, it finds a thousand ways of preventing free schools from being opened which may be in opposition to it. Some quibble may always be raised for a defect in form, and when it cannot, may not that useful pretext be set up which allows an interdict upon a school, in the name of public manners? Already has the Roman Catholic party made great use of that law. We could cite facts which are scarcely credible—such as professors dismissed because they were not Roman Catholics, or because a book of philosophy has been published which did not please our lords the bishops; such as a schoolmaster condemned, amongst other things, for not having taken off his hat while the procession of *Corpus Christi* was passing. Do the Protestants attempt to open a school in certain departments, a thousand difficulties have to be met, which are not always to be overcome. But all this does not prevent Roman Catholic colleges and schools from increasing out of all proportion. Besides, all those barriers which restrained the operation of religious communities are removed; the Jesuits, even, though driven from France by several laws, have returned

in triumph, the Roman Catholic Church again convoking its provincial councils, and thus freely combining its efforts.

Of this liberty, even, we do not complain; but we do complain of that farcical liberalism which for several years past has been played by a fraction of the Roman Catholic party; we do complain that great principles have been called in only to be violated, by being turned to its advantage; for there is nothing so hateful as the suppression of liberty by a religious party; liberty called in with insincerity, and used as a cloak to its aggrandisement. It was well that the Roman Catholic party, together with ourselves, were freed from the yoke imposed by the university; but by enjoying that freedom alone, it fastens that yoke upon others which it had before denounced. This is not right, either to us or itself; for, notwithstanding a momentary success, it has assumed a most dangerous position. Its very success is but an acknowledgment of wrong; so that when hereafter it shall speak of liberty, we shall easily understand what it means. Be that as it may, it has been proved, not only that Romanism derives very great financial resources from the state, but that the state is also its devoted ally. This alliance has been most remarkably exemplified under the walls of Rome; and the increased influence of Romanism is hereby explained.

#### CHAPTER III.—OF THE RESOURCES WHICH ROMANISM DERIVES FROM ITSELF.

Romanism derives considerable resources from its union with the state; but we must remark, that this is not a downy pillow. It receives this union as a framework favourable to its energy, but a framework which it fills. It neither refuses money nor support from the government; yet does it derive considerable resources from itself. Its systematical organisation, which no one can deny, enables it to make the best possible use of its means. If we first enumerate its resources, we shall then better see how it employs them—what it achieves by means of them. We derive these particulars from the most authentic sources.

We are not now to treat of the 40,429 ecclesiastics who constitute the officiating clergy of Romanism, but of those different communities which are formed independent of the clergy.\* The

\* All our statements are from the *Almanac of the Clergy of France for the year 1851*, published by Gaume Brothers, 4 Rue Cassette, March 1851.



number of this army of volunteers, enlisted under the banners of Romanism, surpass anything which could be well imagined. None of the larger towns are without several monasteries, asylums, sisterhoods, or brotherhoods. In the country, likewise, important religious establishments are everywhere to be found. Such communities are like vast nurseries, spreading over the whole country colonies, more or less numerous, and which, in their turn, form smaller establishments in a great number of places. One of these colonies is to be found in almost every village, however small. Hence, France has become enveloped, as in the meshes of a net, at once numberless and closed. Carmelites, Benedictines, Trappists, Jesuits, Augustines, Visitandines, Ursulines, Nuns of the Sacred Heart, and sisters and brothers of every denomination; all the different orders, which for ages were multiplying in France, all furnish their contingency anew, and a contingency, too, most important to Romanism. To have a distinct idea of this organisation, and of the manner in which it acts, we will give a list of the principal religious establishments, whence issue those numerous swarms that everywhere convey the doctrines and influence of the Roman Catholic Church. We will afterwards give an account of all their combined resources.

In our enumeration of the principal religious establishments, we do not include monasteries; of these we shall treat hereafter. The following statement will shew the power of Romanism in the different departments:—

NAME OF THE COMMUNITY.	Towns where the Parent Houses are situated.	No. of Establishments.
Sisters of St Joseph (Refuge and Asylum).....	Clermont.....	30 Houses
The same.....	Lyons .....	—
Sisters of Christian Schools of Mercy.....	St Sauveur (le Vicomte).....	{ 30 Estab- lishments.
Nuns of the Sacred Heart.....	Contance.....	34
Sisters of Providence.....	Poitiers.....	140
The same.....	Grenoble.....	105
The same.....	Langres.....	420
Sisters of Christian Doctrine.....	Nancy.....	—
Hospitaliers of our Lady of Grace.....	Aix.....	11
Daughters of Charity of St Mary.....	Angers.....	—
Sisters of Wisdom.....	St Laurent (sur Sèvres) .....	—
Sisters Hospitaliers.....	Besançon.....	—
Sisters of Charity (of Montaine).....	Bourges.....	92
Sisters of St Paul.....	Chartres.....	12
Sisters of the Cross.....	Limoges.....	—
Sisters of Mary and Joseph.....	Dorad.....	} Haute Vienne... 18
Nuns of the Saviour.....	La Souterranie.....	
Sisters of the Incarnate Word.....	Agerable.....	—
Community of Christian Union.....	Fontenay le Comte (Vendée).....	—
Daughters of Wisdom and Ursulines of Jesus.....	St Laurent sur Sèvres (Vendée). Chavagnes en Pailiers (Vendée).	176
Sisters of the Sacred Heart.....	Mormaison (Vendée).....	41
Sisters of Jesus and Mary.....		39

NAME OF THE COMMUNITY.	Towns where the Parent Houses are situated.	No. of Establishments.
Sisters of the Good Saviour.....	Caen .....	—
Sisters of Mercy—the Work of the Good Shepherd	Angers .....	} Have Houses everywhere
Sisters of Charity of the Community of Evron.....	Evron (Mayence) .....	
Sisters of Charity of the Community of Providence	Ruelli sur Loire (Mayence).....	90
Sisters of the Community of the Infancy of Jesus and Mary .....	Metz.....	40
Sisters of St Charles.....	Nancy.....	282
Sisters of Charity and Christian Instruction of Nevers .....	Nevers .....	240
Sisters of the Infant Jesus .....	Pny .....	15
Sisters of Providence.....	Ligni le Chalez (Yonne).....	43
Sisters of Providence, and Sisters of Christian Doctrine.....	Nancy.....	107
Sisters of the Presentation of the Holy Virgin.....	Tours .....	94
Sisters of the Trinity (500 members).....	Valence.....	—
Sisters of the Holy Sacrament (500 members) .....	Romans (Drome).....	—
Sisters of the Presentation (1000 members).....	Bourg Sandeol.....	—
The Establishment of St Maur (pour aliénes) .....	Privas.....	—
Sisters of the Holy Childhood.....		

At Pons there are:—1st, Sisters of Good Relief. 2d, Nuns of Good Relief. 3d, The Infirmary of Maria Thérèse. 4th, The General Institute of the Brethren of Christian Doctrine, members of which are spread throughout France.

If we now inquire, aided by the *Almanac of the Clergy of France*, into the combined resources of the Roman Catholic Church, independent of the 42,000 clergymen of which we have spoken, we shall arrive at the following result. Constant variations in estimating so many persons must naturally arise, which must prevent the result from long remaining precisely the same:—

Diocesan clerical colleges.....	83
Additional clerical college.....	1
Metropolitan clerical college.....	1
Smaller ecclesiastical colleges.....	118
Houses for retreat.....	16
Monasteries.....	565
Boarding-schools for young ladies.....	1012
Hospitals or charitable institutions.....	939

(These hospitals are not, for the most part, of Roman Catholic origin, but the care of their sick is confided to the sisters.)

Small colonies of Sisters.....	3379
Establishments of Brothers (schools).....	761
Missionary establishments in the interior...	48

Altogether, these resources are considerable. They are skilfully divided in each department. The clerical college, the (inferior) ecclesiastical college, the monasteries, and larger nunneries, are in the county towns; the latter also are to be found in all the larger towns. From these, as centres, small colonies of sisters and brothers emanate in every direction, beginning from different quarters of the towns. All these resources, let it not be forgotten,

are organised by the bishop, who disposes of them at his pleasure, imposing upon them unity of operation, having them under his control, and making use of them through the agency of his numerous clergy.

#### CHAPTER IV.—OF THE ENTERPRISES OF ROMANISM.

The numerous enterprises of Romanism may be arranged into two categories—what is undertaken in France, and for France; and what is done without, in foreign missions. Nothing can be more skilfully devised than the numerous Roman Catholic enterprises in operation amongst us. They comprise everything in human life; they include every situation, and every age; they are applied to every kind of suffering. A mere glance of the eye over our tabular statement of the different communities, will first shew that the principal efforts of the Church are concentrated on the education of the young. It will be perceived what a number of schools are conducted by the Sisters and Brothers of Christian Doctrine; to which must be added, a great number of nurseries and asylums for children of the earliest age. Boarding-schools are also provided for young ladies of the upper classes (such as the establishment of the *Sacred Heart* at Paris, or rather, as the *Ladies of Instruction* at Puy), and in every part of France. Smaller colleges and free colleges have increased, as we have seen, till they amount to 188. Certainly they ought to have increased still more. At the last meeting of the colleges in Paris, several divisions were obliged to be suppressed in the colleges of the state for want of pupils; on the contrary, in the free colleges, or where greater facilities are afforded, or life is made much more agreeable, they have increased. Let this suffice as to the education of the young. But old people also find asylums provided them; as the infirmary of Marie Thérèse, at Angers. The Hospitalier Sisters, and the Sisters of Charity, fill the hospitals; there are also a great number of hospitals annexed to the Roman Catholic Church itself. The sick poor thus become subjected to its influence. It has likewise instituted the Sisters of our Lady of Good Help, for the more wealthy sick, where nurses are trained for attending persons at their own houses. Numerous institutions are likewise formed for foreigners, under the care of the sisters. The house of the Good Samaritan, at Caen, may be mentioned as an example. The Sisters of St Joseph entirely devote themselves to the care of the blind, the deaf, and the dumb. There are few prisons but what have their Sisters of Charity and Mercy. Asylums are

everywhere open for repenting prostitutes. The Care of the Good Shepherd, at Angers, has establishments throughout France specially directed to the same object. Romanism not only thinks of those already fallen, but of those also who are in danger of falling. Work, under the direction of the sisters, is provided for poor young girls, and orphan children are carefully taken care of. Even houses are open for domestic servants out of place. Such is the house of the Sisters of Mercy, at Angers. Young girls, who are houseless, are taken care of till they can find employment; such is the design of Saint Blandine, at Metz.

Thus are asylums provided for all the miseries of social life. It is no less so towards those sufferers who, from want of courage or true comfort, aspire to leave society altogether. The 561 monasteries in France offer them an asylum. Neither is this all; those who wish to retire from the world, without entering upon the life of a monk, may likewise have their desires gratified. They can go into houses of mere retreat, such as that of Fontenay le Cerute, in Vendée, open to persons from the world who would live in retreat.

Hence it appears that Roman Catholic proselytism is almost endless in its resources. Nothing has been forgotten to contribute to its triumph, employing likewise a zeal at once skilful and ardent. But all its efforts have not yet been mentioned. Thus far we have only spoken of the enterprises of religious communities. The active co-operation of the laity has also been enlisted. It consists chiefly of works of charity. Thus, at Metz, we meet with an institution for giving religious instruction to soldiers, and for providing the poor with fuel; another for assisting lying-in women. In most of the other towns of France similar institutions are to be found. But charitable establishments are more considerably developed at Paris than elsewhere. In this short sketch we cannot be supposed to notice everything. We will confine ourselves to one immense association established amongst young people; we refer to the Society of St Vincent de Paul.

This society is divided into conferences, each conference consisting of from forty to fifty members. In Paris, there are fifty of these conferences, each being attached to the parishes of that great city. New conferences are daily being formed in other parts of France. The primary object of the society is to assist as great a number of poor persons as possible, giving them regular aid by visiting them. Each president of a conference is expected to visit each poor person in his section, every year. Clothing is given

them, or linen is supplied on loan. The poor are, besides, assisted in any lawsuit in which they may be involved. A deliberative committee, formed from all the sections, examine into any disputes which may concern the families visited, giving them advice. The society avowedly confesses that all this assistance to the poor is for the purpose of bringing them back to the Roman Catholic faith; this is the ultimate design of all these visits. But its operation is by no means confined to almsgiving; it takes the children of the poor, from their earliest days, under its patronage, attentively watching over them and inculcating religion upon them. Apprentices also are the objects of its care. Every Sunday they meet in some place previously assigned to them. Every day they are looked after—being taken in the morning to mass; in their amusements, even, instruction is combined. Morning and evening schools have, moreover, been founded, where necessary; the Society of St Vincent also busies itself in re-establishing unlawful games, so common at Paris. The effort called that of “the Holy Family” forms another branch of its operations. This consists in collecting together, every fortnight, the different families which have been visited—to take them to mass, to impart to them religious and moral instruction in common. Efforts are made in every way possible to interest them by repeating hymns. Such religious meetings often assume an amusing character. The society has, besides, established libraries for the poor, and published almanacs and books of devotion.

Receipts for the year 1850, in subscriptions, lottery, and donations .....	217,668f. 60c.
Expenses.....	175,470f. 35c.*

Such are the principal operations of Romanism in our country. But, before passing to foreign missions, we must speak of missions undertaken within France itself. There are, as we have observed, forty-eight missionary establishments in the interior. The work of missions for the interior is not so great as under the monarchy, or of so theatrical a character. The only mission which to our knowledge has been attempted, for some years past, is that of the Father Jesuits at the forts of Brest and Toulon. We will not find fault with their result, but simply say, that, according to custom, persons have been very quickly converted by the Father Jesuits.†

\* See Report, in two parts, on the Conferences of Paris during the year 1850, to the Secretary General's Office, 6 Rue Garanciere, Paris.

† The Jesuits au Bagne, by Lewis Arbineau.

Foreign Roman Catholic missions have within the last thirty years received a new development. The principal communities in France who have devoted themselves to them are—

1. The Community of Priests for Missions, 95 Rue de Sèvres, Paris.
2. College for Foreign Missions, 128 Rue du Bac.
3. Community of Sacred Hearts and Constant Adoration (College of Piepus).
4. Community of the Holy Ghost, and of the Sainted Heart of Mary, 3 Rue des Postes, Paris.
5. Society of Priests for Senegambia, 15 Rue de Varennes.\*

Different missions are sustained by the efforts of the Propagation Society of the Faith, established at Lyons, the 3d of May 1822. Its object is to aid, by its alms and prayers, the extension of the Roman Catholic religion throughout the world. To contribute towards it, two very simple things are required; † namely, applying once for this purpose the *Pater* and *Ave* of the morning, and contributing a *sou* per week to the missions. Pius VII., Louis XII., Pius VIII., Gregory XVI., and Pius IX., approved of it, and granted indulgences to those who supported it. It has everywhere obtained the sanction of the bishops. The Roman Catholics throughout the whole of Europe take part in it. The East, America, and even India, have lent their aid.

The organisation of the society is thus conducted:—To render the collection of moneys more easy, every tenth subscriber is authorised to receive them. He pays the amount into the hands of another, authorised to receive ten such amounts, or 100 subscriptions; he, in his turn, pays his subscriptions into the hands of a third person, who is authorised to receive ten subscriptions of similar amount, or 1000 subscriptions. Two councils, one at Lyons and the other at Paris, composed of both clergy and laymen, divide the amount amongst the different missions. Communications relative to the labours of the missionaries are arranged and published at Lyons. Such information is printed six times a year. Every tenth subscriber receives a copy; the number of copies, therefore, circulated, exceeds 160,000.

The receipts of the Propagation Society of the Faith amounted, in 1850, to 3,309,646f. 45c.; towards which France contributed 1,907,916f. 33c. ‡ The expenditure was 3,220,748f. 86c.

\* Almanac of the Clergy of France, p. 649.

† A New Glance at the Work of the Propagation of the Faith. Paris, 36 Rue Cassette.

‡ Annals of the Propagation, &c., May 1851.

A word or two will suffice as to the result of this operation. In the first place, since the formation of the society, the number of missionaries has greatly increased. The Society for Foreign Missions in 1822 consisted of thirty-two members, now increased to 150. The Community of St Lazarus has raised the number of its European missionaries from 13 to 200. The Jesuits and the orders of St Dominic and St Francis have resumed their place in the mission. New communities have also been formed to join it, such as the Redemptorists, the Passionists, the Oblatists, the Priests of the Sacred Heart of Mary, the Marists, and the Monks of Picpus.

The episcopal subscriptions to missions have likewise increased.

Since 1822, more than seventy bishops, or new vicars-apostolic, have been made. Roman Catholic missionaries are to be found in China, Cochin-China, Japan, Tartary, Central Asia, and India. The college of Palo-Pinang serves as a kind of institute for missions in Asia. Missions have increased at the extremity of the Red Sea, and in the Caspian Sea; they are also sustained in Syria, Palestine, and Asia Minor; also at Beyrout and Aleppo. They have likewise been established in Africa; at Tunis, Tripoli, Alexandria, Cairo, on the ruins of Hippo, in Guinea, and at the Cape of Good Hope; in Northern America, likewise, the French colonies, the United States, and Australia. The Society for the Propagation of the Faith has gone also into the Protestant countries of Europe, as Sweden and England. The narratives of the missionaries demonstrate that great energy is being employed. Many have lost their lives in foreign lands. At other times they have been effectually aided by the civil power; the house of Picpus, for example, in the miserable affair of Tahiti, had its mission opened by the cannon's mouth. This seriously reminds us of "*compel them to come in!*"

Different means are employed to give an interest in favour of the operations of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. Two solemn annual *fêtes* are celebrated on its account. It forms a subject for many discourses and sermons after mass. But the most effectual means, and that which is most recommended to excite interest, and promote subscriptions, is an appeal to the promised indulgence offered by the Pope in exchange.\* This indulgence runs thus:—"The Holy Father mercifully grants, in the Lord's name, to all and to each of the faithful in Christ Jesus, of

\* A New Glance at the Operations of the Propagation of the Faith, p. 42.

both sexes, who, for the revival and support of the most salutary work of missions, will give their names to the Association of the Propagation of the Faith, a plenary indulgence and remission of all their sins, during the solemnities of the Invention of the most holy Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, of Saint Francis Xavier, and once a month, on whatever day they may choose, provided that, during the month, they have repeated every day the prayers of the Association; provided also that, being truly penitent, they have confessed and strengthened themselves by a participation of the holy communion, and shall devoutly visit the church, or oratory, of the said Association, if it has one, or if not, their own parish church, for the purpose of presenting their fervent prayers to God for the prosperity of our holy mother—the Church.”

The brief adds an indulgence of a hundred days, for prayers and alms in favour of the Association, applicable to the souls in purgatory. Hence these generous offerings are made partly for purchasing heaven! The chief design of such presents is not so much an effusion of gratitude for a free and complete pardon, as the desire of paying a frightful debt. Hence, they are not so much presents, as bills of exchange, for procuring the indulgence;—this fatal doctrine of a partial expiation for sin by man blasting the design at its very roots, even when producing magnificent results. There must ever be a fear lest the amount should be too little—a calculation for procuring heaven at pleasure, but without that love by which it should be characterised. The disinterested Christian can alone depend upon salvation by grace. Romanism, by lessening or altering this freedom, removes from its noblest efforts the Divine mark of a pure and disinterested motive. Such motive may exist, doubtless, does exist, but in opposition to its own principles. This explains why those great resources which we have enumerated have not the fruitful development of a prevailing religion; all that sadness and deception which arise in the human heart from a desire of purchasing salvation, without the possibility of success, may everywhere be traced. We have, however, no wish to throw discredit on all its efforts. In Romanism, many humble, upright souls are to be found, who love the Saviour, and whose devotedness is quite disinterested. We do not sit in judgment upon individuals, but upon the system—a system, desolating and neutralising so many energetic resources, and yielding no effectual aid to the truth.

Glancing at all the resources of Romanism, we will say that it



derives more than a hundred million francs from the state; and has been upheld for the last few years by laws in themselves restrictive, and thereby rendering impossible, in a thousand different ways, any proselytism contrary to it. Besides that, there is a regular army of forty-two thousand clergymen, the country is again covered by five hundred and sixty-five monasteries, and immense religious establishments.

Hospitals or charitable institutions.....	939
Boarding-schools for young ladies.....	1012
Small colonies of Sœurs de la Charité.....	3379
Establishments of Frères de la Doctrine.....	761
Missionary establishments in the interior.....	48
Clerical colleges.....	203

We have seen the formation of a school in almost every hamlet, sending its militia into prisons and hospitals, establishing everywhere small colonies of brothers and sisters, to whom youth of both sexes have been consigned; imparting the bread of charity to the poor, and enticing them, in every way possible, into the churches. In short, their missionaries, educated in five large establishments, have landed on every shore, and supplies are sent them by millions. The receipts of the Propagation of the Faith, the greatest Catholic missionary society, amounted, in 1850, to 3,309,646 francs. Neither is this all. The places of worship have never been more brilliant or better filled, although a large proportion of the best Roman Catholic families enter them not. Never was the pageantry of its ritual more apparent. Never, in our times, have more celebrated preachers mounted its pulpits. In fact, never has it been so much encouraged to say—“*I am the religion of France—the definitive form, from which no one must depart!*” All this by no means alters our opinion—we are no less ready to say to its partisans, “No, you have not the definitive religious form. France is, in reality, not yours; and, notwithstanding appearances, you are marked, as in the forehead, with the sign of a church which must fall. Your organisation is great: canals may be completely dug—they may be numerous, and skilfully crossed—but the water which they bring to us is not the water which our thirst requires. It may for a moment deceive, but it can never satisfy.” In a word, if Romanism be apparently strong, it is not so morally, or in reality—an assertion which we will endeavour to prove in the second part of this work.

## PART II.—THE MORAL DECAY OF ROMANISM IN FRANCE.

## CHAPTER I.—FIRST SIGN OF DECAY—ULTRAMONTANISM.

To possess considerable resources, to have the right of speaking in millions of pulpits throughout the country, and to impose silence upon an adversary when he assumes the offensive, are not, we have already stated, sufficient. An efficient ministry, delighting in making itself heard, is no less necessary. To reckon upon mere restriction is nothing—in the moral world the living voice can alone triumph. "*Hoc signo vinces.*" Temples, riches, patronage, and persecution, were, eighteen centuries ago, all in favour of paganism. This did not prevent its destruction by a poor and despised religion—because the latter possessed a divine and creative strength—a sword which overcomes all others. We have, then, a right to ask Romanism, Where are its moral resources? Where is your title to domination in the present existing state of society? You tell us what you are doing, but we wish to know what you are. Can you morally take the lead in our generation? The reply to such a question is easy. Romanism has both cursed and anathematised improvement. All its dreams have been those of regret, not of hope. It has separated itself from our generation. Nay more, it has divorced itself from our nationality, and in that which is most life-giving. It has made itself an ultramontane alien. Certainly this is not the way to recover its influence. By this it avows its act of naturalisation, and renounces its right of citizenship. We will endeavour to demonstrate this important fact.

What is it which most distinctly characterises French society? Obviously, the equality of our rights according to law. This is the great principle permanently abiding in the national conscience and the laws after every revolution and reaction. This is the acknowledged result of the revolution of 1789, the deep traces of which nothing can obliterate either in our manners or institutions. Is it so? Then, how can Romanism receive such a principle as equality, since, in a religious point of view, it is daily denying it, dividing the Church into priests and laymen, perpetuating the distinctions of castes at the very foot of the altar, and doing violence

to the great principle of the gospel, that all Christians are priests? Liberty of discussion is another principle no less accredited in modern society. But what more opposed to Romanism? Every relation in life must give way to clerical domination—to acknowledge a right of discussion in one sphere is but to confess a right in another. Liberty of the press supposes liberty of religious discussion. But, in truth, Romanism, if consistent with itself, should forbid such liberty; but one kind of liberty should especially be anathematised by it—namely, liberty of conscience, the most important of all others. To acknowledge this, Romanism must renounce the past, the heavy past, so sadly bloody by persecutions without number. It should renounce itself; for what would become of infallible authority in connexion with liberty of conscience? Romanism, in truth, is in direct opposition to the very constitution of modern society. But we may perhaps be asked whether it is not correct to say that it has produced some happy results. The encyclical letter of Gregory XVI., and distinctly confirmed by Pius IX., will throw light upon this subject.

“Experience,” we read in this famous production, “shews, from the earliest times, that those countries which became conspicuous by their power have perished by one evil alone—that of immoderate liberty of opinion, freedom of speech, and a love of novelty. This leads to another fatal liberty, for which our horror cannot be too great—the liberty of the bookseller to publish whatever book he may choose. What man in his senses will assert that poison should be freely circulated, sold, or publicly transferred?”

“From the infected source of indifferentism flows that absurd and erroneous maxim, or rather madness, which would assure and guarantee *liberty of conscience to any one whatever.*”

We know what practical commentary is given to these maxims in the States of the Pope.

We have a right to say to Roman Catholics, Either you admit the principles of the Pope, and by this means—making yourselves foreigners in the very bosom of modern society—you place yourselves not only beyond the law, but beyond history likewise; or, if you do not admit them, you protest against the Pope when speaking “*urbi et orbi.*” You cannot, in fact, enter into modern society but by renouncing Romanism. What choice has the majority of the Roman Catholic party taken? It has not hesitated to declare war against the institutions of modern society.

Taking advantage of those terrors which, for the last two years,

a revolutionary spirit has inspired, it has directed them against the first French revolution, by insulting it, not for the abominable excesses of 1793, but in its great and glorious aspect. It is but just, however, to recollect, that even prior to the revolution of 1848, some writers had maintained such an opinion: thus, M. de Falloux, in his *History of Louis XVI.*, has thrown discredit, as much as he could, on the great movement of 1789. He had done better if he had attempted to justify the Inquisition. In a panegyric on Sextus the Fifth, we find the following memorable passage:—"Toleration is not known in ages of faith, and the sentiment which this new word represents can only be ranked among the virtues in a doubting age. Intolerance would now be nonsense and without result; formerly it had a legitimate end, at which it often arrived. Who can now flatter himself that he can extinguish an opinion by killing him who professes it?"\* Hence it follows, that had we but that hope, it would be doing well to kill him. M. de Falloux attacks modern society in plain language. He has not, however, been imitated by those of his own party. It is with an unheard-of cynicism that attacks are made upon all those conquests for which we have paid so dearly. One of those conquests, doubtless, is a deliverance from absolutism. Such absolutism is extolled by Roman Catholic writers now much in vogue. "Sovereignty," says one of our popular writers, "is the right of commanding a people and of being obeyed. It is, therefore, necessarily distinct from the people. The sovereign does all that is necessary for the preservation and wellbeing of society, and has the right of doing what he pleases."† Since he only can perceive what is good for society, he must, of course, have the right of doing as he thinks proper.

Will you know what is thought by the Catholic party of religious liberty? M. Veillot, one of the best accredited writers of his party, editor of the *Religious Universe*, will inform us. "What I regret," he says, "I will frankly avow—that John Huss was not sooner burnt, and that Luther was not also burnt; the reason was, that a prince at once pious and politic could not be found to raise a crusade against heretics."‡ The same writer, last year, in a polemical article on the Inquisition, openly defends it, in the

\* History of St Pius V., tom. i., Introduction, pp. 48, 49.

† Plato Polichinel, tom. i. pp. 112-114. This book is a tissue of mischievous pleasantry and false reasoning. But such wretched pleasantry has run through seven editions, and is becoming serious.

‡ Pilgrimage of Switzerland, p. 187.

*Religious Universe*, declaring that every Roman Catholic should adhere to the opinions of Leo X., in condemning this proposition of Luther, "*Hæreticos comburere, est contra voluntatem Dei*"\* (to burn heretics is contrary to the will of God). M. Veuillot has done little more than extend the thesis maintained by Abbé Morel, canon of Angers, in a letter addressed to the *Religious Universe*. We there read—"From a partial examination of the general laws of the Inquisition, it will be seen that it increased in severity in the same proportion as Christian society became more strongly established, by the lapse of time, preaching, miracles, information, and virtue. The object of heresy in the Middle Ages was to overturn the constitutions of the state; and this is the reason why, for the first time, heresy, so terrible in its consequences, was punished in the most terrible manner." Thus, according to Abbé Morel, the Inquisition became severe in proportion to the vigorous organisation of the Church and the development of the faith. Let us listen to another Roman Catholic writer. "The Reformation," says M. Laurentie, another celebrated Catholic writer, "restrained during the vigorous reigns of Francis I. and Henry II., found greater facilities under the reigns of Francis II. and Charles IX. Such different treatment for some time gave encouragement to the new opinions in France; and no doubt but that they would have become established, if, in the absence of a religious authority, which did not render sufficient opposition, the civil authority, by supplying the weakness of conscience, saved the faith of our fathers by severe laws and rigorous measures, which I hesitate not in calling salutary." †

One of the men who is actually considered in favour of Romanism, and who is even accounted the successor of Joseph le Maistre, M. Donose Cortès, in a book recently published, denounces an anathema against every liberal idea. He begins by denying, in the name of human fallibility, the right of discussing any point whatever. "The Church," he says, "alone has the right of confirming or denying; out of it there is no right whatever to affirm that which it denies, or to deny that which it affirms. The day when society, forgetting its doctrinal discussions, asked the press and the tribune, journalists and assemblies, What is truth? what is error?—on that day society entered into the region of fiction. Intolerance in doctrine, and the Church, have preserved the world

\* *Religious Universe* of June 10, 1850.

† *Justice in the Nineteenth Century*, by Laurentie.

from chaos. This is the reason why society, freed from the Church, has done nothing but lose its time in ephemeral and useless disputes." M. Donose Cortès continues by acknowledging no other form of society than that of Romanism. "Romanism," says M. Donose Cortès, "has put all human affairs into order and consistency! Roman Catholic doctrines have been the criterion of the sciences. Through them, order has been introduced into the political world. The God of Romanism, the Creator and Preserver of all things, has subjected them, in the government of his providence, and has governed them by his vicars. Could the government of the Church be defined, we might define it by saying, that it is an immense aristocracy, directed by an oligarchic power, in the hands of an absolute sovereign, whose duty it is to offer himself perpetually as a sacrifice for the salvation of the people." Bad people will think that the sacrifice might be more meritorious and bloody than it is. But the following is yet more agreeable:—"The Roman Catholic Church only struggles for its holy liberty."\* That holy liberty exacts too much. Doubtless, ultramontanism is well expressed in this book. He would have none of the institutions of modern society—he utterly denounces them all.

It may be said, that these opinions are not those of all Roman Catholics. A great number amongst them attempt to reconcile a wise liberality with the Roman Catholic faith. This is not the question. The enormities which we have cited cannot be passed over without a remonstrance; and we would take occasion, in such remonstrance, to shew the division which exists in the Roman Catholic Church, under the veil of a deceptive unity. It is necessary to ascertain whether Romanism, considered in itself—orthodox Romanism—does not maintain these enormities. Now, it is certain that in its tradition it does assert them—a tradition not written in books merely, but written in blood also, and that through all ages. The infallible bulls of the Popes, cursing liberty of conscience, can never be forgotten; the bull of Pius VI., *autorem fidei*, condemning, to employ the expression of Abbé Morel, under the severest penalty, the decision of the Council of Pistodja, in asserting that external pains and penalties ought not to be employed against heretics. It cannot be denied that the tribunal of the Inquisition no longer exists at Rome. In the absence even of all those proofs already cited, might we not refer to a *concordat* lately made between the Pope and the Grand Duke

\* Essay, pp. 45, 46, 302, 303.

of Tuscany, in which all the guarantees of civil and religious liberty are flagrantly violated? Some of the articles of this *concordat* are as follow:—(a.a. 1.) The lay authorities shall employ all the means in their power for encouraging morality, worship, and religion, by preventing scandals which injure them. Article 3.—The bishops shall always retain the free use of their authority for preventing the faithful from reading all kinds of books opposed to religion and morality. (The Bible is included in the number of such works.) There cannot exist a doubt that ultramontane Romanism—that is, Romanism which would violently persecute, and which does so wherever it can—Romanism which is eminently the enemy of modern society—foreign Romanism—is orthodox Romanism, Papal Romanism, which is law. It wants only one feature to become thoroughly Italian amongst us—we mean Italian as practised at Naples—that is, to pretend to absurd miracles. This feature has been added to it. The Roman Catholic journals have made great noise about the Virgin having appeared to two young shepherds at La Salette, in the south of France.\* This is the language which she is made to utter:—“My children, my Son is angry with the transgressions of which the people are guilty in reference to his holy laws. He threatens shortly to punish, and it is I who restrain his avenging arm; but this arm is so heavy, that I cannot bear its weight. You can never know the anxiety which I endure for you. Every other prayer but mine would have been unavailing.”

The Virgin, it will be perceived, is here audaciously substituted for the Saviour, he being made an avenging Deity, and yielding to Mary that sublime mission of advocacy for us before God spoken of by St John (1 John ii. 1). The Virgin, during the rest of her address, finds nothing so urgent to recommend to the people as the celebration of festivals, going to mass, and fasting. The falsity of this miracle, from which other wonders have been made to flow, has been acknowledged.

Being further removed from Rimini, the imposture there becomes more difficult of detection. France, indeed, has become more prudent and skilful—not to say so silly and off its guard—than to make the Virgin speak and expose herself, as at La Salette, by any discussion relating to the disease of potatoes. We have contented ourselves by giving a glance at such a picture. This party was very wise, and the silence which it imposed upon

\* See the Pilgrimage to La Salette, by Abbé —, first edition, pp. 47, 48.

itself was a matter of great prudence. We have only referred to two of the most remarkable miracles, though we could have mentioned many others. In confirmation of this, only look at the famous miracle related by the rector of Montbeliard, namely, the cure of Frances Pelitot, by means of a pilgrimage to Einsilden. So again, the miracle of Fossembrone, which is, in all respects, but a repetition of the miracle at Rimini, and which says but little for the imaginations of the Madonnas of Italy. Thus gross superstition unites itself with that hatred for all liberty by which orthodox Romanism is characterised. The further it advances in ultramontaniam, the more estranged from its own country does it become. On the first revolution this party thought proper to emigrate to Coblenz, and hereby lost all interest with the country. Well! Ultramontaniam is a kind of moral Coblenz, to which Romanism emigrates. To pass the mountains will prove as fatal to it, as did passing the Rhine to the first emigrants; for, in spite of all attacks, predictions, and fears, one thing remains, and will triumph in this country, namely, that social constitution given it sixty years ago—those great principles of liberty and equality which have vindicated Christianity. To espouse the cause of oppression is but espousing a lost cause, passing over to the vanquished, to a party whose total defeat may be deferred for a short time longer, but which can never recover from the blow that public opinion has inflicted. Every step towards ultramontaniam is but a step towards decay. In reference to contemporary Romanism, the words *ultramontaniam* and *decay* are but synonyms.

#### CHAPTER II.—SECOND SIGN OF DECAY—INTERNAL DIVISIONS OF ROMANISM IN FRANCE.

The Roman Catholic Church professes to have unity. It is most important to know whether such pretensions are well founded; and that so much the more, since, with the hope of enjoying the shade of Roman Catholic unity, and being no longer exposed to controversy, many persons throw themselves, with passive submission, into the Church.

Well, then, let it be known that this Church is not so much a peaceful sanctuary as a forum, where arises one tribunal against another, and where stormy discussions resound. Let us carefully notice the divisions of the Roman Catholic Church; nothing will better demonstrate its decay.



In the first place, we know to a certainty, that with many of the clergy there is a suppressed desire for mental emancipation. From the lips of some of the Paris clergy we have received the plainest intimations to that effect. What prevents a great many, already half estranged from the rites of Romanism, though firmly believing Christianity, is a fear of falling into rationalism. They think that, once out of the Church, they might cease being believers, and hence are retained. On the other hand, Protestantism, as it now exists, does not quite please them. This alienation from Romanism is not merely found amongst the educated clergy, living in large towns, but among country clergymen also, though, perhaps, in a less degree. Subordination imposes silence upon them. Murmurs are suppressed; but the time is coming when the inferior clergy of France, like the *tiers-état* of the nation, sixty years ago, will raise their voice so high that it must be heard.

But, apart from such decidence, more or less secret, there are divisions, properly so called, within the bosom of Romanism, which we must mention.

We begin with those of minor importance, before touching upon points which may be called fundamental. But even the least are important, because, though in a way more or less circuitous, they all merge into that question of questions as concerns Romanism, we mean *the question of authority*. The first division refers to politics.

We are not here speaking of the politics of the day, shifting and capricious, and contradicting themselves, but we refer to that general opinion which is formed of the constitution of society, especially in reference to Roman Catholics, and to their opinion as to what form of government would best agree with their notions of religion. The question, under this aspect, increases in importance. It assumes the appearance of a religious revolution. Well, on this point, as on all others, two different schools exist in the bosom of Romanism—the ultramontane school, which is the most numerous, powerful, and alone orthodox; and the liberal Roman Catholic school. The former openly avows its sympathies with absolutism, and the system of restriction. This has been already fully confirmed. The latter sympathises with the modern spirit of liberty. It does more. By a generous illusion it endeavours to prove that the traditions of the Church are favourable to liberty; but which really only shews

the religious bearing of Roman Catholic opinions, though, in appearance, of a merely political character. It will readily be seen what violence must be done to history in such an attempt. The two schools, we observe further, have not calmly looked on, or peacefully dogmatised, but struggled man with man, ever anxious to decide on which side lay the sympathies of the Church.

Three years ago, the liberal Roman Catholic school had, for a few months, a distinguished organ, in a journal called the *New Era*. The chief organ of the ultramontane school, the *Religious Universe*, opposed the *New Era* on every question, but especially on that of the sympathy which Romanism is pretended to have for modern society. In an historical point of view, the *Religious Universe*, it must be confessed, had greatly the advantage; but its style was so violent and perfidious, and much oftener gross than refined, that it morally did wrong. The *New Era*, traduced on all hands, and overwhelmed by a bigoted rancour, than which nothing can be worse, was reduced to silence, although the party which it represented still exists. Already, then, upon this point, does division exist in the Roman Catholic Church. Greater or less affinity exists between Romanism and modern society.

Division, moreover, exists on another point, more nearly approaching the doctrinal centre of Romanism. We refer to the connexion between what is *spiritual* and *temporal*. The absolute union between the spiritual and the temporal is one of the dogmas of ultramontaniam; a theocratical tendency must be held as an article of faith, sanctioned even by the Pope himself. The liberal Roman Catholic school is greatly inclined towards the independence of the spiritual and temporal. It has distinctly expressed its opinion, through the press, and at the tribune. An important article on this great subject, from the pen of M. Guerin, one of the editors of the *New Era*, appeared, about two years ago, in the daily press, which raised a warm debate between the *Espérance de Nancy* and the *Univers Religieux*. "Why are we not now what we were before the revolution of February?" we read in the former journal, under the direction of M. de Montalembert. "Our convictions on the liberty and independence of the Church have not been shaken; we remain firm in the doctrine of the separation of the Church from the State." To this the *Univers Religieux* smartly replied.\*

\* *Univers Religieux*, March 18, 1851.

The same subject has again been brought to the tribune by the representatives of Romanism. "In religion," said Abbé Cazales, "there can be no possible conciliation between the Church and the State, but by a liberty mutually acknowledged and accepted—by a separate act."\* The chiefs of the Roman Catholic party have responded to this, both by their votes and speeches; for, by the law of public instruction, they have sanctioned a much greater union between the Roman Catholic Church and the State. But on occasion especially of the affairs of Rome, the debates have become animated, and the divisions memorable. The question was one of excitement, having reference to the temporal power of the Pope; his holiness having already declared, that the union of the spiritual and temporal power was indissoluble. M. Armand de l'Ariège, a Roman Catholic, convinced of the contrary, and distinguished by generous feelings, nobly demanded at the national tribune, and in the name of the dignity of religion, an independency of the spiritual from the temporal, obviously applying the principle to the Pope. A Roman Catholic review, entitled *La Revue des Réformés et du Progrès*, supported this thesis with even more vigour. "Is it not clear," we there read, "that God designs to restore his Church to its apostolic poverty? And why should God pause before the least ecclesiastic? Precisely because we are Roman Catholics, sincerely contributing, without reluctance, but with joy, to whatever Providence may appoint; but to the Papacy, the burden of a temporal kingdom, which attaches itself to earthly things, exposing itself to ambition and intrigue by imploring the aid of foreign power, who would afford it their protection?"

The chief editor of the *Revue des Réformés et du Progrès* has been condemned by the Pope, but numerous co-labourers have not been so treated; and it remains indisputable, that on this important point, affecting the very foundation of the Church, Romanism is greatly divided. Thus a difference of opinion exists among Roman Catholics as to the connexion between Romanism and modern society, together with that which refers to what is spiritual and temporal.

The division has shewn itself upon one point in a disgraceful manner, though of little importance—namely, the part which ought to be assigned to the clergy, under present circumstances. This discussion has taken place between two prelates—the

\* See the *Semeur*, tom. xix. No. 7.

Archbishop of Paris and the Bishop of Chartres; and that before the Church. The Archbishop has distinguished himself by moderation and elevation in his sentiments. He, besides, associates as little as possible with the ultramontane party. He distinctly evinced this by strongly censuring the *Univers Religieux* for having written a flaming article in favour of the Inquisition. In a brief, published a few months ago, and designed to explain a decree of the Council of Paris, relating to the interference of the clergy in matters merely political, the Archbishop said to the clergy of his diocese:—"We, as ministers of God, in the exercise of our function, should make no personal distinctions, but prove ourselves equally devoted to our fellow-men, ever ready to lay down our very lives for each of them, without any distinction of opinion or party." The Archbishop, therefore, forbade the clergy of his diocese from taking part in elections, or other political assemblies. "We belong," added he, "to all parties—to moralise all—to save all."

Such principles, we may be sure, would give great offence to the ultramontane party, who are daily indignantly condemning modern society, and asserting that it is the duty of Romanism to favour ancient absolutism. They cannot bear that liberty should be tolerated. Hence they could not repress their indignation. The Bishop of Chartres, a furious ultramontanist, and formerly a cavalry officer, discussing, as in military style, levelled a brief against his superior, whom he was bound to respect. The Bishop of Chartres did not hesitate to denounce the opinions of his superior in the following terms:—"If such sentiments had been adopted by the human race at their origin, society would long ere this have perished. The learned prelate weakens alike both the Church and the State, by preventing, on the one hand, well-intentioned journalists from defending the Church by their writings; and on the other, by forbidding the clergy from defending the State, or the interests of the people, by their discourses. The prelate to whom we refer (and whom we hope again to meet in connexion with a better cause) possesses active and sincere piety, and unbounded faith. But all these qualifications have carried him away, while a desire of doing good urges and defeats him; a spirit of falsehood being mixed with celestial truth and gross error in what he declares."

Undoubtedly, it was disgraceful to witness two bishops in discussion. The Archbishop of Paris referred his adversary's

letter to the next provincial council; but the court of Rome contrived to make some arrangement between the two prelates. The Bishop of Chartres suppressed the offensive passages in his brief; and the Archbishop his letter to the Council of Paris. But neither of them retracted their respective opinions, which demonstrated, by such an imprudent exposure, what divisions are concealed under the semblance of Roman Catholic union.

We have spoken of the views adopted by the ultramontane party in reference to the constitution of society, and of its hatred to liberty. But there is one kind of liberty against which its antipathy is specially directed; we mean liberty of conscience. We have already noticed that certain impassioned discussions had attempted to decide between Roman Catholics. The letter of Abbé Maret, of Angers, was a reply to M. Lacordaire, who had expressed himself strongly against the Inquisition. "Give me," he exclaimed, "a body of clergymen, each possessing an annual income of ten thousand livres, place them at the disposal of the Inquisition, and in less than fifty years they shall be brought to nothing." On this account, Abbé Maret published the lamentations we should employ for heretics; when the *Univers Religieux* mixed with it its tender mercies towards error. But it seems that the diocese of Angers is not reduced to the necessity of sustentation from the writings of Abbé Maret. Abbé Berrier, the vicar-general of Angers, published a pamphlet, entitled, "*L'Etat et les Cultes*," which is an indirect refutation of the fiery ultramontane publisher. "Submission to the faith," he says, "must be based on a free inquiry, applied to revealed truth—all religion must be freely received. A manifest opposition must exist between the notion of religion and that of coercion." Such opinions as these could not pass unpunished. The *Univers Religieux* applied its ferula: "If we rightly understand the vicar-general," exclaims the zealous journal, "he means to say, that if persons living in a Roman Catholic country should have a fancy no longer to submit to the authority of the Church, that they may claim protection from the Government in such a philosophical enterprise. If such be the fact, the Roman Catholic Church has ceased being the bride of Jesus Christ, from the time of Constantine. Ever since there have been princes in Roman Catholic countries, from whom the Popes have invariably solicited the assistance of temporal power against heretics." The writings of M. Berrier have been put into the Index, as they deserved; but his general submission shews that

he did not think himself obliged to reject his principles. A discussion on the same subject took place at Paris, in a lecture of M. Ozanam, a distinguished professor at the Sorbonne, and formerly editor of the *Era Nouvelle*. In the opening lecture of his course, in 1850, "No, no," he exclaimed, "I do not believe that there ever will be a power which can suppress a single thought, however false or detestable it may be." "There are some persons," said M. Ozanam, in another lecture which we heard, "who, to characterise a religion of materialism, have no other hope than in material strength; there are persons, I say, who have no belief in their God, until a purple mantle be thrown over their shoulders." Such language deserved to be seriously rebuked, and this has been done in the *Ami de la Religion*, by M. St Albin, who, towards the close of an article, thus writes:—"What unhappy times are ours, in which the authority of the faith is weakened!" He is quite right, if he means an authority which imposes unity, for of this we have already shewn its utter weakness.

But the following is yet more serious. Hitherto we have noticed divisions which affect only the circumference, so to speak, of Roman Catholic doctrine. We will now shew that they affect its doctrine to its very centre. Let us first speak of those divisions which make no noise, and lead to no discussion. If there be one essential dogma in Romanism, it is tradition. Well! while M. Henri Klee,\* a professor of theology, asserts, in the most positive manner, that Roman Catholic tradition is unchangeable—M. Newman,† another theologian, in his principal work, just translated, maintains, on the other hand, that Christian doctrine has gradually developed, and has successively added various dogmas. Here, then, is a distinct *Yes* and *No* pronounced! Where lies the truth? Here a fact is both asserted and denied. M. de St Albin may well complain of the weakness of the authority of faith.

There are doctrinal divisions, we have said, which produce angry discussions. Such is the division which exists between Abbé Maret, a learned professor of theology of the faculty at Paris, and the ultramontane theology, as explained by M. Bonnetti, in the *Annals of Christian Theology*. This, in truth, is a regular discussion, having lasted for several years, and often with violence

\* Manual of the History of Drugs, translated from the German by Mobin, 1849.

† History of the Development of Christian Doctrine, by Newman, translated by Jules Gordon.

on the part of the ultramontanists, ever fruitful in disputes and accusations against heresy. It is true, that it had but an indirect reference to the capital doctrine of Romanism—the dogma of authority. Abbé Maret undoubtedly acknowledges this dogma, though he put it on a footing which strangely led him astray. External authority can only be solidly founded on man's complete forgiveness, intellectual and moral, in matters of religion; so that truth must, as it were, be infused into him by tradition. When any capability of perceiving truth by himself be allowed, or any inward and natural harmony between his spiritual nature and truth, the necessity of external authority is by so much lessened.

Well! Abbé Maret fully admits this divine principle—the religious capacity of the human soul. In a theological Manual we meet with the following words:—"Human reason is an emanation of that eternal and intelligible light, which is God himself; a participation of the Eternal Mind; a direct and immediate union of the understanding with Deity."—*Le Correspondant*, tom. xi. pp. 61, 68.

This view of things Abbé Maret has illustrated at great length, in an important and remarkable work—his *Theodicée Chrétienne*. Starting from the principle, that the mind of Deity is the source of human intellect, and that whatever is most valuable in the human soul, all its ideas of truth, goodness, and beauty, are but emanations of Deity from it,\* Abbé Maret acknowledges the competency of reason "to seek, discover, and demonstrate aright the harmony of mysteries with the nature of God and that of man."† This, in his judgment, is the office of theological philosophy. Besides the necessity of believing, he asserts that of *seeing, knowing, and giving an account*. Authority and faith, in his estimation, are of no worth, only so far as they prepare man for reason.‡ It requires no proof that such principles are not calculated to develop passive submission; and that even when, in the meaning of M. Maret, the authority of the Church be admitted, it inspires no serious disquietude to orthodox theology. This may be all very well; but scarcely a number of the *Annales de la Philosophie Chrétienne* appears without an attack being made upon Abbé Maret. He has even been denounced, in so many words, as a heretic. "A belief," we read in the Manual, "that truth is but a ray of Deity sent to the earth, would destroy a rule, at once firm, positive, true, and historical, of a Divine external tradition, and substitute for it

\* *Theodicée*, pp. 111, 116,

† *Ibid.* p. 18.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 22.

an interior Divine revelation." \* Hence, on that capital doctrine of authority, or at least on that of the competency of reason, a great division exists in the very bosom of Romanism. And we may further remark, that this opinion of M. Maret is not an isolated opinion, but is applicable to all other notions of the liberal Roman Catholic school; for in liberty, as in despotism, everything is linked together. The contention between the two schools having first appeared in its estimate of modern society, proceeds to the question upon the Church and the State—further, upon that of liberty of conscience. The bishops even are divided, and at length contention has become concentrated and revived on the fundamental point of Romanism, reaching as by so many concentric circles the very heart of the Roman Catholic faith. And if, after this, we should be invited to receive an unproved pretension, we will reply by renewing the challenge given by us to Romanism two years ago.† We defy it to call a General Council, which shall endeavour to give the result as to the opinions of true members of the Roman Catholic Church in our own day. It dares not; for the result of the first discussion would be interminable division, not unity.

Unity might be obtained, but it would cost too dear a price—the absolute sacrifice of all moral liberty. It does not exist. We may pay dearly, and receive nothing in return. The Roman Catholic Church affixes on the front of their churches that it possesses unity. We enter, but nothing is to be found but the ancient *Babel*. This convinces us of its decay; for once more, without unity, it is not reasonable to expect that the human family will be tempted to receive a yoke—an uncompensated slavery.

CHAPTER III.—THIRD SIGN OF DECAY — THE LOW STATE OF  
ROMAN CATHOLIC LEARNING — THEOLOGY — INSTRUCTION —  
POLEMICS — CONTROVERSY.

We do not pretend to give a complete statement of Roman Catholic literature. Our plan, to do this, must be greatly enlarged. We will, for the most part, confine ourselves to the last few years, and select, from each kind, what appears to us most

\* Annals of Christian Philosophy, tom. ix., February 1849, page 24.

† Conferences on Christianity in its application to Social Questions. Seventh Conference.



characteristic. In the first place, we will speak of Roman Catholic theology, which, generally speaking, exhibits a fearful lowness throughout France. It is infinitely better both in Germany and England. Kohler and Klee are distinguished theologians, in every respect—full of learning and thought. In Germany, doubtless, ultramontane Romanism is less successful than in France. The natural result of ultramontanism is the destruction of learning. The authority of the Church being so strictly applied, makes all reasoning on Romanism useless, not to say hurtful. An appeal to reason, employed even with a Roman Catholic meaning, would be to call in the aid of a suspected servant, who might turn the vigour of his arm against his master. It is better, then, to thread a paternoster bead, than employ reasoning. To give proof of Romanism, would be but cherishing the notion that a right exists of requiring proof, and of not subscribing to doctrines but after discussion. Hence, the only arguments employed by ultramontanism are miracles, which it skilfully increases. The blood of St Januarius, exhibited at Naples to the eyes of the multitude, is a proof such as is wanted. It would give a hundred such books as *Pascal's Thoughts* for a single prodigy of this kind. It is, then, but too true that no impulse is given to theology. Those who, in France, attempt to avail themselves of the advantages of science, are precisely those placed on the list of suspected by ultramontanism. We have already spoken of Abbé Maret. He is unquestionably the most distinguished Roman Catholic theologian in France. His essay on *Pantheism*,\* and his *Theodicée Chrétienne*,† have placed him in the first rank. Instead of reproaching his opponents, he seriously discusses with them, knowing his cause, and in a firm and clear style. It is apparent that he is really acquainted with the principal systems of contemporaneous philosophy, not through the caricature of the schools. But all his merit has only brought upon him the severe attacks of the ultramontane party, though we cannot give preference to his theological knowledge over theirs. While speaking in praise of writers, we would mention the *Etudes Philosophiques sur le Christianisme*, by Augustus Nicolas,‡ *juge de paix*, a serious and matured work; great in elevation of thought and language; void of that scent of

\* Essay on Pantheism, by Abbé Maret, 3d edition, at Mequignon, 1849.

† Theodicée Chrétienne, by the same, 2d edition, at J. Levaux's, 1850.

‡ Philosophical Studies on Christianity, by Augustus Nicolas. 3d edition, in four volumes. Paris: Augtevalon, editor.

the vestry with which Roman Catholic writings become so easily infected. Its plan is extensive: the author endeavours to establish the truth of Christianity, by proceeding from the circumference to the centre. He first proves immateriality; then direct revelation, of which he gives both internal and external proofs, by a close chain of reasoning. That part of his work which relates to the preparation for Christianity in the pagan world, is most remarkable. The most feeble part is the diatribe against the infidelity of our times. Difficulties are not always pointed out. In the estimation of M. Nicolas, the Christian is generally stronger than the Roman Catholic. His arguments for the general truth of Christianity are much more solid than those for Romanism. In their turn, he greatly enfeebles both; for, after having established the harmony of Christianity with our moral and intellectual wants, it becomes difficult for him to explain the necessity of an external authority. From two things we must select one: either Christianity really responds to our wants; then, why impose it? or, if it do not respond, then an external authority; all this is plain. Yet must two-thirds of M. Nicolas's book be torn out; for, in the chapter on the Church, he assumes, that, contrary to other religions, the Roman Catholic religion acts both from within and without. "Being entirely detached from the circumstances and interests of time and place, in reference to it, there is but one kingdom, and that not of this world. It compels not, but preaches. In warfare, no blood is shed but its own; no arms used but persuasion and example!"\* This is carrying partiality a little too far; blinded affection making it so complete. We refer M. Nicolas to the *Univers Religieux*, and to Abbé Maret, or, what is better, to the Pope, to learn what Romanism thinks of that abomination, liberty of conscience. We perceive, in these historical illusions, the effect of a too ardent desire which it possesses; but this desire will enable us to distinguish M. Nicolas from ultramontane Romanism. He has adopted an unusual course by fiercely condemning his Church in reference to the past.

Its works on history are much more numerous than those on doctrines. The former are liable to the least risk. Thus, an immense history of the Roman Catholic Church has been published, within the last few years, by M. Rohrbacher, † in twenty-

\* Philosophical Studies on Christianity, tom. iii. p. 291.

† A General History of the Roman Catholic Church, by Rohrbacher. At Gaumes, Brothers.

nine volumes. But M. Rohrbacher is not a Frenchman, but a Belgian. French Roman Catholic theology has borrowed much from foreigners—even from heretics. Thus the celebrated *History of the Popes*, by Ranke, translated by M. de St Cheron, and who, by several editions, was enabled to make the professor at Berlin say the reverse of what he had said. He was forced to publish an errata, which is but an outrageous accusation against himself.

We may also cite some works on archæology, shewing great learning; they are, for the most part, inserted in the *Annales de la Philosophie Chrétienne*, with the design of enriching the tradition of the Church. Artistic archæology is likewise cultivated with much care.

With the same design, Abbé Migne has founded an immense biblical establishment at Montrouge. Cheap editions of the Christian fathers, and the principal Roman Catholic authors, are printed. These certainly are amongst the best books published by the Church; but this must by no means be attributed to its present learning. The greater part of the reprints belong to the Church universal. Romanism is singularly feeble in Commentaries. This is well understood.

The Bible does not attract its attention; it forbids the people freely reading it. It is the talent of the parable wrapped up in a napkin, and buried in the earth. The tradition of the Church is its covering. Even the grammatical exposition of the Scriptures is not without dangers. The Council of Trent forbids that a single error should be found in the Vulgate. Poor grammarians! what is to be done? At all hazards, be grammatical! Opposite to the formidable attacks which rationalism has directed against the authenticity of the New Testament, Roman Catholic theology continues in the calmness of ignorance. Listen, on this subject, not to a prejudiced schismatic, but to a most orthodox abbé, writing, in an influential Roman Catholic journal, an article upon a translation of a work of Professor Tholuck, and we shall gather from his words what kind of teaching prevails in our colleges. "It is sad and terrible," says he, "to think that studies so well calculated for glorifying the Saviour should be almost laid aside in our colleges, and generally despised by the clergy of France. We can readily understand that a priest may allege very good reasons why he is not well versed in the sciences; but will he dare to dispense with sacred science? Is there one amongst us who does not read daily some pages of Holy Writ? But can this study be made

without a competent acquaintance with commentaries? But where can the clergy find this knowledge? At least, let us take care not to drive the very word 'exposition' from a course on the Holy Scriptures which we used to have in our colleges. A sorrowful consequence, from the situation in which the Church of France has been reduced, by no longer having its doctors! It has a clergy, who admirably, and often heroically, fulfil their sacred ministry, who preach, catechise, and confess; but it has not a clergy who can defend and teach."

These severe remarks are in perfect unison with what we have said relative to Roman Catholic theology. To add anything to these statements would, we fear, be but weakening them. We will merely add, to complete our information on the colleges, that the greater part of those who have distinguished themselves in Romanism as it now exists, did not come from them, but commenced after having received a lay education.

We pass from theologians to preachers. Roman Catholic preaching is still popular. That will not prevent our saying that it is miserably defective. One very strong proof may be given that it has completely fallen under the influence of the worst literature of the day. All that harshness of style which is so apparent in our pamphleteers is found also in this. However, M. de Ravignan, the celebrated Jesuit preacher, falls not into these eccentricities of language. His reasoning is close, his style sober and nervous, which, however, hides not its fundamental dryness; besides, his star is on the decline. M. Abbot Cour, the present Bishop of Troyes, has a shade of Gallicism in his catholicity. His eloquence was more graceful and pleasing than that of M. de Ravignan, and more within the limits of good taste. The Abbot de Guerre, rector of La Madeleine, besides not being an ultramontanist, was formerly accustomed to military life, and retains something of the secular in his discourse, which gives to it its charm. The great mass of preachers do not follow this good example. Step accidentally into one of our churches, you will often hear a discourse disfigured by the fanciful flowers of rhetoric—feeble when there should be unction—violent instead of energetic—loose and pointless in composition, delivered with an excess of action, and in a monotonous tone—well if it does not sink into dulness or legendary fable. How often does the preacher avoid flatness only by bad taste!

For this he has, as precedents, some of the most celebrated

orators of the Catholic pulpit. M. l'Abbé Combalot is an example of this kind of eccentricity. His discourses abound with a profusion of imagery unequalled by the wildest romance. In representing the brevity of our existence, he would say, for instance, "Your life is on the pedestal of a minute." Unhappily, the greatest living preacher in the Catholic Church, M. l'Abbé Lacordaire, falls into this error. M. Lacordaire made his first appearance under M. de Lamennais, in the journal *L'Avenir*. We feel that he belongs to his own times, and that his constant effort is to shew that Catholicism may harmonise with the course of modern society. Hence his numberless concessions. The first attempts of M. Lacordaire as a preacher were very brilliant. He began by conferences in the chapel of the College Stanislas; but the crowd of hearers was so great, that a petition, signed by twelve thousand young persons, was presented to the archbishop for his appointment to preach at Notre Dame. There his eloquent voice is every year heard before an immense auditory. We know that he has revived the order of the Dominicans, and that it is in the white robe of the ancient inquisitors that he pleads the cause of a renewed Catholicism. His talents are undeniable. In a lively imagination, warmth of feeling, and genius, he has all the principal qualities of an orator, but he is deficient in sound taste and judgment. Bold in his efforts, he uses every means within his reach to produce effect. Too frequently he employs flattery, and that of the grossest description; witness his first sermon at Notre Dame, in which he declares that he saw in Paris almost a new Zion. He falls, too, into great inconsistencies; at one time he praises democracy, at another he exalts the Holy League. His reasoning is unsatisfactory. He lays axioms on air, and rears his scaffolding on unproved positions. His arguments are inconclusive, and no one has more skill in raising the dust to conceal his own weakness. Till of late years, the theme of his conferences was the authority of the Church; now he has entered on an exposition of the doctrine itself. Nothing can more fully manifest the doctrinal anarchy of the Catholic Church than the incredible, dogmatical, illogical, and ceaseless heterodoxy set forth in the face of ecclesiastical authority. We give a specimen in an analysis of the fifth conference delivered this winter at Paris by M. Lacordaire.

The following is M. Lacordaire's plan. It was faithfully reported in the *Weekly Messenger*, as we can certify by comparing our recollections with the report given in that journal. *The Voice*

of *Truth* has also given a succinct analysis of the discourse in perfect conformity with ours.

M. Lacordaire proposes to prove the prevalence of good over evil—of the salvation over the perdition of the human race. He begins by laying down two axioms—1st, There is a co-relation between the *idea of good* and the *idea of life*, the *idea of evil* and the *idea of death*. Now, the human race lives always—then good prevails over evil. 2d, There is a co-relation between the idea of good and the idea of labour; but the greater portion of the human race labour—then good prevails over evil. Jesus Christ has said, there are few chosen, but this was a saying suited only to his days, for there are many chosen of the human race who are in a state of salvation—1st, Children, who die in great numbers at the age of innocency. 2d, Women: God has given two gifts to woman—the gift of faith and the gift of love. Every woman, without exception, in descending into the tomb, hears with her right ear—“I hail you, full of grace; the Lord is with you!” and with her left ear, “Her sins, that are many, are forgiven her, for she hath loved much.” And how many are there of this sex who are saved, and will be saved? The half of the human race. 3dly, The poor, in one mass. 4thly, Almost all the rich. Then, in imitation of the celebrated peroration of Massillon’s sermon on the small number of the saved, but in a sense inverse, the orator exclaims—“Straw of despair, separate yourself from God’s wheat! O devil! where are thy chosen ones, and what remains for thy portion?” It is true he declares one in a hundred thousand may be lost; but, according to his reckoning, even that appears difficult. It is thus M. Lacordaire speaks to the conscience. Is it possible better to lull us to sleep, or to flatter our inclinations and spiritual sloth?

Preaching should rather rouse the consciences of the hearers than lull them into a false security. So the apostles thought, and such also were the views of former Catholic preachers; but it is not the opinion of the eminent theologian M. Lacordaire, which, as *The Voice of Truth* says, the Catholics love, and there is no ecclesiastical authority to condemn him. Have we not reason to speak of anarchy?

Perhaps it may be thought that ample amends for this modern style of preaching is made by that of M. Morel of Angers, who also has published Conferences.\* That he is a man firm amidst

\* Conferences of Notre Dame Angers, by the Abbé Jules Morel, published at Paris, 1849, by Adrien Le Clerc.

the overthrow of principles, and who cedes nothing to modern society, we have already seen in his views of the Inquisition. All is duly proportioned; he holds the authority of the Church in the fullest sense, and all his reasoning attempts to prove, by certain reflections against philosophy, the necessity of this authority. Then all is said. It is sufficient to shut our mouth to quote the canon of a council or a Papal bull. M. l'Abbé Morel will not be accused of softening down the angles of Catholic doctrine. He receives, without inquiry, the past concerning the Church—the money gained by indulgences as well as the blood shed by the Inquisition. If objections are made, he answers, St Peter was the first inquisitor in the death of Ananias and Sapphira, as well as the first Pope enriched by indulgences. “Never,” says M. Morel, “had any one a fund of riches equal to that of which he had the disposal.”\* It is true that all these fine ideas are set forth in an affected and declamatory style worthy of themselves—just chastisement of such a mode of thinking.

By means of the doctrinal anarchy which we have pointed out, much excellent evangelical truth passes unauthorised, at least unknown, by the ultramontanists. We doubt not that there are to be found amongst the entire mass, serious, enlightened preachers. We have already observed that the preaching of M. Bautin of Paris deserves commendation. The same may be said of that of his disciple, M. Bonnchose, the present Bishop of Carcassonne. Another preacher, M. Gabriel, has made a great impression in the Parisian pulpits. His eloquence is entirely different from that of M. Lacordaire. It is uncultivated, artless, but full of warmth and piety. We feel that his soul enters into his discourses. The person of the Saviour occupies the most prominent place. These exceptions, however, cannot hinder us from the conclusion, that there is a manifest decay in the preaching, as well as the theology, of the Catholic Church.

We approach a soil where ultramontane Catholicism has come down to these latter days, and it is one of polemics and controversy. It carries on a war in the tribune, in books, and in the daily press. Everywhere its polemics bear the same character—that of inconceivable violence. We would say that it seeks after the greatest possible equivalent for persecution—indeed, we would rather meet the poisoned assegai or arrow of the savage than some of their attacks. Polemic violence is the indication of great moral

\* See Conferences, p. 214.

weakness. The defender of a good cause is calm and patient, because his theme is eternal as truth. At the national tribune, two persons are placed as the representatives of ancient Catholicism; both are distinguished for their eloquence and violence. Under terms the most elegant and polite, M. Falloux well understands how to direct an insult; whilst M. Montalembert knows equally well how to fan the flame. Sad spectacle of men professing Christianity, distinguishing themselves by a total absence of charity in their discussions! For this the highest talents form no excuse, but only aggravate the evil, by giving to it greater eminency. In the press, freed from parliamentary restraint, the violence is still more prominent. There is in particular one journal, more read than any other of the Catholic papers, entitled *L'Univers Religieux*, forming the most magnificent depository of abuse to be found. Vulgar in spirit and style, the writer will call an adversary a *mad ox*, and qualify his criticisms with disgusting expressions, abusing his opponent in every possible way, passing from cynical mockery to brutal invective, intermixing the whole with unfounded accusations. We must seek in the revolutionary past for a sheet written with this ink. We cannot understand why such a journal has not twenty times disappeared under the indignation of sincere Catholics. But when we think that it receives the patronage of a bishop, the scandal is aggravated.

The principal editor of the *Univers Religieux*, M. Louis Veullot, not satisfied with pouring out in the columns of his own journal the gall of his perpetual indignation, has, among other things, written a large book, which he entitles, *Les Livres-penseurs*, or *Free-thinkers*. It is here that his inconceivable and, happily, inimitable venom flows out without constraint. He treats as adversaries all who refuse to kiss the yoke of ultramontaniam—and gives a series of their portraits, which are only low caricatures. He lashes them, and tramples them in the dust. M. Veullot takes a strong pleasure in representing the vices of society by everything that he can imagine the most hideous. He, doubtless, condemns them, but he is full in their description, and in his pages he paints evils so to the life, and in terms so gross, that we are overcome with disgust. Indeed, it is difficult to give a specimen of his style; we may, however, quote the beginning of his book, and we shall see the spirit and tone with which he commences:—"I am convinced of one thing, by reading the memoirs, histories, correspondence, and quarrels of celebrated writers, that,



out of fifty men professing to be authors, fifteen at least are perfect fools, and thirty-four more or less crack-brained, without pretence to originality, enthusiasm, loftiness, or melancholy. What I have had an opportunity of observing concerning the living, does not alter my opinion of the dead; several rank even below fools—amongst idiots and madmen. And the little reading girl in these days will be judged the most abject that ever existed for having so much loved their writings. The poet is a wanton sparrow, committing a hundred indecencies and follies, solely that he may be seen.”\* He continues in this style for more than four hundred pages. On the frontispiece to this book we find the cross of Jesus Christ mocked—that cross which is dishonoured by such impudent language—a greater sin than any contained in the book itself. Another publication, of the same cast, is a pamphlet entitled *Plato Polichinelle* (Punch Plato),† from the pen of a priest, and widely circulated. The writer attempts to be witty and forcible, but is trifling and vulgar. There are passages in this pamphlet unfit for quotation. It is entirely directed against modern society. It is there we find the marvellous idea of replacing our legislative assemblies by a college of monks. The equality of political and civil rights is qualified by horror of the superiority of others. The division of property is set forth as robbery on a large scale. The following is a specimen of the author’s amenity towards heretics:—“Do you love good wine, good cheer, the neat dining-hall, and all the tavern excesses comprised under the name of sensuality? Read the *Table Sermons* of the evangelist Luther. Should you imprudently have broken your most serious engagements, or should you have taken oaths, whether of a religious character, or as a subject, or of any other description, which weigh upon your conscience, Luther has violated them all with an *éclat* which you can never give to your perjury. He delighted more in the table than in the confessional.” Mark the opinion of the pamphleteering priest on the Bible:—“Give to every man the Bible, as the sole rule of his faith and practice, and what else would it be but to deify every folly and consecrate every crime?”

We might adduce many other specimens of this kind of controversy, from *Dialogues on Protestantism*, by M. d’Exanvillez,

\* See *Les Libres-penseurs*, pp. 1, 2.

† See *Plato Polichinelle*; or, *Wisdom Turned to Folly*. Lyons: Pelangant. Vol. i. p. 120; vol. ii. 176; vol. iv. 3, 44.

where the most disgusting accusations of immorality are urged against our Reformers; but we will finish by noticing a work, approved by a bishop, and distributed amongst the children of his diocese. It is entitled *A Catechism for the Faithful*. The following is the list of subjects:—

“Question 1. What must we think of a religion that began in licentiousness?

“2. What must we think of a religion which has been propagated and established by plunder and violence?

“3. What must we think of a religion which still maintains itself by violence?

“4. What must we think of a religion which is supported by lying and calumny?

“5. What must we think of a religion which allows every one to believe and act as he chooses?”

Must we not, however, acknowledge that there is still something more sad than to be thus attacked—which is this, viz., to be defended by similar objectionable methods?

A species of writing considerably cultivated at present amongst Catholics, is religious romance. In this we again find M. Veuillot. He has published several short pieces in the last three years. The last piece, entitled, *A Samaritan Woman*, has been reviewed in both the old and new continents, and is not without merit, if M. Veuillot only did not understand so well how to paint evil! We make the same reflections on *The Slave Vindex*. He makes himself the confessor of the age, and in his eagerness to discover evil, dreams of infamies of which no one ever thought. In his *The Morrow of the Victory*, a kind of drama, where the social irruption which he dreads is painted in the darkest colours, he represents the labouring classes and the citizen in the most odious light, in opposition to the nobleman and priest. If it is thus we hope to reconcile the different classes of a nation, alas! romance and religious drama are sorry means for this purpose.

Popular literature is important, and ought to interest us. What food, then, does Catholicism offer to the people? And here we must acknowledge it offers much. Instructive and amusing libraries have been multiplied of late years. We find writings on popular controversies, as the *Dialogues on Protestantism*, by M. d'Exanvillez, to which we need not refer again. There are also *The Lives of Saints*, full of miracles, destined to supersede, in the popular imagination, the enchanters of the Middle Age.

The *Life of St Rosa of Lima* is a specimen of this kind. The author informs us that, whilst still a child, she sought to imitate Catherine of Sienna, that seraphic lover of the Saviour; also, by what series of miracles she cured a tumour on her head; how, in place of the tumour, she placed a needle by way of mortification; how fire from heaven proceeded out of the gloves that they wished to compel her to wear in opposition to the will of God; how she disfigured herself, not to inspire love; and how all this procured for her the gift of prophecy, and the power to dispose of angels at her pleasure—so that she employed her guardian angel to do her commissions for her. We need not wonder at finding such tales from the pen of an ordinary writer, when we recollect the *History of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary*, by M. Montalembert. There are recorded the same fabulous wonders, in the same puerile style of writing. Perhaps the illustrious orator wished by this to expiate beforehand the tartness of his eloquence.

Besides these edifying histories of saints, male and female, we find in the popular literature small religious romances. These all resemble each other in their improbability. They treat of melodramatic devotees without thought or style, which convey no lively or distinct idea of reality—they are beings moving in an imaginary world, and who, to escape from very weariness, have sometimes been obliged to take the veil. Religion consists always in vain practices. Among these romances we shall cite, *Eli the Organist*, by M. d'Exanvillez; *Eliza, or the Consequences of a Love Marriage*, by the same author; and *The Two Labourers*, by Miss Le Brun.

Children's books are also numerous, but, judging from those we have seen, of no better character. *The History of a Guardian Angel* is, in our judgment, a bad book. The author, instead of directing children to Christ, fills their heads with superstitious ideas about guardian angels, which, in a certain sense, supersede the providence of God. Instead of cherishing in their heart sentiments of love towards all mankind, an attempt is made to foster dangerous prejudices against everything bearing on the French Revolution. They are told of the atrocious war between whites and blues in Vendée, the former being represented as saints. If we wished to perpetuate former hatreds, and sow the seeds of civil war in future, this could not be done more effectually.

In short, there are, in these libraries for the people, works intended to convey instruction by means of example—as, *The*

*Seven Sins and the Seven Virtues*, by M. Abbé Perrin, a book full of absurd legends, and professing to teach us our duty from the lives of saints. In these works, the worship of the Virgin is preached up with incredible earnestness. Never was the worship of a creature so strongly urged. *The Rose-tree of May, or the Garland of Mary*, by Alph. Constant, is a kind of book of prayers for the month of May. It contains, for each day, a meditation, a prayer, and some legend to her honour. These legends are mere fairy tales. At one time it is said, that two little children at each *Ave Maria* feel a white rose flourish on their lips; at another, a lily unexpectedly springs up from the sand to prove the purity of Mary. On another occasion, a Madonna (an image of Mary) is seen to shed tears before the whole congregation. The philosopher, adds the author, does not believe this. That is possible; but what follows the true Christian will hardly believe, under any circumstances. "Heaven is opened, and the angels are crying, 'There is no more faith on the earth.' Then God is covered with darkness; but, in the midst of this night, Mary shines like the moon when the sun is set. A great cry is heard in heaven. God withdraws his hand, the earth falls; but Mary, darting from her seat, stretches forth her arms, and a second time saves the world."

Nor will true Christians have less difficulty in comprehending the amorous effusions for Mary found in M. Couvelaire's work, entitled, *Glory and Love to Mary!* There are passages in that book which might lead us to ask if the author was not composing a hymn to Venus, or a mere love song. "Mary! how sweet is this name! My charmed ear delights in the sound, my eager lips take pleasure in pronouncing it! My heart . . . . it faints at thy name, O Mary! Sweet is the honeycomb to the solitary traveller; sweeter still is thy name, O Mary!"

Thus we see that Catholic literature changes, according to the poet's phrase, "from grave to gay," yea, from bitter to sweet, from vehemence to insipidity; it is in these extremes that it generally moves.

In these love effusions the author seems to forget himself, and falls into blasphemy. He boldly applies to her passages of the Bible which belong only to God, or to our Lord Jesus Christ:—"Mary so loved the world, that she gave her only begotten Son:!"\* "Who shall separate me from the love of my mother? Neither persecution, nor reproach, nor temptation, nor any creature

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whatever" \*—evidently alluding to the close of the eighth chapter of Romans. Is not this profane and sacrilegious?

We have said enough, we think, to justify the title of this chapter—The Poverty of Roman Catholic Literature. It is poor in its theology and in its preaching. It is feeble in controversy; superstitious—nay, grossly idolatrous—in its examples of the lives of saints. If there is anything worthy of remark in it, it is certainly this—a tendency to anti-ultramontanism and defective orthodoxy. Its general character is, that it never presents Christianity in its reality and substance, in the person of Christ himself, but dwells only on external observances, and submission to the priest. The authorised faith abides continually on the threshold only of religious truth, but does not enter in. As everything turns on submission to authority, to establish this is the end of all their effort and labour. Nothing further is aimed at. The truth which authority ought to sanction is not a subject of consideration. The ramparts, which appear raised to defend the city, hinder persons from entering into it; and, in the absence of healthy aliment to their faith, men rush into all the puerilities and evils which we have denounced to the good sense and consciences of Christians.

#### CHAPTER IV.—THE PART TAKEN BY CATHOLICISM IN THE CRISIS OF THESE LATE YEARS.

It is in critical times only that we can judge of the character of religious belief. Only then can we ascertain its strength. If vigorous and lively, it will shew itself and spread. Days of peril are pre-eminently seasons for the trial of the strength of faith. If we would form a just opinion on the actual power of Catholicism, we have only to inquire into the part it has taken during the last three years in France. Its most remarkable feature has been its clever ingenuity. Its politics have been skilful, but such as it is painful to witness in a religious party possessing a simple and commanding faith. Every one recollects the promptness with which the Catholic party hailed the new republic. Not a tree of liberty was planted, but a priest was present to bless it. If this enthusiasm was sincere, it has, however, been but temporary, and will doubtless perish in the fire of its own kindling. It is strange, however, that a feeling so strong should be so remarkably prudent. It continued during the time of the people's power,

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that is, whilst there was something to fear; but once in safety, the Catholic party soon became cold and indifferent, repelling with indignation those who had the frankness to persevere in their admiration of former principles. We have seen how the system of force, applied to the country, was favoured. Now, all the official organs curse what they formerly blessed. Well! This complete shifting about is not the less a lamentable symptom, for its being skilful. The treasure is preserved, but moral influence is lost. The sanctuaries are kept, but the true fire of the altar—a firm and courageous faith—is extinguished. The Catholic party had a right to abstain from political action; and this would have best established its dignity. It might also, if it thought proper, espouse a cause, provided it was with calmness and moderation, and especially if adhered to with fidelity. But to caress a party when in power, and then to insult it when fallen, is to shew neither generosity nor courage, but only to manifest a greater regard to circumstances than to principles. The Catholic party take to themselves great praise from the singular devotedness of the Archbishop of Paris, who died in June 1848, a victim to his efforts to appease civil discords. This fact is, indeed, admirable; but it is an exception, and not a type of the conduct of the party—at least, of that conduct which professes that the best means to reconcile two camps is quietly to pass from the one to the other.

What fruitful word has Catholicism uttered for these last three years? Or, which of its sayings have entered our heart and conscience? We have seen how it has contended with its adversaries, and by what methods it has sought to bring them back to the truth. With what chastisements and scourging of rude speech has it not treated whatever is good in the efforts of the present period? There is not one of these efforts that it has not trampled upon and condemned. We speak of ultramontane Catholicism, that is, orthodox Catholicism. We must see how it sneers at every desire of progress. Take the Social question, which, in spite of all the evil solutions offered, exists, and will finish by rising up before us in all its formidable loftiness. Not satisfied with combating Socialism (the doing of which is legitimate), it denies the possibility of amelioration in social institutions. It recalls to our remembrance the curse hanging over humanity, and uses it as a convenient rampart against every idea of amelioration; and, even when in better temper, speaks of a revival of the Capuchins and Mendicant Friars. This is its

amusing solution. When generous men united to encourage sentiments of peace, to which so noble a homage was lately paid by the English parliament, the ultramontane party treated with sarcasm this scheme as a Utopian one. Faithful to the traditions of Joseph de Maistre, it declares that the blood of the human race has not yet sufficiently atoned for its sin. But there is one point against which all its fury is roused—that is, the punishment of death. Different opinions may be held on that subject, but no serious person will deny that it is one of extreme importance and deep interest.

The ultramontane party lavishes insults on those who are in favour of punishment by death. Lately, the *Univers Religieux* said that the first man who shewed repugnance at the shedding of blood was Cain, who refused to offer unto God a bloody sacrifice, as Abel did.\* There is not a single plan of reformation that has not been thus abused, not a single good effort that has not been anathematised. Such is the position Catholicism has taken in the present crisis.

The part Catholicism has taken in this crisis is justly set forth in an authorised work now printed, I mean the *Letters and Discourses* of M. Donose Cortès. This is the general idea of the work, which it is important that we should analyse, as nothing will give us a more just view of the way in which Catholicism appreciates the great crisis we now consider. According to M. Donose Cortès, the social dissolution must go on increasing. Evil must triumph over good, as is always the case where full play is allowed to human power, and there is no direct and terrible intervention of the displeasure of Heaven. We must look for some terrible outbreak, and it is then that the wrath of God will manifest itself, restoring everything to order. If anything now should give us confidence, it is physical force, allowing some salutary dictatorship to be established. Thus the best hopes of M. Donose Cortès are in the bayonet; and we may say, that god which he invokes is the Emperor of Russia before the God of armies. Thus the last resource of a great religious party is physical force—here is its hope and resource. Is it possible more openly to abdicate moral principle, or more clearly profess scepticism? What! you who call yourselves the representatives of a true religion, profess that society has been in a state of disorganisation for eighteen

\* Letters and Discourses by Donose Cortès, published by the Electoral Committee of Religious Liberty, 1850.

centuries, and you expect its salvation, not from religion, but by a terrible exercise of power! Ah! you must certainly feel your faith shake under the blast which now bears upon us, or you much mistake human nature! In either case you acknowledge your impotency, and, as it is in a crisis that we can best judge of the resources of a religious party, you bear in yourselves your irrevocable condemnation.

What shall we say more of books? There is in ultramontane philosophy a sinister teaching that we should not forget. We speak not politically, but religiously. Ultramontane philosophy teaches that spiritual power cannot save us, but that we require also saviours by physical force. What need it say more? Is it not this that we have seen on the crumbling walls of Rome? The spiritual power of Catholicism, in its highest personification, must force itself on a people, who ought to be pre-eminently Catholic, by cannon balls. This speaks everything. We say to ultramontanists, "See here your strength! It is only borrowed. If you glory in your triumph, we glory in it also. But it leads to the tomb, from whence there is no resurrection by a similar victory. Strangers must mount guard over you, that you be not driven away! See the extent of your moral power." Nothing on earth could better sum up our views of contemporary Catholicism. The two parts of our work are confirmed by this fact. Physical prosperity and moral decay find here their best proof; the second increasing in proportion as the first is developed.

#### CONCLUSION.

Our conclusion will be short. Catholicism is weak, especially in its principles. What must be done in opposing it? Strengthen the principles of the Reformation—carry them out in all their consequences—and send back to Catholicism the lumber it may have left us. Catholicism relies on external force; we shall conquer it only by abandoning this, and relying on truth alone. Catholicism keeps its adherents in formalities of thought and of life. The best answer to this is always to turn to the substantial realities of Christianity—to the truth of Christ—to immediate contact with the gospel. Catholicism relies on human tradition; this is a warning to us not to receive the authority of any tradition of this sort. The great principles of Protestantism, taken, not in



their restrictions, but fully carried out in their direct and obvious development, is, in my opinion, the whole secret of victory. Controversy in detail will do little compared with what I propose. To say all in one word—the Reformation, half carried out, will be half conquered; the Reformation, fully carried out, will of itself be decidedly victorious.

Never was the soil better prepared for the seed of truth. Were we permitted to enter on another subject, it would be easy to shew the extensive weariness that prevails in France with Catholicism, and the reception given to the preaching of the gospel. But this subject is the province of another. I have said enough to shew the little moral influence Catholicism can exercise amongst us. A vast and promising field is open to evangelical Christians. May God give them courage to enter into it, for the fields are white unto the harvest!

## ON THE OBSERVANCE OF THE SABBATH IN FRANCE, AND ESPECIALLY AT PARIS.

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To form any just ideas on so important a subject, it is necessary to begin by making a distinction between the Roman Catholics, the merely nominal Protestants, and pious Protestants. .

In the eyes of Roman Catholics, in general, the Sabbath has not the same meaning, does not bear the same character, as it does in the eyes of a Biblical Christian. This is the result of various causes.

The first is, the profound ignorance in which Romish populations are left with regard to the gospel in general, and the law of God in particular. At twelve years old, girls and boys learn, for six weeks, a meagre catechism, in which the commandments of the Church occupy a far larger place than the commandments of God. They are then admitted, in a body, to their first communion. What remains, in mature age, of such imperfect religious instruction, received at such a tender age? Nothing, or almost nothing. We must not, then, be much surprised, if ignorant of the will of God as to the Christian Sabbath, they transgress it so lightly.

Another reason that the Lord's Day is so little observed, is that the Romish Church has greatly multiplied saints' days. Each saint has his name inscribed in the calendar, and his remembrance engraven in the memory of the Church. Each has a ceremony performed in his honour. The days of the year are almost all feasts. In this multiplicity of festivals, which it is impossible to observe, on account of their number, the Sabbath is confounded, forgotten—it is erased and lost; it is a festival of the Church, like any other, and leaves all free to take it seriously, or not to consider it, according to their caprice or interest. The Church, on her side, is an indulgent mother for the failings of her children, and

easily pardons neglects, the commission of which she knows beforehand cannot be avoided.

We may add to this, that the Romish clergy have always been *very easy* with regard to human infirmities. Where they see they cannot resist the torrent, they yield. What is of importance to them, is not that souls should be truly Christian, but that, dead or living, they should remain within the pale of the Church. If they have the appearance of life, the form of piety, that suffices them, provided they remain externally Catholics. According to this principle, the clergy, seeing that it was very difficult to make the mass of the faithful observe the Sunday, devised a plan by which to satisfy all consciences, and to leave free course to worldliness. They have masses said at six o'clock in the morning. If you are present at one of these masses, you have fulfilled your duty as a Christian, and the rest of the holy day belongs to you; you may go, after this, to amuse yourself as you think fit, follow your affairs, attend to your worldly interests, join in a party of pleasure, take your place in the ball-room or at the theatre; your mass on Sunday morning absolves you beforehand from all subsequent dissipations. Another cause, which explains the aversion of French Catholics to the celebration of the Lord's Day, is the very nature of the religious services which are held in the churches. Forms, and nothing but forms; ceremonies more or less pompous, but without moral signification; an unknown tongue; monotonous chants; offices of immoderate length; what good effect can one expect all this to have upon reasonable creatures, or educated men, or awakened consciences, or frivolous minds? None will go to church, for fear of lassitude. All prefer remaining at home, or rushing after pleasures, or following their usual occupations, rather than doing nothing at all. It is enough to be obliged to attend church and hear mass at the death or marriage of a relation or friend. Why should such drudgery be unnecessarily increased?

It is just to say, also, that the natural levity of the French character, the mournful example given by past and present generations, the spirit of imitation and excitement, have very much to do with the scandalous profanations, witnessed in France, of the day specially consecrated to the Lord.

On that day, in Paris, and almost universally on French territory, the shops are open, buying and selling is carried on. The *restaurants* and coffee-houses are more than usually splendid—numbers eat and drink there. The theatres invite the crowd, and

the crowd press there more numerously and more eagerly than during the days of the week.

Almost all the artisans work on Sunday, and rest on Monday; thus proving that they need a day of rest in seven, and that in this the law of God perfectly understood the requirements of human nature; but at the same time they rebel against this same law, in refusing to rest on the day that God has commanded, in commemoration of the work of creation, and of the day of the resurrection, and to glorify his thrice-holy name.

Amongst the lower and middle classes, marriages invariably take place on the Saturday. Why? Because, in marrying on Saturday, they have Sunday before them to rest or amuse themselves, without losing a day for work, and consequently without compromising their temporal interests.

Balls are similarly given on Saturday, because, after a night of dissipation, half or all the Sunday can be spent in bed, without any prejudicial effect on a man's trade or affairs.

The great reviews of the army and national guards, the inauguration of public buildings or railways, and public festivals, take place on the Sunday, by preference.

Government allows works of public usefulness to proceed on the Sabbath; and, a few years ago, the works necessary in the building of a Protestant church were allowed to continue, as on other days, the Consistory being unable to obtain permission for the cessation of these labours.

On Sunday, the public conveyances of the environs of Paris are laden with passengers, the trains on the railways are multiplied, and always numerous public balls, promenades, and festivities of all kinds, abound in Paris and the suburbs.

The famous concerts of the "Conservatoire," where is played the music of the first masters—Beethoven, Mozart, Haydn, &c.—are invariably given on a Sunday, and never on any other day.

The same is the case as to horse-races for the highest prizes, which take place in the Champ de Mars, Versailles, and elsewhere; and the same as to the ascent of balloons, and all public rejoicings.

In a word, for the Parisians, and the French in general, Sunday is the day of pleasure above all others. It is only distinguished from other days of the week by more levity and gaiety, more luxury, dissipation, and folly. The Boulevards are covered with strollers; the public promenades overflow with people in holiday

clothes; the places of recreation are crowded to excess. It is the day when all the keepers of coffee-houses, restaurants, and places of amusement have the most success. Thus, when the rain lasts during all Sunday in summer, many persons are disposed to pity the poor hotel-keepers, whose large preparations have utterly failed in their result, or the public, who are baulked in their proposed amusements.

Amongst the French whom the Great Exhibition has brought to London, there are some who are usefully impressed with the quiet and order which reign on the Sunday in the capital of Great Britain. I know a Roman Catholic politician, formerly minister under Louis Philippe, who has been singularly struck by this. He said, a few days ago, to one of my acquaintance, who repeated it to me, that if it were possible to lead the French to pass their Sunday like the English, much would be gained for the repose of the mind, which would act as a moral preservative upon the soul. But there are others, in less number, who are little touched by this sight, and who turn it to ridicule. A distinguished editor of the *Journal des Débats* made sarcastic jokes on this subject, not long ago, in an article to which he appended his name. He maintains, that being allowed to enter the Crystal Palace on Sunday, alone, and as an especial favour, given by high authority, he found there one of the policemen, alone and lost in that colossal building, seeking to drive away lassitude by reading his hymn-book. But example is infectious—and we will hope that the number of Roman Catholics who return to France, struck by the aspect of London on the Sunday, is more numerous than that of those *atheistic* minds who make it the subject of their sarcasm. Who knows whether, in the plans of Divine mercy, the Exhibition may not be, for Great Britain, the opportunity for a vast religious influence exerted by the English nation on all those nations who come to visit her? For our part, here are the words which, under this impression, we pronounced at Paris, on the 29th of June last, in a sermon preached at the Oratoire, before an assembly of from twelve to fifteen hundred persons:—

“It is but three weeks ago, that he who now addresses you was on the other side of the Channel, in the capital of Great Britain. He saw there a wonder, greater than that of the immense and magnificent Crystal Palace, which incloses, as it were, the epitome and compendium of all the industrial treasures of the known world; he saw a free, a peaceful, a happy people, moving

forward, without hindrance and without revolution, in the path of progressive improvement—loving their laws, loving their government, respecting authority, rich, prosperous in all their concerns. Would you know why, my brethren? It is especially, and above all, because they are a people who know and invoke, at least among the majority of their members, the God that I preach to you; it is because public worship is there offered in His temples—it is because the day which is consecrated to Him is religiously observed—it is because His Word is read, and prayer is offered in the family—it is because that people are convinced that Jehovah reigns, and that there is no happiness for a nation, as there is none for a family or for an individual, but in the love of His Word, and obedience to His commandments. Happy is the nation, says the prophet, whose God is the Lord!”

We wish we could say that the Protestants in general formed, by their conduct, a striking contrast with the Catholic population which surrounds them. But unhappily it is not thus. The greatest number are lukewarm, indifferent, and lax, in those pious customs which they had adopted in their youth. They do not, perhaps, participate in the public profanation of the Lord's Day, by giving themselves over to profane amusements; better taught than the Roman Catholics, they retain a sort of outward respect for the Sunday. But they have no scruple in neglecting public worship on the most frivolous pretexts. There are even some who are never seen at church but during the great festivals of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas. In the same way as the Roman Catholic thinks he has done his duty, and satisfied his conscience, by hearing mass at six o'clock in the morning, or in stopping at the door of a church, and making the sign of the cross, so we have seen Protestants, and in no small number, who imagine themselves excellent Christians because they have been three or four times at church during the course of the year. We have even seen some who only appear there to have their children baptized, or as spectators of the wedding ceremony of some relation or friend. Having been specially invited to be present, they could not, without a want of courtesy, fail to join the party which they are asked to do in the church.

In the departments, and especially in those of the south, there are certain field labours, certain kinds of business, which place great obstacles in the way of the right observance of the Sabbath, and which persons without solid or vital piety allege as pretexts,

which they consider plausible, for exempting themselves for a certain time from attending public worship. We allude especially to the cultivation of the silk-worm, which is one of the most lucrative, and a source of great prosperity to many Protestants. During six consecutive weeks, the period in which the silk-worms require attention, the persons who pick the mulberry leaves which serve them for food, those who feed them, and those who watch as to the maintenance of a proper temperature, are occupied without intermission, day and night. They neither can nor may leave the place where the silk-worms form their cocoons. At this period, which takes place at the beginning of the summer, the churches are deserted, or nearly so. The same is the case during the time of harvest and vintage. We have even been assured, and we have reason to give credit to the correctness of the information, that on these occasions, and especially during the time of the cultivation of the silk-worm, and during that of the vintage, there are Protestant localities in the south, where the churches are closed on the Sunday, and where no public service is celebrated. To excuse themselves, the ministers of these churches ask, what would be the use of celebrating service for people who would not come to it? In our view, a greedy thirst for gain is a chief cause of the neglect of our nominal Protestants in celebrating the Lord's Day; but the carelessness and coldness of the ministers are no less to blame.

Let us now hasten to state, that if the great mass of Catholics, and too large a number of Protestants, in France, violate in different degrees the Lord's commandment concerning the observance of the Sabbath, the conduct of pious and truly earnest Protestants, in this respect, is most exemplary, and all the more so from its contrasting most strongly with the universal spectacle of irreligion and indifference. These persons are in small number, it is true, but since they are the "remnant according to the election of grace," they form the precious leaven which will one day, we trust, leaven the whole mass.

The Protestant Christians are religious observers of the Sabbath. Without regarding it from a strictly legal, and, so to say, Jewish point of view, by which the Sabbath of the Christian is made like that of the Jew—but, at the same time, as far, and even farther, from the opinion of those who, refusing all Divine sanction to the celebration of the day of rest, only consider it as a custom, salutary, it is true, but purely optional—they are generally found seeking to

render themselves agreeable to the Saviour by the way in which they sanctify the day of rest.

On that day, all manual labour ceases in their houses and in their workshops. They frequent with joy, not merely as a custom or form, but from feeling the actual need of it in their souls, the public services which are celebrated in their churches. Not satisfied with that, they delight for the most part in attending also private meetings for edification, which are held in almost all the churches where there is a truly faithful minister, and where there are truly converted souls. It is, however, to be regretted, that the habit of having evening services is not more common in France, and especially at Paris. The public celebration of the Sabbath is well begun there, but it is not concluded in so serious and impressive a manner as on the other side of the Channel. This, doubtless, results from the habits of our ancestors, who, persecuted at the origin of the Reformation, and even later, were compelled by prudence, and in order not to create suspicion, to avoid nightly meetings, and prefer assemblies by day. It results also from our family habits. In France, especially at Paris, dinner is at from six to seven o'clock in the evening; besides, the Sunday is the day in which the different members of a family generally like to unite and pass together the hours they would not so easily find disengaged during the week. Besides this, it must be admitted that our churches are hardly fit for evening services, and that it is generally very difficult to establish proper means for lighting them. It must, finally, be acknowledged, that in a town like Paris, where the mass of the population is very dissipated, and where the police has so much to do, services by lights, and in vast buildings especially, would not be without some inconvenience. These various reasons explain why evening services have so little succeeded as yet, and why those which exist are so thinly attended. As to the future question of the Sabbath in France, this alone can be said, that the melancholy and criminal profanations of the holy day will only cease, and habits of religion, piety, and devotion will only commence, in proportion as the pure gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ makes progress in the land.

It is not long since an eminent man on the Catholic side, M. de Montalembert, brought this question before the Legislative Assembly, and made a long and eloquent speech, the object of which was to engage them to pass a law which, if not to favour the observance, was to restrain the public profanations, of the



Sabbath-day. But he completely failed. Though many persons in France are persuaded that the French, and the Parisians in particular, give on this score the most mournful of examples to Europe and the world at large, there is a general feeling prevalent amongst us, that if a change is to take place on this head, it will be brought about by the revival of religion, by the progress of individual piety, by the diffusion of gospel light and life, and not by coercive measures, by regulations or laws emanating from the government. If the State intervened in the question, it would be on the side of Roman Catholicism, and not for the advantage of real Christianity. We need not, therefore, wish it to take up the subject. We ought even to take alarm if it thought it right to give satisfaction to the somewhat ultramontane zeal of M. de Montalembert.

To propagate the truth is, in our view, the most efficacious means of improving the state of things we deplore. Each soul won over to the gospel, whether amongst the Roman Catholics or nominal Protestants, becomes a religious observer of the Lord's Day. It is to the Word and Spirit of God that this work belongs. All legislative interdictions and commands would fail. Let Bible societies continue to spread the inspired Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments—let Tract societies continue to propagate by millions their useful publications—let *Evangelical societies* continue to send, after their colporteurs, pastors and evangelists—let all other Christian societies do their duty, each in its particular sphere—let Christians especially confess by their life, as well as by their words, the gospel of our God and Saviour, which, accompanied by the grace of the Holy Spirit, is powerful to save and regenerate those who believe,—and then we shall see the Christian Sabbath observed in France; it will be observed, because Jesus Christ, our adorable Saviour and Master, will be there known and adored.

It is not the law of the State which has created, or which maintains, in England and the United States, the religious habits which reign there, and which we see especially manifest themselves in the scrupulous observance and sanctification of the Sabbath-day. These habits were both created and propagated there under the influence of the pure gospel. Why should it be otherwise on the Continent? Our hope, then, in this respect, rests entirely on the power of the Word of the Lord, and on the efforts of Christians, accompanied by the blessing of the Holy Spirit.

## ON SUNDAY-SCHOOLS IN FRANCE.

BY J. P. COOK, OF PARIS.

ACCORDING to the *Archives du Christianisme*, the oldest Sabbath-school in France was established in 1817 by Mr Petzi, a minister of the Reformed Church at La Garde, a small village near Montauban. But I have learned from the Rev. Francis Martin, pastor of the French Reformed Church in London, that two years before, that is, in 1815, he established one in Bordeaux, at the request of the London Sunday-school Union, which sent £10 for its support. A young lady in that town, now Mrs Martin, was the first teacher. It may seem extraordinary that, at a time when Sabbath-schools were already very numerous across the Channel, there should not be a single institution of the kind in the whole of France; but it must be considered that there were then scarcely any means of communication between the two countries, and that Sunday-schools, as an English plant, could not be well received by the French when aversion to England seemed to be one of their national feelings.

However, when once established, they soon increased in number. One was formed in Paris in 1818, and a second in 1822, under the superintendence of Pastor Frederic Monod. The first Wesleyan Sabbath-school was opened the following year in the south of France. In 1826, a *Committee of Sunday-schools* was formed in Paris, and had for president Baron de Stäel, and, after his death, Mr P. A. Stappfer; it published a Sunday-school alphabet, as well as a pamphlet, entitled, *Hints on the Formation and Organisation of Sabbath-schools*. At the same time, a hymn-book, for the use of Sunday-schools, was prepared by a pastor in the south. The *Ami de la Jeunesse*, or Youth's Friend, just started in Paris, advocated also these useful institutions, and made known many interesting facts concerning them, so that they spread rapidly, and in 1828 the Reformed Church alone had eighty Sabbath-schools, fifty of which were in the south.

But it seems that these efforts did not last long. The Paris committee was disbanded, after an existence of two or three years,

without giving to the public the books which had been promised on the subject of Christian education. The hymn-book did not come into general use, and is now known in a very small number of villages. Still, most of the schools continue to exist, and a few new ones were formed.

It is probable that the actual number of these institutions ranges between one hundred and eighty and two hundred. But some ministers seem so reluctant to give any statistical information on their churches, that I have received details on one hundred and twenty-two schools only, contained in thirty-five departments. Of these—

74 belong to the National Reformed Churches.

29 to the Wesleyans.

14 to the Free or Independent Churches.

5 to the Lutherans.

The department which contains most is that of the Garde, in the south, where there are twenty-two. Paris has fourteen. There are eight in the Alpine country, where the sainted Felix Neff laboured with so much zeal and success.

As to the number of scholars, seventy-six schools only have reported an aggregate amount of 5226. The total number, therefore, may be estimated at 7500, of whom rather more than one-half are girls.

Nearly two-thirds of these schools are in the hands of the pastors *alone*, who consider them as being merely a separate service for children, and as such hold them, in two or three cases, during the week, though they retain the name of Sabbath-school. There is, then, no classification of the children according to age or knowledge; there are no teachers taking care of a few souls only, instructing them carefully and familiarly, visiting them during the week, becoming acquainted with the parents, lending them useful books, and thus doing good to many, both old and young. The children are all together, and listen with more or less attention to the simple instructions and to the questions that fall from the lips of the minister.

Such schools have often been the means of doing good; and no other can be established in churches where there is little or no piety, and where, consequently, it would be impossible to find teachers willing or able to instruct. They are, indeed, much to

be preferred to those schools held in the English way, in which some of the teachers are not pious, and are so ignorant that they only serve to annoy the pupils and empty the school-room.

But in some places, especially in the country, where the minister often has the pastoral care of two, three, or four villages, he is too much employed on the Lord's Day to hold himself the Sabbath-school. If, then, the schoolmaster of the place be pious, he becomes its sole director and manager. He meets his day pupils on the Sabbath to give them religious instruction, taking care that it should not be a *lesson* similar to the religious lessons of the week, but an earnest and interesting appeal to the heart, so as to make them love Jesus Christ.

Still, when it is practicable, the English and American plan of holding Sunday-schools is adopted in preference to the two I have just mentioned. When devoted, pious, and intelligent teachers are to be found, the minister is glad to entrust to them the management of the schools, and is satisfied either with an occasional visit, or with a very short general address, at the end of the service. In some cases he meets the instructors regularly, to prepare with them the lessons of the Sabbath, and to hear any details that may be reported on the progress of the scholars, or their general behaviour. Forty schools, held in this manner, have a staff of three hundred and eighty-five teachers.

It is pleasing to see, in some instances, the efforts that have been made by ministers to transform gradually their schools into teachers' schools. They have begun by introducing the habit of making the children repeat a certain number of verses of Scripture, and have chosen amongst the senior scholars male and female monitors, who hear a certain number of their comrades, enforce order and attention, and note in a register the attendance and the recitation. These monitors, because of the office they fill, often continue to attend after their companions have left, and, with a suitable training and some painstaking, they become in time good and useful teachers.

In some towns of the Canton de Vaud (Switzerland), a plan still different from all these has been followed, according to an invitation issued some years ago, in one of the tracts of the Society for the Sanctification of the Sabbath. Instead of the teachers holding their classes in the same place, so that the opening and concluding services might be the same for all, they are met by their children at home, thus acting independently of one another. "In

this manner," says the tract just quoted, "every Christian can be useful, according to the degree of grace given him. A father, a mother, an elder brother or sister, may add to the children of their own family some children of their neighbours, to speak to them about God and his Word, and a school will be formed that will only need the blessing of God to be useful."

Two schools have been reported in which writing and arithmetic are taught, previous to religious instruction being given. This is probably a remnant of the kind of Sabbath-schools which it was attempted to establish some years ago, and which were very highly approved of in certain Popish educational magazines. They were intended to be mere secular, gratuitous schools, for adults or children unable to attend the primary schools. The Government established them in various towns, but they do not generally succeed, and now are scarcely spoken of.

The *Roman Catholics* have very few Sunday-schools. This will be easily understood, when it is considered that these institutions are opposed to one of the principles of the Popish Church, which is, that the people need not, and must not, read the Bible. If, therefore, the Papists have sometimes established Sabbath-schools in England, or in the United States of America, it has generally been in order to prevent their children from attending Protestant schools. This has been done in France, in one or two places, where an evangelical school was prosperous. Thus, more than twelve years ago, the Wesleyan school at Nîmes being attended by a great number of Roman Catholic children, the friars sought to put a stop to these (so called) scandals, by having a school of their own. Accordingly, it was announced that they would open a Sunday-school, which would be far superior to the Wesleyan one, since they would teach, not only reading, but also writing, arithmetic, geography, and grammar, and all that gratuitously. Of course, the Protestant school lost most of its pupils; and when this was accomplished, the friars invented some very good excuse for shutting up their *excellent gratuitous school!*

It is not doubtful but that Sunday-schools would be far more numerous amongst the Protestants in France, were Christians more generally and more fully acquainted with their aim, their importance, the manner of directing them, and their success in countries where they have been extensively spread. But France has been very much neglected in this respect. Whilst other countries have a very large Sunday-school literature—whilst, especially

in England and in America, books without number, and a great many excellent and wonderfully cheap magazines have been published, during the last thirty years, for the teachers, or for the scholars, or for both—scarcely anything of the kind has been done in France. We have no teachers' manual, and scarcely any books. Six years ago, I might have said, perhaps, "We have none." Now, however, a stir has been made, and our hopes are brightening. We possess a tract on the management of Sabbath-schools, seven volumes of *Biblical Explanations to Sunday-scholars*, by Professor Gaussen, of Geneva, and Pastor Montandon, of Paris; two translations of the *Companion to the Bible*; a Sunday-school alphabet; a children's hymn-book, and a small volume on Bible characters, published for teachers, by the Toulouse Religious Book Society, which has promised to issue other similar works. And, lastly, a Sunday-school magazine was started in January last, on the principles of the Evangelical Alliance; and the favour with which it has been received by all denominations of Christians shews the interest that is now taking hold of our people in favour of these useful and blessed institutions. It is now hoped that, before long, a Sunday-school Union will be established, to become a practical educational Evangelical Alliance.

ON MISSIONARY LABOURS UNDERTAKEN IN  
FRANCE TO SPREAD THE GOSPEL  
AMONG THE HEATHEN.

BY THE REV. J. H. GRANDPIERRE, D.D.,  
MINISTER OF THE REFORMED CHURCH, PARIS.

THE agents of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society make collections amongst the members of their flock in France, in order to help the Wesleyan Missionary Society, which has its centre in London. They hold a public meeting every spring at Paris, in which they give an account of the operations of that society. But as this is an English society, it does not belong to us to speak of it here.

We have also grounds for thinking that the Moravian brethren, who have some agents in France, do the same for the Missionary Society of the United Brethren, whose centre is at Herrnhut, in Saxony. This society being German, we need not give an account of it in these pages.

There exists but one French society which, up to this time, has prepared and sent out evangelical missionaries to the heathen, and that is the *Société des Missions Evangéliques chez les peuples non Chrétiens établie à Paris*.

This society has all the character of the Evangelical Alliance, for it is not the work of the Reformed churches, nor of the churches of the Augsburg Confession, nor of the Dissenting churches; it is the work of all these churches together, for they all take part in it. The directing committee is composed of members belonging to these three denominations, and the funds of the society are collected indiscriminately from Christians of all creeds. We have not, therefore, in France a missionary society of the Established Church, or missionary societies of such and such dissenting churches. We have but one Evangelical Missionary Society, which all Christians love, and in which all co-operate by their prayers or by their gifts.

The *Société des Missions Evangéliques* was founded at

Paris, 4th of November 1822. During three years, it contented itself with publishing missionary pamphlets, in order to make known a work which had till then been unknown to French Protestants, and to collect funds, which were sent to different foreign missionary societies, and amongst the rest to the Bâle Missionary Society. But it soon felt the necessity of endeavouring, in a more direct and efficacious way, to spread the kingdom of God amongst the heathen. Three years after its foundation, that is, in the autumn of the year 1825, it opened a Missionary College at Paris, called the "Maison des Missions," for the purpose of preparing pious young men for the ministry of the gospel in idolatrous lands.

This institution existed until March 1848, when financial embarrassments, following upon the last revolution, obliged the committee to discontinue it.

During the twenty-two years and a half which this establishment lasted, eighty-two persons were admitted to it, and remained there for a longer or shorter period. Of these eighty-two persons, twelve were foreign missionaries, who labour at this day in different parts of the world, as China, Greece, Palestine, India, North America, the Mauritius, and the Indian Archipelago—amongst these may be especially mentioned, the Rev. Dr Gutzlaff and Bishop Gobat; twenty-three left, in order to evangelize the Bechuanas in the south of Africa; one is employed among the negroes in the West Indies, and one among the Arabs in Algeria; fourteen are pastors or ministers of the gospel in France; six are teachers; the others have either entered upon other careers, or are dead; amongst these last, is a doctor of medicine, as much distinguished for his piety as for his learning.

The committee hope soon to be able to re-open an establishment which has been of such eminent service, and on which the blessing of God has so visibly rested. Excepting the missionary who has been recently sent to the French West India Islands, the Société des Missions Evangéliques de Paris maintains missionaries only in the south of Africa, amongst the negroes of the Cape, and especially amongst the Bechuanas in the north-east of Caffreland.

It counts now eighteen missionaries in that country, almost all of them married; making altogether from sixty-five to seventy persons, including wives and children. These labourers are distributed among thirteen stations, of which these are the names:—



Wellington—at some leagues' distance from Cape-town: it is the only station within the limits of the colony; all the others are situated on the shores of the river Calidon and of the Orange river, in the country of the Bassontos, at two hundred miles from the Cape; one of these stations is even three hundred miles off, near Kurumun;—Bethulie, Carmel, Beersheba, Morija, Thaba Bossiou, Berea, Hebron, Hermon, Cana, Mekuatling, Bethesda, and Molito.

The French missionaries who preach the gospel in the country of the Bassontos are, for the most part, able and earnest men. Their character and their work have been appreciated by men belonging to different churches, and holding different positions in society. Amongst them we will enumerate the Rev. Dr Philip; Mr Backhouse and Mr Walker, Quaker travellers; Mr Steedman, a merchant; the Rev. Mr Moffat, the Rev. J. J. Freeman, and the present colonial governor, Sir Harry Smith—who, having visited them at their stations, have borne testimony to their excellence.

The Bechuana population, collected together at the stations and in their neighbourhood, is about 25,000 souls; the whole country contains more than 40,000.

At each station there is a church, several schools for children and for adults, and a manse.

The missionaries, after having gone through a special course of study of the Bechuana (or Bassonto) language, have translated and printed several portions of the Scriptures, by means of a printing-press belonging to the mission; amongst others, the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Psalms; also catechisms, collections of hymns, and a great number of reading-books and religious tracts. One of them has written a remarkable work on the Bechuana language, and another has written an account of a journey of discovery amongst the tribes to the north-east of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

The French missionaries calculate that since the beginning of the mission they have been the means of the conversion of a thousand persons, who have either died in the faith, or who are to this day setting a good example by their Christian life.

At almost every station, between four and five hundred persons assemble for public worship. On feast days, and when neophytes are admitted into the church by baptism, the chapels are not large enough to contain the crowd; and, at one station, more than a

thousand auditors have often met together in the open air, to listen to the message of good tidings of salvation by Jesus Christ. In one year, more than five hundred Bechuanas demanded the sacrament of baptism. Amongst the number of converted natives, there are men and women of deep piety, of elevated character, and of an exemplary life. Even those who have hitherto felt only the external influence of Christianity have, little by little, adopted the habits of civilised life. They have abandoned the dirty skins of animals which they used to wear, the grease and yellow ochre with which they used to besmear themselves, and dress like Europeans. Instead of their huts, they build clean houses, with a garden surrounded by an inclosure. The chief of the country, who was but a savage before the arrival of the missionaries, is now a civilised man, and has made treaties with the English colonial government.

Twenty years ago, cannibalism reigned in several parts of the country occupied by the French missionaries; now, no traces of it are to be seen, excepting the bones of the victims, which may still be found in the caverns where they were strangled, roasted, and devoured.

The mean annual receipts of the Société des Missions Évangéliques de Paris are about 100,000 francs (£4000). The maintenance of the African mission costs about 75,000 francs (£3000). Its funds are principally obtained from the evangelical churches of France. In 1848, that is to say, at the time of its financial crisis, it was obliged to have recourse for help to English and American Christians, and they generously came to its assistance. It received especially, at this time, large sums from the Cape of Good Hope, from Calcutta, and from Bombay. But this was an exceptional case, being the only one which has occurred since the commencement of the society.

If the Conference of the Evangelical Alliance wishes to have details of the work of which we have spoken, they may be given *vivâ voce*. We have abstained from enlarging a report, which is not the only one which is to be read.

# ON THE STATE AND PROSPECTS OF PROTESTANTISM IN FRANCE.

BY THE REV. J. AUG. BOST, OF RHEIMS.

## INTRODUCTION.

A NOBLE and generous thought has led to our gathering together. Whilst the nations of the earth are rivalling each other in a peaceful and industrial congress, it is a noble sight to see the several churches of the world forming a general, fraternal, truly œcumenical, truly catholic council. We are learning to know one another. And if, until this day, our distant sympathies have united churches separated by seas, straits, rivers, mountains, language—to-day, as in the first period of the Church, we hear all tongues spoken around us, and every man relate in his own tongue wherein he was born, the history of the people of God, from pole to pole, and from hemisphere to hemisphere. The ancient and modern races of man clasp each other by the hand, and in the face of the whole world we confess, that the God who formed the whole human race of one blood has by one blood also redeemed it. Here we are neither English, Swiss, French, nor American—we are brethren. We are no more Anglican, Presbyterian, Congregational, or National—we are Christians. And the holy unity of Christ's Church so displays itself, not as a cohesion of crystals, nor like the pillars of your Crystal Palace, formed as they are in the same mould, but as the unity of the leaves of those ancient trees which cast their shadow through it, which are all similar, whilst yet they are dissimilar, because their unity owes its origin not to a human, but to the Divine hand—to Him who everywhere in life has joined unity with diversity, and gives unity without it in death alone.

To-day, we have met to converse on the spiritual and religious state of France, of that country which owes the birth of its Christianity, under the influence of Polycarp, to Nicetus, the ancient martyr, Pothinus, and the pious Ireneus. Familiar with persecution at an early age, the Church saw, without surprise, Blandina weary her executioners; Sanctus and Alexander, whilst at the

stake, encouraging and strengthening their brethren, who were shortly to follow in their steps. In the third century, evangelists arrived from Italy, and founded churches at Paris, Tours, Limoges, Toulouse, &c. In the fourth, the Church extended herself from Bordeaux to Strasbourg; the Rhine brought zealous missionaries, and well deserved the title of the "Priest's highroad" (Pfaffengasse); Martin, of Tours, at the gates of Amiens dividing his cloak with his sword, shares it with a beggar; and Ireland sends us Fridolinus; whilst the fifth century closes with the baptism, if not the conversion, of Clovis, the Sicambrian king. St Remi, of Rheims; Védaste, of Arras; Médard, the friend of the Bible and Calvin's countryman, Gregory of Tours, the amiable but strange apparition of Sainte Radegonde, and of her epicurean friend, Bishop Fortunatus, who composed his canticles *inter pocula*, characterise and illustrate the sixth century.

In the seventh century, we find St Eloi (the goldsmith), the friend of the good king Dagobert, the Bishop of Noyons and of Tournay. But already had corruptions crept in among the clergy; Brunehaut and Fredegonde rival one another in wickedness, and make friends by the money obtained by their iniquities. Ecclesiastical dignities are sold by auction, and the intervention of Gregory I. was justified by the fact, though nothing could justify it according to right.

The coronation of Charlemagne is the means of humbling the Gauls at the end of the eighth century. By this foreign invasion the Church seems to recover itself, through the vigorous impulse given by the conqueror, who appreciated the value of the Bible. The resuscitation was of no long continuance. The Church, it is true, externally progressed and amassed treasures, but spiritual life decreased, and finally disappeared. Valdo and the poor brothers of Lyons, and afterwards the Albigenses, sought in vain to produce a reform of the many crying abuses. In answer to their cries, the stake is prepared, the military force is called out, and the half of France is either stained with blood or covered with ashes. In the fifteenth century, reform was unanimously called for; and when, in the sixteenth, this movement found a leader in the person of that great legislator, who was a man of genius in all the branches of human learning and activity, administrative, theological, philosophical, and literary, half the nation rose under the influence of his powerful voice; and, for an instant, one was led to think that the whole nation would unite in this work, which was as conform-

able to its desires as it was to its particular character. But the power of popes, kings, Rome, and the Inquisition, had not been considered; and two hundred and fifty years of bloodshed have succeeded in darkening that light which John Calvin had been, under the Divine guidance, the remarkable instrument of diffusing.

#### STATISTICS.

But we have to speak of Christianity in France, and we shall seek for it in Protestantism; not that we intend to connect with Protestantism exclusively the idea of Christianity, or to assert that spiritual life manifests itself in Protestantism alone; but it will be readily accorded to us to select from among the several human systems, for our point of departure in fulfilling our task, that which has carefully preserved the oracles of God; and, apart from every human sympathy, we see in Protestantism the Israel of the flesh, the true successors of Israel, the depositaries of the promises.

The legal enactments of the 18th Germinal of the year X. (April 1802), which succeeded two centuries and a half of uninterrupted persecutions, were enthusiastically welcomed by every Protestant in France. They were not about to dwell on the different principles recognised by these acts; one principle, or more properly one fact, ran through them all; liberty was conceded, the right to live. Everything else was, for the moment, comparatively unimportant. This is all our brethren from the valleys enjoy, and for which they bless the memory of Charles Albert. Our brethren from Tuscany, Count Guicciardini could witness it, would be content with this. The patient had been snatched from the hands of death, and it would have shewn but a bad grace to argue respecting the remedies employed. Thus it was that in the caves of the earth, the garrets, and the stables, which formed the temples of Protestants, the churches bent their knees in humble thanksgiving, and with flowing eyes blessed Him who had given peace and repose once more to his people. *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit!* Such was the grateful cry of French Protestantism. Neither the theologian nor the simple-minded Christian thought of criticising what, indeed, since then has given rise to such well-founded doubts; for instance, the administration of the churches being placed in the hands of the rich—the right of the civil power to interfere with our internal affairs—the parcelling out (*morcellement*) of the churches—the suppression, intentionally perhaps, of the general synods, &c.

About fifty general consistories, upwards of two hundred churches, and as many pastors, were officially recognised, after the promulgation of the Act of the 18th Germinal. At this day, the numbers amount to 126 additional general consistories, viz., ninety-three of the Reformed Church, and thirty-three of the Lutheran Church; and 756 additional churches and pastors, viz., 507 of the Reformed Church, and 249 of the Lutheran Church. It was specially during the first part of the reign of Louis Philippe that the greater portion of this increase was effected. The Republican Government created only one new consistory (that of Sedan), for which our churches have no reason to be grateful; whilst the number of pastors was augmented but by five or six. At the present time, not less than eighty requisitions are before the authorities, arising partly out of conversions which have taken place to Protestantism, and in part from the subdivision of too numerous existing churches.

The total estimate for the Protestant national churches of France, including the allowances for pastors, extraordinary aids, the construction and repair of churches, &c., amounts annually to 1,269,550 francs (about £50,000), which yields an average of 1680 francs (£67) for every pastor and parish. You must not confound, however, the parish with the "commune;" the latter being a legal and territorial division, whilst the parish is the religious division, and ordinarily comprises several communes. One pastor alone in Isère has the care of more than six communes; in the department of the Seine and Marne, eight; in that of Lot and Garonne, ten; the Haut Rhin, from eight to eleven; in the department of La Drôme, from ten to fifteen; La Côte d'Or, thirty; the Basses Pyrénées, from twenty-one to thirty six—of course, this depends upon the number and scattered position of the Protestants. Some pastors have the whole of a department under their care; thus, in the cases of the pastors at Sedan, Rheims, Dijon, Brest, their duties lie in circles of thirty to sixty miles round their residences.

The number of the Protestant population in France is not known, even approximately, and no basis is possessed from which to make a tolerably exact calculation. If the sixteenth article of the Act of the 18th Germinal, which grants a consistory to every 6000 souls, be taken as a guide, then the ninety-three Reformed and the thirty-three Lutheran consistories would be indicative of a population of 756,000. But, even if there be some consistories where there are not 6000 souls, there are others whose

numbers may be taken at a far higher figure; for instance—at Alais, there are 10,000 souls; at Nismes, 16,985; at Mullhouse, 19,435; at Paris, 43,305.

The calculation by parishes cannot give us more light upon this subject; for, as it will be seen, there is considerable difference in the figures, some parishes containing a population of 400, others as many as 3000 or 4000. It would be impracticable to arrive at a correct average without knowing all the numbers, and it is here that we are at a loss. A census has lately been ordered to be made by the President of the Republic, but as yet the results are not known; and, on every side, appeals have reached us against the manner in which the order has been carried out, and against the incorrectness of the partial results which are known.\*

This census, therefore, does not come before us in a manner which enables us to rely upon it; and the less so, because, in several churches, and especially among our Congregational brethren, the right of making a religious census has been contested with the civil authorities, and answers on the subject have been refused. According to custom, however, the names of those who refused to answer have been carried to the side of the majority (Roman Catholic). They have acted upon the old proverb, "silence gives consent." The French Government has not yet admitted that there can be any persons devoid of religion; thus, where no religion is professed, the name is written amongst the *minimum*: the least he can be is a Catholic. We do not envy the partisans of the Papacy this little victory, but we repudiate principles which lead to false results.

It must be here remarked, that Protestants are very unequally divided amongst the departments in France. Numerous and crowded together in some departments in the south, the east, and the west, † they are few in number and scattered in the north, and particularly in the centre of France.

Of the eighty-six departments (eighty-seven, if Algeria be com-

\* In some towns, and in many villages, no one was questioned as to his religious creed; but, as soon as the lists were completed, the mayor or the schoolmaster gave from memory the names of those whom he knew to be Protestants, as the rich, the notables, or persons who were well known by the public profession of their faith; but the lukewarm, the indifferent, the poor, were left in the category of the Roman Catholic multitude.

† Le Gard, la Lozère, l'Ardèche, la Drôme, l'Isère, la Dordogne, les Deux Sèvres, le Haut et le Bas Rhin, &c.

prised), in sixty-two alone are Reformed Protestant pastors found who are recognised by the Government:—

Le Gard.....	93	Bouches du Rhône .	6	Fas de Calais.....	2
La Drôme.....	41	Seine Inférieure ...	6	Haute Saône.....	2
L'Ardèche.....	37	Seine et Marne.....	6	Seine et Oise.....	2
Bas Rhin.....	23	Haute Garonne....	5	Ain.....	1
Hérault.....	22	Isère.....	5	Ardennes.....	1
Tarn.....	22	Nord.....	5	Aube.....	1
Deux Sèvres.....	20	Vienne.....	5	Côte d'Or.....	1
Tarn et Garonne....	20	Haute Garonne....	5	Eure et Loire.....	1
Charente Inférieure	19	Haute Loire.....	4	Finistère.....	1
Lozère.....	18	Loirèt.....	4	Gers.....	1
Lot et Garonne.....	17	Meurthe.....	4	Indre et Loire.....	1
Gironde.....	14	Calvados.....	3	Loire et Cher.....	1
Haut Rhin.....	13	Charente.....	3	Loire.....	1
L'Ariège.....	9	Manche.....	3	Marne.....	1
Seine.....	9	Rhône.....	3	Oise.....	1
Dordogne.....	8	Somme.....	3	Orne.....	1
Vaucluse.....	8	Vendée.....	3	Puy de Dôme.....	1
Aveyron.....	7	Cher.....	2	Var.....	1
Aisne.....	7	Doubs.....	2	Vosges.....	1
Basses Pyrénées....	7	Loire Inférieure....	2	Antilles.....	1
Algeria.....	7	Maine et Loire.....	2		
Hautes Alpes.....	6	Moselle.....	2		

The Lutherans, whilst they are less scattered than we are, only occupy nine departments with their 249 pastors.

Bas Rhin.....	159	Haute Saône.....	10	Vosges.....	3
Doubs.....	32	Meurthe.....	8	Moselle.....	1
Haut Rhin.....	28	Seine.....	5	Algeria.....	1

At Paris and Havre the Lutherans have assistant pastors for the Protestants who are scattered in the neighbourhood of these towns.

Of our eighty-six prefectures (eighty-seven, including Algeria), only twenty-one are the head-quarters of consistorial courts.\* Fifteen other prefectures have also pastors, although they are not heads of the consistorial courts; † whilst others, without being the residence of pastors, contain a good number of Protestants, and are visited either by the neighbouring pastor, by suffragans, or by some of our Evangelisation Societies. ‡

\* Alger, Besançon, Bordeaux, Caen, Lille, Lyon, Marseilles, Montauban, Montpellier, Nancy, Nantes, Nismes, Niort, Orleans, Paris, Privas, La Rochelle, Rouen, Strasbourg, Toulouse, Valence.

† Agen, Amiens, Angers, Arras, Avignon, Bourges, Clermont, Dijon, Foix, Grenoble, Metz, Poitiers, Tours, Troyes, Versailles (Colmar).

‡ Mézières, Châlons sur Marne, Châlons sur Saône, Mehun, Angoulême, Bar le Duc, Epinal, Blois, Chaumont, Colmar, Pau, Tarbes, Limoges, Mâcon, Rennes.



In twenty-five of the departments there is no place of worship officially recognised;\* but several have been evangelised, and some even have become, under the care of our Societies, very remarkable centres of religious operations. Thus, in the Jura, the Evangelical Society of Geneva has founded a church; the same Society can count seven churches in the departments of the Saône and the Loire, together with four pastors. The Evangelical Society of Paris, according to its last report, maintains five pastors in the Haute Vienne, five in Yonne, one pastor and two evangelists in Sarthe; in all which departments the gospel has been introduced by our Independent brethren, who alone continue to labour there. One evangelical pastor from Wales labours zealously and devotedly in the department of Finistère. Ille and Vilaine has also been evangelised, and we are happy to be able to say the same of the Haute Marne; of the Meuse, where one of your compatriots, full of zeal, is engaged in sowing around him the seeds of eternal life; and of the Basses Alpes and the Hautes Pyrénées, where but recently some interesting scenes have occurred.

In sixteen departments, Independent, Presbyterian, and Congregationalist churches exist, and they nearly all have joined the union of the evangelical churches.† Bordeaux, Paris, Lyon, St Foy, Nismes, form the principal centres. In several other places, churches may be found springing up, but which, as yet, have not been constituted; for example, at Auxerre, Limoges, &c.

Our brethren the Darbyists (Plymouth Brethren)—we are compelled to employ this word in order to designate them—have also, in the southern provinces, several very active little assemblies; but we have not been able to collect positive facts, which would enable us to appreciate their number and their activity.

The Wesleyans possess churches in eight departments;‡ they

\* Allier, Basses Alpes, Aude, Cantal, Corrèze, Corse, Côtes du Nord, Creuze, Eure, Ille et Vilaine, Indre, Jura, Landes, Lot, Haute Marne, Mayenne, Meuse, Morbihan, Nièvre, Hautes Pyrénées, Pyrénées Orientales, Saône et Loire, Sarthe, Haute Vienne, Yonne.

† *Seine*, two churches at Paris; *Dordogne*, Bergerac, la Force; *Deux Sèvres*, Niort; *Tarn*, Mâzamet; *Gironde*, St Foy, Bordeaux; *Haute Garonne*, Toulouse; *Charente Inférieure*, Montendre; *Lot et Garonne*, Clairac; *Nord*, Vieux-Conde; *Meurthe*, Nancy; *Eure et Loire*, Gaubert; *Indre et Loire*, Huismes; *Basses Pyrénées*, Pau. These churches are members of the union. To these must be added the Independent Churches at Lyons, Nismes, Vigan, Baigts, and Castetarbes, in the Basses Pyrénées, and some others which we may not know.

‡ *Seine*, Pas de Calais, Calvados, Hérault, Gard, Hautes Alpes, Drôme,

consist (including two posts in French Switzerland, at Aigle and Lausanne) of nineteen pastors, one evangelist, one paid catechist, thirty-two unpaid evangelists, 162 male and female teachers in Sunday-schools; eighteen principal stations, twenty-seven chapels, seventy-four other places for meetings; 865 members, 50 or 60 candidates, 6000 hearers, and 1000 children in the Sunday-schools.

The brethren of the Baptist denomination are established in the departments of l'Aisne, l'Oise, and le Nord; they possess six churches, five pastors, five evangelists, and about 150 members; these figures are taken from the Report for the year 1850. We have been unable to obtain more precise information, notwithstanding our having addressed ourselves to one of their most eminent and most devoted pastors. This Society publishes a few books, nearly all of which have reference to the question of adult baptism.

The Moravian brethren have boarding-schools, conducted on the religious principles of their own Church, at Paris and Montauban; a small society at Paris, and another at Nismes, each with its leader; a pastor at St Hippolyte (near Nismes), for the *Diaspora*, (the dispersed members of a more extended society), composed of 200 to 300 persons; an ordained minister at Bourdeaux, who acts as chaplain to the sailors of that port, chiefly Germans; a small community, of about 100 members, at Strasburg, and some scattered societies in the Bas Rhin (Lower Rhine). Few members of their *church*, or society, are to be found in France; but they are generally loved and respected among our churches.

The preceding dry details, which I have sought to curtail, and at the same time to secure their exactitude, may be considered almost official, with the exception of two points.

With respect to the first point, it must be remembered, that, in the annual official statistics, the vacated and filled-up places are not always indicated; so that sometimes two pastors may be indicated at one post, whilst, on the other, the vacated post may not be noticed.

With regard to the second point, assistant pastors are sometimes considered in the light of the regular pastor, and at other times only as suffragans.\* I have not been able to ascertain their exact

Meuse. The principal stations are Paris, Calais, Boulogne, Caen, Lisieux, Baz le Duc, Joinville, Nismes, Anduze, Alais, le Vigan, Ganges, Nyons, Bourdeaux, la Vallée de Fraissinière, and that of Quayras with Guilestre.

\* So in Angoulême, Amiens, Paris, Reims, Segonzac, &c.

position in every instance with respect to the State; and if the true number is 756, this number may have been augmented by about ten in the details which have been given, since, in several cases, I have been obliged to reckon the assistant pastors appointed by the consistory.

#### SPIRITUAL LIFE.

Let us now consider for a moment the internal life of French Protestants, and, having looked at the number of Israel according to the flesh, contemplate their spiritual development. But shall we find here more grounds for rejoicing? We are now approaching the most difficult part of our task, one which without doubt will be more interesting, because spiritual life is brought under our notice, and not mere figures; and one in which we ourselves feel more interested, because it relates to the universal Church—the only church we recognise, or desire to recognise.

We shall, therefore, use full freedom of speech, for we shall not discuss motives, but simply keep to facts. And, of our facts, even, we desire to speak in the spirit of charity, remembering that “the Lord knoweth them that are his.”

We are aware that we do not state anything new, when we observe that two great parties divide our Church. These two divisions are designated by the inappropriate names of Methodism and Rationalism, both of which we repudiate. The latter appellation, of German origin, does not bear the same signification as it does in Germany; and, without trenching on the special report about to be laid before you by one of our brethren on this subject, we feel bound to state that this term, properly speaking, does not relate to particular theories, as one might be led to think, neither to certain definite dogmatic arguments, nor to deep philosophical speculations. It is rather connected with a certain religious tendency. If, in point of fact, certain dogmas, such as the Trinity, the atonement, election, the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, are generally denied by this school, this denial appears to us to be more an effect than a cause, more a result than a principle. The subject-matter of the Rationalist preaching is mostly confined to a circle of moral duties; this is in advance of Paganism, but far behind Christianity. Christ, independently of the question of his divinity, is rarely brought forward in the preaching of Rationalists. The Scriptures speak of those who are dead whilst they live; and it is under the

idea of death, rather than that of error, that we would the more willingly seek a definition of Rationalism. For we reckon amongst the most distinguished of the men known as Methodists, pastors and theologians who have surpassed, in bold, scientific, and dogmatic statements, all that the most decried neologian would have dared to give utterance to; and yet our Christian instinct, the sympathy of life, tells us plainly that these are brethren, whilst the others are not so. We might produce from amongst you an eminent theologian,\* who has written on scientific subjects, in the free and independent manner of a learned man, without subjecting the purity of his faith to the slightest suspicion, either with us or with you. In Germany, even, the most illustrious men connected with the late revival, have published and maintained opinions often more startling than what we designate Rationalism. Vapid, vague, weak, and ghastly, this party only awakes from death to become more proud and overbearing. Tolerance, which, according to their teaching, ranks as the first theological virtue, finds a place on their lips only, and that in the same sense as the Jesuits make use of the word liberty. They claim it for themselves, but they did not hesitate, nine years ago, to exclude from their pulpits 200 pastors of our churches.† They tolerate the expedition to Rome; they do not tolerate Roussel's tracts. At the same time, we are happy to add, that men of peace are also found in this party, and, it ought also to be said, men who know the truth, but who are kept back by certain dogmatic formulas, which they cannot adopt. By exterior association latitudinarians, at heart they belong to the Church of the Lord's chosen ones. Some of them are known to us, and well do we sympathise with one another.

Methodism, more zealous, more fixed in its opinions, and more steadfast, embraces, without formularies, or a common standard, a great diversity of religious views: Calvinists and Wesleyans, Nationals and Separatists, men of system and men of action—all who give evidence of life, not only by their individual convictions, but also by their habitual intercourse with religious men—all are comprised under the particular designation of Methodists; a name given to them by their enemies, as in ancient days the terms Galilean, then Christian, Huguenot, and Pietist, were applied. In

\* The late Dr J. Pye Smith, in Kitto's *Cyclopædia*, art. *Adam*, and some others.

† Viz., all those who had adhered to the Société des Intérêts Généraux du Protestantisme Français.

religion, as in politics, one's cognomen is not a matter of choice, but a thing imposed.

The two synods held at Paris in 1848 have served to fix approximately the relative strength of these two sections into which our poor Church is divided. They nearly counterpoise each other, with a slight Rationalistic majority, and an intermediate moderate central point, composed of the less extreme partisans of both sections, and who gained the day on every occasion where the questions at issue were momentous and difficult.

We may be permitted to hope, that as we have already seen ecclesiastical barriers vanish without calling upon any one to abjure their individual convictions, so also, within the sphere of religious life and of faith in Jesus Christ, the only Saviour, we may see dogmatic barriers removed, which belong to the domain of science and speculation, and which too often have tended to keep Christians at a distance from each other, and to separate us from many pious brethren in the Roman Church. A hidden work of this nature is going on. It appears to be admitted that the ancient apostolical dogmas, requisite for the maintenance of the life of the Church, are not always necessary for the life of an individual; and hence, perhaps, may arise the germ of the renovation of the Church.

Spiritual life is more readily understood than defined, and our life, more than our formulas, unites us in France; and, thanks be to God, we are able to say that the idea of union is daily making a fresh and blessed progress. Christians of all denominations know how to own their brotherhood when they meet each other. The Reformed and the Lutheran Churches, though divided from the very beginning as to the Lord's Supper, are joined to each other in true unity, and more than one proposition has been made for an external visible fusion of the two communions into one. But whilst we are waiting for the realisation of this wish, which will change into a visible union the unity of the invisible Church, instances multiply themselves which prove that this union is a fact accomplished. One of the Lutheran pastors at Paris belongs, by his principles and education, to the Reformed Church. Several pastors of the Reformed Church in Alsace are Lutheran pastors; and in some of the Reformed churches, amongst whom Lutherans are found scattered, the pastors do not hesitate to give the Lord's Supper to them according to the rites of the Lutheran Church, *i. e.*, with the wafer instead of bread.

The same may almost be stated with respect to the Nationals and Independents. For a long time bitterness and coldness existed; but now, for the most part, they communicate after a brotherly manner with each other.

This double fact is linked with the origin of the separation. Owing its birth amongst us to different causes, results dissimilar, but nearly always felicitous, have ensued, and the termination has been different.

Although this may not have been acknowledged, the principle on which separation proceeded was tinged with a hue more dogmatic and moral than ecclesiastical; yet, as if by the force of circumstances, the direction taken has been nearly always towards a new ecclesiastical constitution. At the time of the last revival, thirty-five years ago, preaching was dead in most of our churches, the Holy Ark was dumb. Pious persons experienced the need of a more substantial food, which, drawn from the Bible, would tend to develop their spiritual life. They met together, and derived benefit from so doing—they separated themselves from the world to read the Word, and they found more edification from their little meetings than from the somniferous sermons of the National Church. The incident was drawn into a principle founded upon this word, "Come out of Babylon, O my people." Wherever the preaching was the most faithless and powerless, dissent became stronger and more tenacious. Here dissent was completely justified, but wherever this motive alone existed, it ceased when the cause disappeared.\* The appointment of an evangelical pastor sufficed to recall into the National Church those who had previously quitted it. The fact governed the principle, and dissent was only a question relative to spiritual food. On the other hand, in different localities, strong and fixed principles, either relating to internal discipline, or, within the last few years, to the separation of Church and State, gave rise to new positions, and to a dissension which cannot be viewed as a struggle, because personal questions, as well as points of faith, have been placed aside. It is no longer a protest against death, it is life under a new form.

A third cause for dissent arises from the number of conversions from Romanism to Protestantism. Whole flocks arose under the preaching of the missionaries of peace. When this occurred under the direction and influence of the consistories, † they became

\* At St Quentin, Hargicourt, &c.

† In the environs of Paris, St Quentin, Troyes, &c.

annexed to the Established Church. When, however—and this happened most frequently—a revival was effected in the communes through the instrumentality of the agents of our religious societies, Independent churches were formed according to the influence exercised upon them, not being strong enough any of them to weigh the reasons for and against and to decide for themselves.

We refer, lastly, to the case of churches remote from the official pastor, more or less abandoned, and seldom visited. If an Independent pastor establishes himself in the neighbourhood and offers to help them, they have a close interest to join themselves to him, and no one can have any interest to hinder this course of action. Then it is evident that here the circumstance has far greater power than the principle; but we are grateful for the circumstance, because, according to our view, the Church is universal, and the Lord is the only Shepherd of the flock.

The Moravian Brethren, few in number in France, having no particular congregation, but full of love towards God and man, realise, with heart and hand, the Evangelical Alliance. Strictly speaking, they have no churches amongst us; but wherever they find a few of their body gathered together, societies are formed, which hold their meetings according to their customs, maintaining an intimate connexion with the Church of the Brethren, and, at the same time, partaking of the sacraments, and frequenting public worship in their respective national churches, Lutheran or Calvinist.

The Wesleyan Methodists have warm friends as well as earnest enemies. Their position is a beautiful one. Constituted as a Free Church for more than forty years, during which their missionaries have laboured in France, they can appeal to their past life, which testifies that they have striven to do good themselves without impeding what others might seek to do; and especially have they laboured to enlighten, awaken, and encourage the pastors of the National Church; and they can reckon, as the fruits of their endeavours, some of the most distinguished and useful among them. In more than one locality have they extended the limits of Protestantism. In the north and south, through their preaching, stations for pastors have been erected, in situations where the worship of the Reformed Church had ceased to exist ever since the revocation of the edict of Nantes. Their presence is recognised in the revival in France, as it was also felt in that in England, by the

combat they maintained with Antinomianism. Whilst everything is preparing at this moment in France and throughout the world for a change which, in all probability, will lead to the abolition of the State churches, we cannot fail to admit the importance of the Independent Wesleyan Churches, which, by their union, form a church within the Church.

If the Methodists, following the apostolical injunction, have refrained to reap where others had sown, we cannot say so much of our dear and good Darbyist brethren. Almost in every locality where they have established themselves, divisions have occurred. We do not reproach them with being inconsistent with regard to their principles—this merit is rare enough to be pointed out. They consider themselves as being more enlightened than others in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures; and, without neglecting the evangelisation of the unconverted, it is but natural that they should prefer to enlighten thoroughly those who are awakened—a course of action which springs from the very doctrines which they hold. They willingly address themselves to converted persons, and, by exaggerating several true principles, which unfortunately are often forgotten and unknown in our churches, they sometimes assume a hostile position with respect to faithful pastors. The greater part of the information which has reached us respecting them contains complaints against them, which, however, we are bound to say, bear more upon their proceedings than their doctrines; and we feel assured that they would have done, and might do, far more good amongst us, if they knew better how to unite truth and love (Eph. iv. 15). Infallibility in the interpretation of Scripture can be no more conceded to our brethren than to our eternal enemy, Antichrist.

#### RELATIONS WITH ROMANISM.

Our relations with Romanism are nearly similar to what they were three hundred years ago. Rome has not moved a muscle, and we have gone forward. The chasm has become widened notwithstanding the beautiful dreams of those who contemplate a fusion which is impracticable. The two principles, charged with negative and positive electricity, are formed to depart more and more from each other. Thunder alone can result from their being brought together. The olden days will not, however, return. Rome, by remaining immovable, has lost all the ground which



has been gained by the human intellect and the human heart. No doubt some vapid plagiarists of Joseph de Maistre—no doubt some gross and frightful romance writer,\* some well-paid Legitimist editors of newspapers,† may lament that St Bartholomew's massacre was not more effectual, that some victims were allowed to escape, and that the Inquisition, that holy helpmate to the Vatican, can no longer burn alive Christians and learned men; but the world's good opinion, like the Spirit of the living God, has left them. They possess the body, but the soul is no more there. The age, far better than this Church, makes progress, and without her; but, alas! the age advances without a guide, and not knowing whither. The age civilises and softens itself—it is getting accustomed to discuss instead of fighting; and if some modern Ahasuerus attempted to issue a new edict of persecution, he would learn that his subjects are no longer slaves, and that his soldiers are no longer executioners.

Still, although we have no longer dragoons, inquisitors, swords, nor stakes, to stifle our voices—unhappily, rulers who understand nothing, and have learned nothing, are found among us. Whoever has leaned on the priesthood has fallen through the priesthood—Napoleon, Charles X., Louis Philippe; and, as if no experience had been gained, help from the priesthood and from its masses is still had recourse to, in the vain hope of gaining through them the nation at large. In vain did Louis Philippe fall, the very day his Jesuits returned from Tahiti, ashamed and confused at having done nothing, notwithstanding so many canons—in vain did Louis Philippe fly, the same day in which the Chamber of Deputies were going to discuss his project relative to the Royal Almonry of St Denis—in vain was Louis Philippe overthrown by means of the same laws he had so repeatedly applied to the Church, and which he sought to apply to the world—in vain did his friends, the priests and archbishops, pursue him with epithets of Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar—hardly had he landed on your hospitable shores, than already the Republic had offered its incense to the priesthood. How many masses were celebrated in the open air! How continually were they religiously invited to bless the trees of liberty! The nation, fettered again, wearied with a three days' struggle, again abdicated; and the actual administration, invigorated by this perfectly French lethargy, offered clerical

\* Balzac.

† *L'Univers, L'Ami de la Religion, La Voix de la Vérité.*

bribes, which surpassed all that had been done for a long while. The legislature placed in the hands of the priesthood the primary instruction, and they cleverly carried it on to the increase of ignorance.

Under the authority of military tribunals in some districts, Protestant national guards, who refused to follow in processions to the honour of cardinals, were condemned; whilst the civil power cast two booksellers into prison because they sold controversial works. The sale had not been restricted under the reign of Louis Philippe, and the works had already reached the seventeenth edition without any impediment having been thrown in the way of their circulation. Finally, the administration, whilst it decides in favour of the claims advanced by the State consistories, when the grounds set forth are clear and undeniable, or when their rights are incontestible, willingly avails itself of every means of evasion in order to escape from fulfilling its duties; neither the equality of the forms of worship nor its own duties towards us are remembered. Overbearing towards the smaller communes, its weakness is manifest in cases relating to the larger. Pastors are refused proper lodgings, or adequate allowances in lieu of them, and special schools are denied to Protestants, notwithstanding the letter of the law in both cases; and doing all that can be done, without compromising itself with respect to the Pope, whom it delivered out of the hands of his own people, it avoids all that might annoy the bishops and priests. To look at it, one would say that a Roman tribunal had been brought among the French people, an antique administration into a modern state, drawn two ways—at one time yielding to the dictates of its own proper nature, and at another to those of its administrators; so that, without having constant grievances to bring forward against the administration, we are kept continually on the fret; and we should rejoice to see this doubly illegitimate government pass away, which, so far as relates to us, gives neither liberty nor persecution, but which more resembles hostility than toleration.

With respect to the Independents, they are in a far worse condition. They are unprotected by official rights, and the municipal authorities care for little else. The gendarme has, therefore, more rights than the dissenting pastor.

As a general rule, it may be said, that the ruler suspects Protestantism, although all Protestant nations are in the enjoyment of peace and consequent prosperity, which ought to have the

effect of re-assuring him; but he fears them, and fear is but a poor counsellor, productive of such ridiculous means as we will not now dwell upon; for we should alternately pass from a jest to severity, from the ridiculous to what is deserving of odium, and we have a far better use to make of our time.

#### PROSPECTS.

To form some idea of the future, with respect to Protestantism, we should dwell on our hopes and our fears, on the causes which may promote the progress of truth among us, as well as the several causes which tend to fetter, retard, or hinder it. We shall first speak of the latter.

Independently of spiritual death, alike the ruin of the Church and of the whole of Christendom, we have some particular causes of dissolution, which are extremely prejudicial to us. Our dispersed condition, and our being in the minority, is the first fact we shall allude to. The isolation of many families has been one cause of backsliding; their traditional habits are lost, together with ecclesiastical life and holy meetings; by degrees they become habituated to different religious habits and other doctrines, and, like a man about to perish from hunger, they end by preferring unwholesome food to the entire want of nourishment.

As a minority, we are crushed by a majority, enriched financially as well as numerically at our expense. To many, the majority has powerful attractions; to some, the voice of the majority is law; and men have been seen of every rank—ministers of state, members of parliament, mayors and pastors, rich and intellectual—worshipping the golden calf of the majority; men who did little or nothing for us, men who paid our enemies, and who yet boasted of the name of Protestant. A minister has been seen to undertake an impious war against the island of Tahiti—a war which might have roused from their tombs his ancestors, who were pastors, who had witnessed the dragoonades. Protestants have been known to support the war against Rome, in order to restore, with the blood of our soldiers, and the money of our poor people, no matter under what pretext, a government which brands every faithful man, every scientific man, and every lover of liberty. Religious persecution has re-commenced with us—our books have been confiscated, our just rights encroached upon, our brethren im-

prisoned, one of our pastors seized by the gendarmes, and Protestants dumb, sanctioning, by their silence, principles which certainly would have disgraced our ancestors, and which, but a short time back, in the halls of Louis Philippe, found eloquent and noble opponents. Yet these Protestants, so little jealous of our rights, are seen to be full of zeal, and tenderly alive to all that infringes the rights of Romanists. For their own worship they do nothing; but they can send subscriptions towards the construction of Romanist churches and chapels. If one of the Romanist processions, borrowed from paganism, passes the front of their dwellings, they are richly decorated with brocade; should some bishop or cardinal make his triumphal entry into a town, they are sure to be the first to present themselves humbly before him, and to flatter him by the use of the forbidden title of "my lord." Romanism will naturally appear dignified before persons guilty of such undignified conduct; and Protestantism suffers from men who thus degrade themselves. What common sense condemns, religion condemns.

Mixed marriages form another source of legitimate apprehension. The letters we have received are unanimous upon this subject, without exception. The least inconvenience ensuing from this practice is the weakening of religious feeling in each of the contracting persons. A man and his wife, who cannot worship together in public, easily fall into a custom of not visiting any place of worship. A family which cannot unite itself before God, cannot be said to be really united; a link which no longer exists, when placed before religion, is not a true bond of union; having everything in common except one's heart, one's faith, and one's convictions, is in truth having nothing in common. And such unions, dissolving as they are, if viewed from the religious point, assume the same feature if we look at the family itself. Romanism or Protestantism must be sacrificed in the new generation; and if, as in some instances, the children are, in matters of religion, divided according to their sex, that proceeding is the most unnatural and unfeeling. Religious discord is thus perpetuated in the same family. Such cases are, however, very rare. Generally, it may be laid down as the first rule, that all children are of the same religion as their mother; and this has something natural in it: as a second rule, which ought to be combined with the first, and which, in case of conflict, is preponderating, that they are of the same religion as the richer of the two parents: and a third

rule is, everything equal, that they are of the same religion as that professed by the majority in the communes.

Passing from these rules to facts, we can assert, from our experience, as well as from that of our colleagues, that, out of one hundred mixed marriages, perhaps forty educate their children as Romanists, and sixty as Protestants. The numerical advantage, which might be in our favour, is destroyed by the fact, that, ordinarily, it is the richest of the families who educate their children in the religion of the majority and of luxury. I may add, though perhaps it is unnecessary, that these proportions vary according to the zeal of the priests and pastors; and this struggle for the children, for it is nothing less, saps the real activity of each, although it may be necessary so to act, and forcibly distracts them from their holy duties by occupations and pre-occupations at once degrading and unbecoming their position. The number of mixed marriages varies in different parts of the country. Out of 800 inhabitants in one village, we counted sixty-three mixed marriages; out of 1000 inhabitants in a southern village, only three examples have been known during twenty-eight years.

We must also place political pre-occupations under the head of those causes which impede the progress of the truth, though they have done more harm to true Christianity than either to Protestantism or Romanism. The Romanist altars have been surrounded by those who, having been infidels during the last twenty years, have thought this course expedient, with a view to being considered respectable, and for the purpose of restoring a monarchical form of government. Some, also, among the well-wishers of Christianity, but who cannot discover it in Romanism, have joined our ranks; but, in fact, we have not gained much, because their hearts have not been gained. Earthly cares and political struggles have so occupied the minds of those over whom we might have had some influence, that we cannot but deplore the effects produced; and the painful reaction exercising its effects on their lives, a numerical increase affords but a barren compensation.

Added to which, we are not understood. We are known by the Protestant Catechism of the Bishop of Troyes, and by the stupid articles found in some of the daily papers;\* and these last, by way of apology for their attacks on Rome, find nothing better than to turn us into ridicule, and to caricature our faith and our

\* *Le Siècle*, for example.

most solemn convictions. This *persiflage* is the religion of our politicians, who always speak of the *sacerdoce* of the press as the ancient augurs spoke of the entrails of their victims.

Our hopes would rapidly flit before us if we were in the habit of leaning on man. We were stronger in adversity than when protected. If we speak as Christians, we have to deplore the spiritual deadness of our flocks; if as Protestants, we ought to know that our minority in our deadness is condemned, not because we are a minority, but because we are dead. If it be the property of earthly things to find their death in the very principle of their existence; if, for example, Catholicism (or we should rather say the Papacy), which has existed and increased only by the principle of authority, has found its death in the same principle (for it is dead—what remains of life is artificial: interested parties conceal its death from those who ought to know it, but the secret is betrayed by the odour; the 300,000 bayonets, which ought to have defended it, have killed it): Protestantism, on the contrary, seems to be menaced, because it has not been faithful to its principle; because, under diverse forms and with diverse tendencies, besides the immutability of the Word of God and of the Holy Spirit, it has wished again to consecrate the immutability of the human mind, and thus return to its “wallowing in the mire”—to the errors, that is, of Papal infallibility.

Truth, it is certain, changes not—it is absolute; but yet, in relation to us, it changes, or seems to change, according as we are more or less distant from it, according to the point of view. From afar its edges are rough, its angles sharp, it presents lines but clearly drawn, it is dry, arid, level. The nearer you approach, its angles soften, its forms lose their dryness, the contrasts disappear, the hues appear, and life manifests itself. To understand it is to understand the laws of perspective, it is also to understand the essence of Protestantism, which is not in itself mere truth, but also a method by which we arrive at truth; it preserves the unity of doctrine and of life, which are not its property, and respects in our fellow-men the variety of the manifestations both of doctrine and of life.

From the neglect of this essential consideration, through the desire of stereotyping the movement, Protestantism has seen its influence compromised and its efforts paralysed. As a traditional religion, Protestantism maintains but a languid course, because it does not possess the power of corporations, and the riches arising

from the multiplication of taxes under every kind of name, for the purpose of upholding despotism. Still, in the midst of this fading minority, a fraction exists which shoots up. Side by side with those who are dead is the living Church of the vivifying Spirit, and that bears fruit. To her we look, appearing amongst us in various forms, but yet under each form manifesting her life by her works. To this Church we look, hoping—to this Church which evangelises, which imparts instruction, which soothes and consoles. It would, undoubtedly, be going too far to circumscribe within the sphere of our religious societies and of their subscribers the whole of the life of our churches; but it is nevertheless incontestable that these societies are the more considerable and the more striking manifestation of it, that which proves the most as to the present and promises the most with respect to the future.

We possess more than forty different societies, belonging to our different churches. Based upon principles more or less broad, with features more or less of an ecclesiastical character, with different doctrinal standards, and some with no standard—all labour, through different mediums, and according to their faith, to extend or maintain the kingdom of God in France as well as the world. One stretches out its hand to the heathen of Southern Africa and the Antilles; another gathers the fatherless of both sexes, relieves the poor, tends the bed of sickness, and visits those who are in prison. One addresses itself to Romanists, and the children of Israel; another seeks out the scattered Protestants; some circulate the Word of God, and others disseminate tracts and useful books; schools are instituted by one, whilst churches are built by others. But, whatever line they take, we rejoice at the manifestation of life thus afforded. We must add, that the nearer they are to gospel truth, in so much does their activity increase; and the labours of our Independent brethren appear to be the most blessed. Hitherto, much good has been effected by these societies, and they are nearly all advancing; and if some have fallen through imprudent liberality, through improper management, or from other causes, as a general thing it may be said, that daily they are gaining ground, as well as acquiring fresh sympathies from the churches.

But the society upon which, beyond all others, we the most build our hopes, is the Evangelical Alliance, or rather the spirit of the Alliance. If Rome has sought to unite men together as pri-

soners bound with chains, Protestantism has endeavoured to make them unite, by holding the Head; the Christian spirit of the Alliance is to unite men in heart, and in this alone can true union be found—all other unions are artificial. Feeling, love, Christian love, is a natural bond; and this bond, this heavenly fire, the fountain of living waters cannot extinguish. "Union is strength," is an old adage, but true, nevertheless; and the more true in the kingdom of Him who, in commandments both old and new, has said, "Love one another," and who has bid us "walk by the same rule whereto we have already attained" (Philip. iii. 16). The union of the Church will proclaim the ruin of the world. This is the aim of the Alliance, and affords a living proof of the work going on among the churches in the world. I rejoice to be able to remind you, that a work of the Rev. A. Bost, my father,\* published in 1835, has been, perhaps, the first evidence of the spirit of the Alliance in France. In lieu of discussions and warfares one with another, we shall now employ every weapon given us by the Spirit against the common enemy, and in Him we shall prove victorious.

We ought to add here, that a most favourable spirit now exists towards us. Wherever we are known we are esteemed; and what is understood of our form of worship is respected. And the comparison between our doctrines, our lives, or our pastors, with those of Rome, is generally favourable to us. "It is strange," was the remark lately made to me by a rich merchant, residing in one of our most influential towns—"it is strange, one would say, that more wisdom is shewn in your religion than in ours." Similar testimony could be collected everywhere. We might appeal boldly to our prisons, which, more than once, have been brought forward as a proof of the morality of Protestantism. If England and the United States are cited, as is every day the case, for their happy political condition, the most bigoted persons reply, that what can be done in a Protestant country cannot be effected in a Romanist one—a concession which, allow me to observe, ought not to be lost sight of. Hitherto, this good feeling has not, indeed, produced facts worthy of being cited; but, like a fire smouldering under the ashes, the slightest breath may cause it to burst forth, and, perhaps, in the hands of the Lord, it may exercise a far more potent influence than we ourselves imagine.

\* *Recherches sur les Formes et la Constitution de l'Eglise Chrétienne.* Genève, 1835.



## CONCLUSION.

Permit me, in conclusion, to say, Love the Church of France. That you do love her, we know. If our number be small, call to mind that our brethren and sisters have been murdered; if we are poor—if our brethren are often seen among you raising subscriptions—do not forget that, during 250 years, we were robbed and plundered; and that only for the last fifty years, that is, from the first revolution, have we been allowed to look upon our property as our own, and the labour of our hands as something positively acquired. To our minds, the history of the Reformed Church lays bare a sorrowful but a sublime spectacle—the most sublime that can be found in ecclesiastical story. In no country has the Church of God been persecuted as it has been in France, during two centuries and a half: and nowhere has the Church conducted herself as she has there done, in the midst of horrible persecutions. We shared the dragoonades with the valleys of Piedmont, but the massacre of Bartholomew was ours alone. With the brethren of the valley we had our Camisards; but we stood alone with Charles IX. and Louis XIV. Permit me to call to your mind the prophets of the mountains of Cevennes, whom we better understand and otherwise judge than Eugene Sue.\* Permit me to remind you of Jean Cavalier, the young peasant, who, for two or three years, with 2000 men, checked the progress of the greatest general of the age, and the numerous armies of that king who should be called the “Great” only in such countries as Austria and Madagascar. Nor can I, on this occasion, pass over two great spirits of the last age—Rabaut, father and son; one the pastor of Nismes during forty years, the other at Paris for ten. A price was set upon their heads, their footsteps were tracked, they were hunted down like the wild beasts of the forest, they sought shelter in caves and deserts, but were always faithful and untiringly active, and prolonged through the violence of persecution a life of self-denial, which seemed certain some day to terminate on the scaffold. The old man, one day, found in a crevice of a rock, which was the hiding place of his correspondence, a letter from Paris; he knew the writing of his son, but he also recognised the Government seal. Doubtless, he thought, his son had been betrayed, and that the letter was from his prison, bidding farewell to his father. The old man’s heart beat violently; he opened the letter, at the same time

\* In his romance entitled *Jean Cavalier*.

invoking the Almighty. It was a new edict of Cyrus; it was more than a new edict of Nantes: it was signed, "Your son, Rabaut, President of the Assembly of the Constitution." The old man could scarcely give credit to it; but it was a fact. We shall not attempt to describe his feelings. The Lord let his servant go in peace.

A few days previously, in the Assembly, Mirabeau proposed to grant toleration to the Protestants. One voice, and one alone, was heard to oppose his powerful eloquence. It was that of the member for Aude, of Rabaut—who resisted, in sublime language, this reparative step. He repelled the idea of toleration for his Church; he claimed equality or persecution. He triumphed; his words electrified the Assembly; the equality of creeds was proclaimed, and the next day acted upon; for Rabaut himself was nominated President of the Assembly. But a few weeks back he risked his devoted head; now he ranks with the monarch, nay, is perhaps higher than the monarch—the first magistrate of the kingdom.

Rabaut, father and son, passed through Jordan, and entered Canaan—the wilderness journey terminated with them, and with them the age of miracles. Our public rights then began; and if we have again to endure internal struggles, beseech the Lord for us that we may prove faithful. Already, much unfaithfulness may be seen; we have experienced bitter sorrow as well as great joy. God has given some powerful men after his own heart. The character of the clergy has not always been on a level with their duties; but side by side with the regular minister we have, thank God, had an irregular ministry, even as Israel had, besides its priests, its prophets, and its judges; and more than once have we rejoiced to see, in a Church where the minister was as one dead, chosen souls given by God, saving the Church with, without, or in spite of the pastor.

To the Head of the Church, the Royal Shepherd of the sheep, our eyes are joyfully turned. He who brought the young men out of the burning fiery furnace, and Daniel from the lions' den, he can keep us in the hour of trial. The spiritual Israel will remain until Israel according to the flesh has repented, whose abundance will become the riches of the nations of the earth.

Supplicate God, then, for the Church of France, as many of us this day pray for you; and may this occasion, which bears testimony to the catholicity of your faith and love, remain between us as the altar of *Ed* (Josh. xxii. 34), which witnessed between those on this side the Jordan and on that.

# BELGIUM.

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# BELGIUM.

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## ON THE SPIRIT OF POPERY IN BELGIUM; ITS OPERATIONS AND PROSPECTS.

BY THE REV. E. PANCHAUD, OF BRUSSELS.

THE "mystery of iniquity" still puts forth its energy. How long, Lord? Thou knowest. Oh, enable us by thine Holy Spirit to fathom this mystery, as it now works around us, and to unmask it, with sentiments of deep compassion for the men who are its victims, and of lively indignation against everything in it opposed to the inspired Word, and to the "salvation which is of God, and of the Lamb that sitteth upon the throne!"

As the mystery of iniquity, Popery has its depths, which, without exaggeration, may be styled "the depths of Satan." For there is not, in the history of human nature, a more striking and lamentable example of the manner in which man may sink, by successive falls, into an abyss of impiety, immorality, superstition, and of cold and sanguinary cruelty, when once he has abandoned the Rock, which is *Christ*, and the house founded thereon, the *Church*, built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets.

It does not pertain to our purpose to follow the Romish religion into all its aberrations and follies, nor into the extreme and fatal consequences it has drawn from the false principle on which it is based, to wit—the *word and authority of man substituted for the word and authority of God*. Our subject is more circumscribed. It is Popery as it exists in Belgium in the present day, that we have to study—in its spirit, its workings, and its prospects. We have a critical and historical survey to take, from the Christian point of view; and, assuming that our brethren in the faith are agreed with us as to the value of Romanism as a religious system, we shall confine ourselves to pointing out the features which it presents daily and hourly to our notice.

## PART I.—THE SPIRIT OF POPERY IN BELGIUM.

It may be sufficient to affirm, that Popery is in this country what it is generally, wherever it is not controlled and watched by a majority of enlightened and religious men. We shall be readily believed when we assert, that the spirit, the pervading thought, the aim, the one grand essential of the Roman system is—the dominion it acquires in imposing upon the consciences of men the yoke of a clergy, which not only styles itself the Servant or Minister of the Most High, but the Substitute of God upon earth. With a religious system conceived in such a spirit, spiritual worship must give place to vain pomps and to a sensual materialism. The mediation of creatures will be put before that of Jesus Christ. Superstitious rites will be multiplied, and salvation be promised as the reward of submission to the clergy, and obtained from them for money.

In civil society, in like manner, Popery is seen pretending to the possession of temporal power, wherever it feels itself strong enough to enforce obedience. And, to acquire an absolute preponderance in the government, in the councils of the nation, in the instruction of youth, and in public and private affairs, it will scruple at no intrigue, and neglect no means, however criminal in the sight of God. To maintain this position, it will preach and practise the most absolute intolerance; as is shewn in the concordat recently concluded with the Queen of Spain, in which we find the following provisions:—

“The Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, which continues to be the only religion of the Spanish nation, *to the exclusion of every other*, shall be upheld in the dominions of her Catholic Majesty, with all the rights and prerogatives which it is entitled to enjoy by the law of God, and by the provisions of the holy canons.”—(*Extracted from “L’Ami de la Religion.”*)

Such is the spirit of Popery in all lands; but let us examine particularly what are, in Belgium—1. Its doctrine; 2. Its worship; 3. Its discipline; and, 4. Its position, in relation to the civil power.

## I. THE ROMISH DOCTRINE IN BELGIUM.

This is to be seen in the choice of the *Theological Manual* of Dens, used in all the larger and smaller seminaries in the kingdom, interpreted in the most ultramontane sense. Thus, whilst it

pays homage, in some of its articles, to the Trinity, to the divinity and to the humanity of Jesus Christ, as well as to his sacrifice, it enlarges complacently on subjects tending to render the doctrine of salvation quite obscure and unintelligible. After having spoken of redemption, and shewn how it was accomplished by Jesus Christ, the conclusion established by its statements is—that the Saviour has not accomplished everything; that the expiation of sin is not complete; that we cannot be saved by faith in Jesus Christ; and that it is further necessary to satisfy Divine justice by penances and works of merit. We shall look in vain for any teaching on the new birth by the Holy Spirit, on the creation in Christ Jesus unto good works, or on the assembly of true believers constituting the Church;—instead of which, we have regeneration by sacraments, good works performed by the free will of man, seconded by grace; and, for the Church, the assembly of all those who submit to the Pope.

Such is the doctrine, and such also are the preachings. One may attend whole years on the prayers and sermons without ever hearing it proclaimed, “that whoso believeth on the Son hath eternal life;” or having those words of the apostle repeated and developed (Eph. ii. 8–10), “for by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast. For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works.” But you have abundance of books, and will hear sermons enough on the authority of the Church, the excellence of the priesthood, the mediation of the Virgin, the intercession of saints, purgatory, confession, works of satisfaction, and indulgences.

It is granted that mention is made, from time to time, in the Church of Rome, of the passion of Jesus Christ, especially during Lent, and the faithful are exhorted to perform “*Le Chemin de la Croix*” (the Way to the Cross); one may even hear eloquent sermons on the sufferings of the Saviour; but the preachers confine themselves almost wholly to the physical sufferings endured by Jesus—they do not exhibit him as having been “made sin for us,” and, as such, having been “smitten of God,” and “made a curse for us.” It is obvious, therefore, that redemption, in the Romish sense, cannot be a perfect and complete atonement for sin.

We need not be astonished, then, that true and pious Catholics can never attain to a full certainty of their salvation; and that, even after making a good end, according to the Romish Church,

they still have need to be released from purgatory with the assistance of alms, prayers, indulgences, and masses.

Belgium presented a striking example of this inconsistency of Romanism at the death of the Queen. She was never spoken of but as an angel of sweetness, of goodness, and of piety—a saint departed in all the sentiments of the Romish Church, and ascended to heaven to pray for her family and her people. On the other hand, for her (as for the Archbishop of Paris, who died a martyr on the barricades of June), services were everywhere celebrated, to withdraw her soul from purgatory, and deliver her from its flames.

It cannot be otherwise; and we do wrong to accuse Popery of inconsistency. In Belgium, the office of Jesus Christ is no longer that of perfect Mediator in the presence of the Father, but of Judge and King, who will render to every man according to his works. He is only to be approached through numerous intercessors, and the general doctrine is, “*to Jesus through Mary.*”

This belief is found naturally expressed in a *Pious Souvenir*, composed in honour of the Queen, approved by the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines, and which received the thanks of the King and of the Parliament:—“The Lamb without spot,” it is said, in this prayer, “has doubtless found worthy of heaven the illustrious consort of the King whom thou hast given us” (*Souvenir Pieux, par M. Robert*).

Thus, Christ is no more the Lamb slain, whose blood cleanseth from all sin, but a judge who recognises such and such persons as *worthy* to enter heaven. There is but a step from thence to the mediatorialship of the Virgin. What is taken from the Son is given to the mother; indeed, a little further onward, in the same prayer, Mary is styled “The Gate of Heaven,” notwithstanding the express declaration of Jesus Christ, “I am the Door: by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved; but he that climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber.” Now, it is a cardinal, who tomorrow may become Pope, that by his approval of this prayer takes away from Jesus his mediatorial crown, robs him of the price of the travail of his soul, sanctions the merit of works, and ascribes to Mary the glory and efficiency of the mediation with God. It is well to mark this, especially in England, where so many illusions prevail respecting the spirit of the Romish doctrine. They judge of it only by some articles of creeds, interpreted skillfully and craftily by Jesuitism, so as to approximate them to the evangelical creeds. But in practice, or rather in the ordinary belief,



as received and sanctioned by ecclesiastical authority, the difference of belief between us and them is as great as white from black, or day from night.

The merit of works is again assumed, as openly as possible, in these lines of the *Catholic Review*, of Louvain, a journal published under the patronage of the too famous University of that city. They are extracted from an obituary of the curate De Coeck, deceased at Wavre, and will be found to contain almost as many heresies as lines:—

“His pilgrimage here below, too short, alas! for us, was doubtless found long enough, and sufficiently rich in good works for heaven. It is written in the holy books [?], that the priest who is faithful to his mission on earth shall be doubly honoured—honoured by the world [by the world!]—honoured by God. The homage of the world has not been withheld from our sincere and worthy friend. . . . More than men, will the God of goodness and of mercy honour the eminent merits of the friend, the scholar, the magnanimous priest whom we deplore. He only can worthily recompense the rich intelligence which was devoted supremely to the defence of His laws, and the generous heart which never beat but to give to the world the most heavenly examples of love to God and to men.”—(*Revue Catholique à Louvain*, April 1851, pp. 122, 103.)

This honour of the world sought for and glorified—the exaltation of the virtues of a poor sinner in terms applicable only to Jesus Christ—the merit of works boldly proclaimed, and salvation by grace utterly unrecognised—this is what is published at Louvain, under the eyes of the University, with its support, and under the protection of the cardinal archbishop.

It must be admitted, without the possibility of contradiction, that Popery preserves in Belgium, in some of its books, the doctrine of redemption by the death of Jesus Christ; but, in reality, the Christ that it preaches to the people is a Christ dead and cold as that of their crucifixes of stone or brass.

Romanism, again, has the secret, whilst seeming to occupy the minds of its adherents with the sufferings and the death of the Saviour, to turn the whole into a devotion rendered to the organ of the circulation of the blood in the body of Jesus, and to the members which were crucified.

In a book of three hundred pages, exclusively devoted to the adoration of “*The Sacred Heart of Jesus*,” and approved by the cardinal archbishop in May 1851, we read, “The peculiar object of this devotion is the heart of the Divine Saviour—*his material and fleshly heart*—that heart, the principal organ of physical life,

but which is likewise in man the organ of the moral life and of the affections of the soul ” (page 10).

We have not here a passage written lightly or under excitement. It is the deliberate exposition of the doctrine contained in the second article, having for its title, “ *Of the Peculiar Object of the Devotion to the Sacred Heart.* ”

Once entered into this course, there is no stopping. The doctrine becomes more and more materialistic, and it is to a piece of clay that their worship is presented. They will even go so far as to separate in idea the Lord Jesus from his body, and to present to him his own body, his feet, his hands, to ask him to have pity and to pardon, as if he had not “ by one offering perfected for ever them that are sanctified. ”

But the Holy Scripture is for the majority of Romanists the only book that the priests and laymen do not read. Yes, in the Romish doctrine, Jesus is a Judge who is ready to strike, but who, through the merits of one and another of his members, may be induced to forgive. Here is the proof:—

“ Most sweet Jesus ! ” it is said, in a prayer to the five wounds—“ most sweet Jesus ! by the saving wound of thy right foot, forgive, I pray thee, all the sins that I have committed against thee by my thoughts. Let the infinite merits of this wound *supply* all the good thoughts which I have neglected to cherish hitherto. . . . Most sweet Jesus ! by the most sacred wound of thy left foot, pardon me, I beseech thee, all the sins I have committed. Most sweet Jesus ! by the sacred wound of thy right hand, ” and so on.—(*Mois du Précieux Sang*, p. 230.)

Now, this is not a citation drawn from a writing, the offspring of superstition, and rejected by enlightened Catholics. The book itself, as is well known, has procured for its author this eulogium from the Archbishop of Rheims:—“ I congratulate you sincerely on having conceived the thought of uniting, in one small volume, the very beautiful prayers addressed to Jesus Christ suffering, ” &c. —*March* 1851.

The Bishop of Angers in April 1851 is no less explicit. His approbation even surpasses that of the Archbishop of Rheims. It is needless to state that the Belgian episcopate appended to it its *imprimatur*. Let it be observed, further, that we can produce four other prayers, composed in the same style, and addressed to the five wounds; and in a prayer of the Cardinal Sudolet, to complete the absurdity, they offer to Jesus, to disarm his wrath, the merits of the wood on which he was crucified, and of the nails that pierced him:—

“ Oh, dear cross, on which the Son of God deigned to die that I might recover life—to you who offer to all help and support in the sad pilgrimage of this life, I come to you infirm and suppliant. I implore your aid, and desire through you to be reconciled to the Lord my God. Oh, dear cross, incline towards me, though but a little, Him whom you bore! Oh, feet! oh, nails! oh, sacred wound! oh, precious blood! receive me—refuse not my kisses, &c. To preserve for ever this precious treasure, I consecrate to you my life! Oh, adorable cross! to you, and to the Lord my God, whom you have borne in your arms. Amen.”—(*Mois du Précieux Sang*, pp. 245-247.)

Such is the language that the Bishop of Tournay approves, and that his colleague of Angers dares to compare with that of Divine Revelation. “ I rejoice to tell you,” writes the prelate to the author of the collection, “ that all pious souls are greatly indebted to you for having collected and revived an entire series of prayers, which God himself seems to have revealed to his saints ” (*Approbations prefixed to the volume*).

Now the books from which we have, with grief, extracted words like these, are those most prominent in the shop-windows of the bookseller of the clergy at Brussels, and which are most extensively bought by the devotees of all classes of society. Let no one, then, accuse us of bad faith, of calumny, or even of exaggeration, when we accuse Romanism of perverting, by its superstitions, the holy and blessed doctrine of free salvation wrought out by the death of the Redeemer. The proofs are there; and so strong are they, that had we a St Paul or a St Peter afresh in the midst of us, with language a thousand times more energetic and overwhelming to the Romish communion they would brand this shameful idolatry. “ *Ab uno disce omnes.*” If redemption, the cardinal point of Christianity, is thus treated by Popery, how fares it with other less essential truths? Let us take only the article of indulgences, on which a treatise of three hundred pages has just been reprinted in Belgium with the approval of the episcopate; the sale of this work at the present moment is considerable, owing to the jubilee which has been recently proclaimed and celebrated with an abundant distribution of indulgences. Passing over the development of the propositions, we will confine ourselves to a summary statement of the following:—

“ Art. I. Indulgence is a real absolution from the temporal punishment due to sin.

“ Art. II. Indulgence is a true payment of a price equivalent to the punishment due to sin.

*“Of the Efficacy of Indulgences Applied to the Dead.”*

“1. The Church grants indulgences applicable to the dead, therefore she believes that the dead may be relieved by this means.

“*Question.*—Is it necessary to be in a state of grace in order that the indulgence be validly applied to a deceased person ?

“*Answer.*—A state of grace is *not necessary* in order to the valid application of the indulgence of a privileged altar.

“*Question.*—When the application of indulgences is free, ought they to be obtained for one’s self rather than for the dead ?

“*Answer.*—No man may sacrifice his own salvation to save others ; in this case, a *well-ordered charity begins with one’s self.*”

Chap. VI. treats of indulgences attached to coronals or chaplets ; of the endless distinctions between the *chaplets of our Lord, chaplets of the five wounds, chaplets of the precious blood, chaplets of the Holy Virgin, chaplets of the seven sorrows, rosaries, ordinary chaplets, Bridgetine chaplets, chaplets with indulgences* ; and, finally, *crosses, medals, rings*, and the various *indulgences* peculiar to each of these objects.—(*Treatise on Indulgences, Tournay, 1844.*)

Here let us stop, and not fill our pages with these puerilities. See what is the tendency of the casuistry and morals of Romanism !

We only wish that those who are desirous of a thorough knowledge of Popery in its writings on morals, would but read ten pages of this book. They would quickly throw it from them in disgust, and lay hold on the law of the Lord, “which is pure and perfect, restoring the soul,” and “profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness ; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.”

This leads us to speak of the Romish doctrine concerning the reading of this precious book, the Revelation from God. What is the spirit of Belgian Popery on this point ? Father Boone, director of the Jesuits’ College at Brussels, and a preacher of extraordinary popularity, has publicly denounced the reading of the Bible in the vulgar tongue as an act of heresy, and has enjoined the burning of the holy books circulated by the Bible Society. He has more recently maintained this opinion in several discourses from the pulpit, labouring to refute the friends and defenders of the Bible ; and he has since published all these discourses with the approbation of the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines.\* Now, at the outset of the discussion he lays it down

\* “Reasons for my Attachment to the Catholic Church,” by the Rev. Father Boone. Second volume. Brussels, 1850.

as a principle, "That it is only *occasionally* that *some of the apostles* wrote; and that the apostles and evangelists who did write, had not at all in view to write *a body of doctrine*."

The same opinion has been propagated in Belgium for the last seven years with an ardour worthy of a better cause, and not without success. As early as 1836, the Bishop of Bruges, opposing the colportage of the Holy Scriptures, published a circular, in which he said:—

"It is not permitted to any layman to read or to possess versions of the sacred books in *the mother tongue*, without the express authority of the bishop; unless such versions be approved by the Apostolic See, or published with notes taken from the holy fathers, or from learned and Catholic writers. In this latter case, although it be not forbidden by the Church to keep or to read these versions, it pertains to the duty of a prudent confessor to see whether such reading may not be *hurtful to his penitent*, and consequently *forbidden by the law of nature*."—(*Circular of the Bishop of Bruges, 1836*.)

Many evangelical writers having quoted this circular, and the false and blasphemous doctrine of Father Boone, which substitutes the traditions and authority of Rome for the Word of God, the Belgian clergy, far from repudiating, have sanctioned and enforced his impious system. The Canon Malou of Louvain, among others, developed the theory of Father Boone in two volumes,\* and was speedily rewarded for his labours by his promotion to the episcopal see of Bruges.

"This work," says Father Boone, "has gained universal approbation." We need not then be surprised to hear a Jesuit father praise this sentence—"The reading of the Bible is not essential to the salvation of the faithful" (*Reasons of my Attachment, &c.*, by Rev. F. Boone, p. 211)—and support it by quotations from the fathers. "A man who is sustained by faith, hope, and charity, has no need of the Scriptures except in order to instruct others." "Many a recluse lives in the desert *with these three virtues* without knowing the holy book." One may in short form an idea of the miserable state of Romish theology in Belgium from the works published on this branch. In the course of ten years past—in the midst of a clergy which reckons many thousands of priests, numerous seminaries great and small, one hundred and fifty monasteries and universities, one of which is

\* "The Reading of the Holy Bible in the Vulgar Tongue, judged by Holy Scripture, Tradition, and Reason, by J. B. Malou, Canon, Doctor and Professor of the Faculty of Theology of Louvain." 2 vols. Svo. Louvain, 1846.

strictly devoted to the Pope—not twenty theological works have appeared which have any scientific or literary value. Scarcely any are to be met with upon exegesis, dogmatics, apologetics, or morals, nor even any collection of sermons rich in grand and vigorous thoughts. It is always from abroad that the Belgian clergy borrows its best weapons; and still it seeks to fortify itself in the theology of Dens and in the dogmatical works of Alphonso de Liguori, and in the writings of the Gallican doctors. And even in regard to inward edification, not unfrequently treated of in the works of pious Catholics, such as à Kempis, Fenelon, and the school of Port Royal, we meet with nothing of the kind in the pretended edifying treatises published in Belgium in our days. It is a mass of legends, lives of saints, manuals of devotion to the Virgin and to St Joseph, and to the “ Sacred Heart,” that loads the shelves of the Catholic bookseller. More than once we have eagerly sought for some book which should shew us a soul living simply in communion with the Saviour, and meditating, with unction, both on its own misery and on the perfection of the salvation accomplished by redemption—and we have been obliged to retire in sadness, fatigued with our fruitless search. Such works, indeed, are entirely foreign to the spirit which animates Belgian Catholicism. This spirit cannot produce them, for it is not the Holy Spirit promised and given to bear testimony to Jesus, and to glorify him in our hearts. Assuredly, there is as much occasion as ever to exclaim, “ They have forsaken me, saith the Lord, the fountain of living waters, and have hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water.”

## II. THE ROMISH WORSHIP IN BELGIUM.

Far from gaining in spiritual and true devotion, this worship becomes every day more pompous and theatrical. It attracts the attention more than ever to material objects. By the combination of music and painting, splendour of decoration, brilliancy of lights, the fumes of incense, and exquisite voices, it captivates the soul, absorbs it in a vague, indefinite sentimentality, which is fancied to be religion; and involves it in a cloud of ceremonies, which, once ended, leaves it ignorant, vacant, wearied, and glad to escape from this mystical torpor, by plunging into the amusements of the world. See with what eagerness an entire population, who shall have followed, through one of the great *fêtes*, the services of the Romish

worship, will immediately afterwards rush to every place devoted to pleasure and dissipation. The seasons of the great solemnities of Popery are looked for with the expectation of large gains, by all proprietors of public establishments, taverns, coffee-rooms, gaming houses, ball-rooms, and theatres. They are the days on which the servants in waiting are found insufficient, and the rooms too small.

The clergy of the Church of Rome know this, and see the same scenes repeated on the Sunday of the Carnival, at Easter, the Ascension-day, and at Christmas and the *fête Dieu*; and take no steps to prevent the return of these scandals. They who are so strenuous in obliging the greater part of the population to abstain from eating meat on Fridays, can do nothing to prevent this same people going from their churches into houses where gaming, debauchery, and intemperance hold uncontrolled sway. They who are so skilful in getting money from rich and poor, to maintain a false devotion, and to ornament the churches, cannot prevent its going in abundance into profane hands and places. In truth, one leads to the other; and thus each time that the patron of the church or parish, St Francis, St Michael, St Boniface, or some other, is to be *fetéd* on his anniversary, the greatest preparations are made, in order that when the mass has been heard, the procession of the relics finished, and the evening prayers sung, each one may end his Sabbath in noise, feasting, riot, and amusements of all descriptions; thus it is that the Sundays from the middle of spring to autumn are passed. These *fêtes*, commonly called *kermess* in Flemish, and *ducasse* in Wallon, are renewed in every village, city, and parish; so that the populace have not only their own *kermess* or *ducasse* to attend, but also go to those of the neighbouring districts, on the days of their respective *fêtes*, which always are held on Sundays. That the Romish worship causes these excesses is a fact known to and felt by all men of any reflection; for it is impossible that a worship, silent as to teaching the truth or preaching the gospel, but noisy and fatiguing in its Latin chantings, in the sounds of numerous and powerful instruments, in long ceremonies and processions, that last sometimes three or four hours, should not lead the people immediately to gross and sensual gratifications. Who is there (even if he had the will) that could retire into his closet, to meditate on the things of God, and to study his holy Word, after having been deafened and wearied during several hours? No, he would require rest, refreshment, and amusement,

under such circumstances ; and not having heard a word from the mouth of his priest against thus desecrating the Sabbath, would be the more likely to avail himself of them. The priests, by their presence, countenance these public amusements ; a fact that has not escaped the observation of men of sense, and has given occasion for serious accusation against Romanism. It has been at times severely blamed for not separating its worship from these shameful profanations. On the other hand, the friends of the world congratulate Popery on its *savoir vivre* ; that is to say, it is a religion, the worship and discipline of which are in full harmony with the enjoyments of life, and which do not forbid any of the amusements and pleasures of the world, or anything in which the human heart delights.

A man, distinguished alike by his position in society and by his education, said one day to one of our friends, " I believe only in God ; the articles of my faith are not numerous ; nevertheless, I will remain a Catholic, and will uphold this worship with all my power—not because it is an ancient faith, nor because it is the religion of my forefathers, but because it is an agreeable religion, that does not require much, and which sympathises with all tastes, with all wants. If I wish to mortify the body or spirit, I have a convent to go to ; if I like, I remain in the world, and enjoy the pleasures of life. The priests understand the age ; I have them often at my house ; they are agreeable companions, never speak of doctrines of religion ; they know that when I want one I will send for him, and he will come. *They understand my weaknesses.*"

Unhappily, Belgium does not give place in any way to Spain or Italy, in puerile, foolish superstition. There you may see the multitude, on certain days, hurrying to make the rounds of a pond upon their knees, near to which is a chapel, which, according to tradition, has been built by angels.

In another place (again on their knees) they use a pavement of marble, making the rounds of an altar, on which is placed a box containing the spindle and thread of the Virgin Mary. In another district is a town where pilgrims come in thousands to be healed by telling their rosaries before a *black* statue of the Virgin, the miraculous power of which is such, that they have never been able exactly to count the number of bullets she received in her apron during a battle. The renown of this image has existed several centuries.

We could present hundreds of similar examples of credulity and



superstition. It will be sufficient to state, that there is scarcely a parish where there is not some saint who, on a given day, will accomplish pretended miracles, when hundreds of devotees present themselves at his feet, and make their offerings. Out of one of the gates of Brussels there is a St Guidon, the patron of horses; to honour him, and for the good of the race of horses, thousands of peasants come on horseback to receive a blessing on the saint's day. His relics are passed in front of the horses, which are ranged around the court of the church.

There are other saints for the other animals, and for the prosperity of agriculture, &c., but the worship of the Virgin exceeds all the rest. A friend, living in the country, wrote a few days since, "The worship of the Virgin greatly extends itself, and pursues its onward march; in the towns and in the country the Virgin is all. She is Venus, the Minerva, the Queen of Gods. Exquisite flowers, statues of great price, crowns loaded with precious stones, are given to ornament the altars dedicated to her service." But on entering into details we should only repeat what may be said of all countries where Papism exercises its influence freely. It may, however, be mentioned, that the nobility, the magistrates, the court, and even the king (though Protestant), were present at a grand ceremony which took place at Brussels, attended with much pomp, where a crown of gold, enriched with precious stones of the value of 35,000 francs (£1400 sterling), raised by subscription in one of the poorest parishes in the city, was placed on the head of the Virgin. Some persons said, in jest, that the infant Jesus wept much, because they had given his mother a crown handsomer than his. When this report became known, it was proposed to subscribe for a new crown for the infant, but they could not find purses ready to open for the purpose.

Devotion to the Virgin is considered so much the duty of Romanists, that they cannot die in peace, if they do not commend their souls to her. We had lately a striking instance of this fact, in the case of a young woman dangerously ill, who, after having confessed and received extreme unction as a good Catholic, began to feel her sins, and to fear the punishment of them. Some pious relations who were with her, spoke of free salvation through the alone mediation of Jesus Christ. She clung to this sure anchor of hope, and found peace, and died in the faith of the gospel. The priest, who visited her daily, became alarmed for the safety of his penitent, when he found she had ceased to call on Mary, and

entreated her, even after she was unable to open her lips to tell him that Jesus was her only trust, saying, "My good C., pray, pray to the Virgin, who *alone can* help you."

Avarice and simony still characterise the Romish worship. It is a long time since it was written, *Omnia Romæ veneunt*. It is the case now in Belgium, for all that relates to the ceremonies of the religion of Rome. They are a powerful means by which the clergy may obtain money, and they use them with much skill. Thus, a parish rector, whose salary from the State amounts to 2000 francs, obtains at least 10,000 from what is termed the *casuel*, that is to say, the emoluments obtained by performing certain ceremonies and offices, masses for the dead, &c. The bishop also quadruples his revenue by the tax which he levies on all who require his services. Even the offices which, according to the discipline of Romanism, should be free, are not performed without some offering—if not in money, at least in wax tapers. What loses all character of spirituality to the services of this church and its worship, is the introduction of worldly elements, well known as such, to assist in their performance. For instance, actors are excommunicated by the discipline of Rome, and are denied Christian burial; yet they are employed to sing in the services, and quite recently the following article appeared in a Brussels newspaper:—"Yesterday, Mons. Carlo, the ex-tenor of the Theatre Royal, sang in the high mass performed in the Church of Notre Dame du Riches-claires. He also sang an ave-maria during evening prayers. All the worshippers admired his charming voice." The greater brilliancy the priests display in their ceremonies, the more they are applauded. The following appeared lately in the *Peuple Belge*:—"The procession of the Church of Notre Dame de la Chapelle took place this day, and made its usual tour, with all the pomp to which *M. le Curé Wallant* has accustomed us."

### III. THE DISCIPLINE OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN BELGIUM.

This may be characterised as in all other countries which are under its dominion. Great indulgence for the sinner who conforms to the rules of the Church, even while continuing in his evil ways; and great severity and anathema against all, no matter how pious they may be, or how blameless soever their lives, who do not submit themselves to its authority. According to its

discipline, a swearer, a libertine, a drunkard, or a dishonest man, may remain such, and yet go regularly to the communion, after having confessed and received absolution. He may continue the same sort of life from year to year, and will be always received and absolved when he has submitted to the penance imposed on him. But if a man of a serious turn of mind, correct and peaceful in conduct, has a Bible in his house, and seeks spiritual food from its sacred pages, he will be repulsed from the confessional and treated as an evil-doer. It is the same system which prevails in all parts of the discipline. You may work and transact mercantile affairs on the Sabbath, and yet be a good Catholic; but if you eat meat on Friday, you are in a mortal sin. The Romish discipline has not done anything for the development of Christian life; it may even be said that it has given a wrong direction to piety. That from time to time the confessional has been a means of preventing crimes from being committed, and of making restitution for some wrongs done, we do not pretend to deny. There have been some examples published in the newspapers of the day, lately. But that it tends to make known to men their natural misery, and the corruption of their hearts—that it enlightens them as to the existence of sin, of its nature and consequences, we never can admit. Dissipation and worldliness, pride and self-righteousness, are known to exist quite as much in places where the people go regularly to confession, as in those where they neglect it altogether. This discipline is tainted here, as in all other Catholic countries, with the awful defect of giving a preference to the rich and great ones of the earth; for such, it may truly be said, that according to Popery there is composition to be made with heaven.

“Il est avec le ciel des accommodemens.”\*

Any one belonging to the upper classes of society, if he lives according to the rules of the Church, is sure to obtain, at the end of his life, a plenary indulgence. And if he has not, some of his relatives and friends will take advantage of the time when laid on a bed of sickness, and he is perhaps almost unconscious, to send for a priest who administers the rites of the Church, and no one entertains any doubt or anxiety as to his future state. Death soon follows. There is a pompous ceremony performed by a number of priests, who, in full costume, follow his body to the grave. Abundant sprinklings of holy water, and masses liberally

\* Molière.

paid, assure the family that the member whose loss they mourn has only just to cross purgatory, and then enter into heaven.

But if a poor man dies, whose illness has exhausted all his resources, having no means of paying a priest, he is buried like an heretic or an excommunicate. For him there are no particular prayers, no holy water, no masses. His friends only, poor like himself, follow his remains.

The discipline of the Church of Rome is tainted with the same evil as her worship—simony; and on this point, as on all others, Popery should be called a “religion of money,” and this name will remain to her. As to the discipline of the clergy amongst its members, we find great strictness to maintain (at least outwardly) the same belief and uniformity. And in all other matters that do not interest directly the authority and supremacy of Rome, great liberty; and no concern for their spiritual state, so long as they say their Breviary, sing the mass, and give no cause of complaint as to their outward conduct in public. Any disobedience of an inferior towards his superior in this hierarchy, of which the steps are so numerous, is immediately followed by deprivation, or the offender must put himself entirely at the mercy of the bishop, and do whatever he may please to order. It has occurred more than once that the *curés* and *vicaires* being paid by the State, have tried, by applying to the ministry and the chambers, to get relief in case of unjust deprivation; but it has always been replied to them, that, according to the constitution, the State had no right to interfere in ecclesiastical affairs. When it is known, as an action recently tried has proved to be the case, that not only thousands of *curés*, priests, deacons, and sub-deacons, are nominated by, and are under the immediate control of, the bishops, but that the clerks are also chosen or approved of by them, we may estimate the number of persons under the direct jurisdiction of six bishops in Belgium, at nearly ten thousand. The clergy have the option, it is true, of giving up the profession, and, so to speak, *un-priest* themselves, and try some other means of gaining a subsistence; they may marry, but the malediction laid on a man in these circumstances follows him everywhere, and creates such want of confidence and repulsion, that even liberal and independent people do not like to employ him, or give him any assistance. Such a position is infinitely worse than that of a stranger without relations or friends, or that of an ordinary beggar.

From the knowledge we have acquired of the disposition of the inferior clergy, it may be safely asserted, that a considerable number of them in Belgium would immediately separate from Rome, if they could be assured the means of getting bread, be it in the most humble manner. In default of this, though perhaps infidels or deists, they continue to discharge their functions, as being the only calling they can exercise. It would require strong Christian conviction to enable them to renounce all, and sacrifice their temporal interests; but such a conviction is rarely met with amongst a clergy who occupy all their time in the routine of the Breviary, and in discharge of offices foreign or opposed to the Word of God. This discipline is so opposite to what the Scriptures prescribe, that in the official relations of the clergy there is not a word which indicates the fraternity and spiritual union of the members of the body of Christ. Their style (of which we have proof in a correspondence now before us, between a *vicaire* and several of his superiors) is exactly the same as that in use in the office of a civil administration. It may have some regard for politeness; but never appears to be the language of brethren, who entertained some different views, and were endeavouring, with the Bible in their hands, to overcome them, and who respected and loved each other in Jesus Christ notwithstanding. Nothing in the letters of these gentlemen recalls to our mind the language of Paul to Timothy or Titus. It is only common civility, where threats or anathemas do not give another character to the style. The same may be said of the correspondence of the clergy with the laity, and the members of government. You never can recognise that it is men who profess the same religion, or that are united by any spiritual bonds. It is rather as if one power was treating with another. This leads us to speak of the spirit in which the relations between the clergy and the civil authorities are carried on.

#### IV. POPERY IN ITS RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT.

It was by the alliance of the priesthood with the liberal party in 1830, that they succeeded in overthrowing a government, the only fault of which, in their eyes, was its being Protestant. They would not hesitate to repeat this revolution now; it is their work. Thus they have again sanctioned and consecrated

revolt, when it advances the interests of Popery. A striking lesson this to those governments who think they can strengthen their power by means of the Romish clergy; they may be assured that this alliance of the throne with the altar will be broken (violently, perhaps) on the day when the former attempts to curtail or limit the power of the ministers of the latter; and the divine right of kings will be no more respected by the Romish clergy than by revolutionists of the very lowest grade.

In Belgium, the Roman Catholics amount in number to nearly five millions, and the dissenters from that communion to a few thousands only. The clergy flattered themselves that, after the revolution, they should rule unrestrained, and that the people would allow themselves to be brought entirely under their dominion; therefore they did not hesitate to subscribe to the articles of the constitution relative to religion, though they were extremely liberal; we will give a transcript of them.

“Freedom of religious worship, and the public exercise of it, is guaranteed. If any disturbance should be made in using this privilege, it will be repressed.

“No one shall be compelled, in any way whatever, to take part in any religious ceremonies, or to observe the days set apart for such purposes.

“The State has no right to interfere in the nomination or installation of ministers of religion, nor to prevent them corresponding with their superiors, and publishing their acts. In this last case, they incur the ordinary responsibilities of the press and of publication.

“The salaries of the ministers of religion are at the charge of the State, and will form part of the annual budget.

“The Belgians have the right to form societies, and this privilege shall not be subject to any preventive measures.”

That the clergy, who had given either a voluntary or a forced assent to these provisions, have been much disappointed in their expectations, none can doubt; for Protestantism, which they thought had died with the fall of the Dutch dynasty, took advantage of the liberty insured by the constitution, to propagate its doctrines, to form various religious societies, and colport the Holy Scriptures, and succeeded, by the blessing of the Lord, in spreading abroad the vital doctrines of Christianity; and about twenty new churches have sprung up in Belgium, principally composed of pious proselytes from Popery. The liberal party, though Papists, became united in strenuous opposition to ultramontane principles, as long as the liberal and clerical parties were not clearly defined, and neither had expressly stated their views. Union was maintained, though with mutual suspicion. Various differences, how-

ever, quickly took place, conflicts ensued, and now the allies of 1830 are at open hostilities.

Trials had frequently been made in the Chambers, in order to ascertain to which of these parties power should belong; it ended by the liberals being conquerors. The clergy saw with grief and indignation that temporal power and influence had left them, and could not hide their discontent; but, sooner than abandon the field of battle, they entered upon a struggle with the Government, of which no one could foresee the result, or calculate the consequences. It was on the ground of public instruction, the education given at the expense of the State, that the clergy exhibited a spirit of the most deplorable intolerance and exclusiveness. Some years before, under a mixed ministry, a law regarding elementary schools was voted, which was extremely favourable to clerical domination. Every school which was supported, either in whole or in part, by the State or the commune, was compelled to have the religious instruction given by a priest. It was entirely confided to him; but if he, from some motive known only to himself, refused to come to the school, and the bishop did not send another priest to replace him, the school immediately ceased to be communal, and became simply a private institution, and had no longer any claim to the subsidy allowed from the public purse; and the bishop had no account to render of his determination to any one. How little soever the ecclesiastic might be dissatisfied with the choice of books, or with the professors, or should he find he cannot govern the school according to his own will absolutely, he could close the establishment, and there were no means of obtaining any redress. Having obtained such success, the clergy flattered themselves that they should obtain the same advantages in the law regulating the "Enseignement Moyen," or second stage of education. But strong clamour and numerous objections having been made against the intolerance of the law voted, the liberal ministry in power since 1847 were led to propose a measure, of a less objectionable character, on secondary education. They proceeded, nevertheless, very slowly, and during the discussion of the bill they admitted all the amendments consistent with the maintenance of religious liberty and the independence of the State. But the blow was struck, the law was voted, against all the clamour of the clerical party, and the protestations of all the bishops and the court of Rome. It provided that the priests should still be called upon to give religious instruction, but their retirement should not in any

way cause the suppression of the school. The ministry deferred putting the law in force for some time, in the hope that, when the excitement of party feeling had passed away, the clergy would avail themselves of the advantage of being the official religious teachers in the schools. But this did not satisfy them, they refused it, and again protested; and in a correspondence between the Minister of the Interior and the Archbishop—the organ of the whole episcopate of Belgium—the objections of Popery against the new law are formally stated. We will mention the principal.

1. The clergy *reject* being called, as any favour; they claim *the right* to enter the schools. They are the spiritual authority, and, as such, command; they do not receive their mission from the State—this is to be clearly understood.

2. The introducing dissenting or Protestant ministers into the colleges, to teach the pupils of that faith, violates the principles of Romanism, and, consequently, is contrary to its liberty.

3. No guarantee is given as to the choice of books, or professors, so that the instruction may be homogeneous in all its branches.

4. They will not submit to the rule, that if the priest should retire, from some particular reason, known only to himself, the religious instruction should be given by a layman.

The clergy do not acknowledge themselves in possession of religious liberty, until they can interfere with the educational establishments *by virtue of their own authority*, expelling from them the *dissenting ministers*, and receiving guarantees that *professors and books shall be chosen according to their views*. If they fail in obtaining their demands, they exclaim against the violation of liberty of worship, and the intolerance of the Government. The clamours they have succeeded in raising have already produced a certain effect upon timid consciences, but their accusations have lately become doubly violent, on account of the approbation expressed by the Chamber of Representatives with the conduct of the Minister of the Interior, regarding the clergy, and his correspondence with the bishop.

To this intolerance in principle, and these tendencies towards the usurpation of power, Roman Catholicism in Belgium adds, as often as it is able to do so, persecution, open and cruel. We could fill pages in relating the repeated attacks instigated by the clergy, during the last fifteen years, against the colporteurs, the schoolmasters, and the evangelists; but, in the majority of instances, the civil power has interfered for the protection of the



victims. These attacks are now becoming less frequent, and the principles of religious liberty are beginning to be understood, as well as the right of the dissenting ministers to exercise to the full their work of evangelisation. Instead of recording these scenes of persecution, we prefer quoting the words of one of the clergy, who at present enjoys much consideration in the Romish Church. M. Malou, Bishop of Bruges, before his elevation to the episcopal dignity, spoke in the following terms of William Tyndal, in the work already quoted on the reading of the Bible in the vulgar tongue:—"Obliged to leave his country, in which the heretics (the Protestants of the sixteenth century) were most vigilantly pursued, he took refuge in Belgium, where the Spanish laws were not very indulgent to men suspected of heresy. *He was burnt alive as a heretic at Vilvorde.*—(Page 178.)

This punishment is termed *a want of indulgence*, and there is not one word from the pen of the bishop condemnatory of the murder. What does it, on the contrary, stigmatise as intolerance? It is the resolution of the British and Foreign Bible Society to withhold the apocryphal books from their editions of the Bible. Three pages after that in which Tyndal is mentioned, M. Malou terms the measures of the Bible Committee *little tolerant*, and adds, a little further on, "The rigour of the Bible Society cannot be softened."

He also manifests his persecuting spirit in recording the tragic end of Cyrille Lucar, Patriarch of Constantinople. This dignitary had adopted some of the Reformed opinions, and committed what, in the sight of Popery, was the immense crime of translating the Bible into the vulgar tongue. "This publication was the cause of some troubles, and," coldly adds the new Bishop of Bruges, "the Grand Turk *had him strangled*, in order to stifle his intrigues." Further on, M. Malou considers the Grand Turk as the instrument of Providence for the infliction of a just punishment, and commences a fresh paragraph with the cruelly emphatic words—"But Cyrille, before suffering this just punishment of his apostasy," &c. Although the sympathy of Belgian priests towards the Greek Church has not been very lively hitherto, it would doubtless be soon awakened were the clergy and the people of this communion brutally to oppose the dissemination of the Holy Scriptures by the evangelical missionaries. "The people of Syra," writes the same author, "attacked the house of Mrs Leeves, and the Protestant establishments of the island. The missionary was obliged to

call in the assistance of the authorities, but so strong was public animosity, that the troops took part with the people, instead of repulsing them.”—(Page 270).

Not a word of sympathy is expressed for the victims of so culpable a violence, and not a word of blame against the people, nor the military forces, which, instead of obeying their leaders, joined the rioters. All is well in the eyes of Rome, when a tumult is excited and outrages are committed for the purpose of destroying the Holy Scriptures, and maltreating the missionaries who translate and distribute them. “The end justifies the means,” is Rome’s old maxim. But we have not yet come to the end of the bishop’s pages on this subject. “The same scenes,” says he, “were repeated in most of the towns of Greece. A young Greek perished at Para for having brought a Protestant Bible there. More Bibles were burnt in the isle of Tina, perhaps, than at Syra,” &c. “In a word, the biblical colportage in modern Greece meets with all the obstacles *it has been accustomed to encounter* in Catholic countries.”—(Page 270).

We confine ourselves to the record of this avowal. It is, indeed, excellent on the part of a bishop to reveal what the Romish clergy would do in Belgium, *a Roman Catholic country*, if the Government allowed them the power, and put the gendarmes at their disposal. We know, by the persecutions practised in Greece, what would be *the obstacles* raised in our way.

The work of M. Malou possesses an official character. It is approved by the Archbishop of Malines, its author is one of the highest dignitaries of the Church, and his colleagues in Belgium and France eagerly joined him last year at Bruges, for the purpose of celebrating with the greatest splendour the festival of *the Precious Blood*.

It is on account of this spirit of intolerant and cruel usurpation that many men, while composing the Catholic party in Belgium, and outwardly professing Romanism, are leagued against the maxims and the influence of the clergy, being persuaded that, were the spirit of Popery to prevail, the civil and religious liberty of their country would perish at once. We meet, indeed, with the following words in one of the liberal papers, concerning a motion of the Chamber of Representatives: “It signifies that there is in Belgium a compact, united majority, which has inscribed the principle of religious instruction among the laws of the State, but which is decided to repel every pretension tending to invest the clergy with unconstitutional power.”—(*Politique*, 23d July, 1851.)

## PART II.—THE OPERATIONS OF POPERY IN BELGIUM.

In order exclusively to dominate over the conscience, and to obtain political influence and wealth, Popery particularly employs—1. The religious orders; 2. Schools; 3. Festivals and ceremonies; 4. The press; and, 5. The last testaments of the dying.

## I. THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

Almost all the denominations among the religious orders are found in Belgium:—Capuchins, Barefooted Carmelites, Trappists, and especially Jesuits, also known under the names of Redemptorists and Liguorists. Some devote themselves to education, some to preaching, some to the care of the hospitals and prisons, and some to a contemplative life. They live in convents, cloisters, or otherwise, and both sexes have their establishments.

According to the yearly register of the clergy, there are about 600 institutions of this kind; 450 for women, and 200 for men. Reckoning twenty persons to each convent, which is rather under than above the real number, we find 13,000 individuals of both sexes, in the prime of life, who form the regular support of Popery, and are its sworn militia. Adding to these about 6000 secular priests, we find nearly 20,000 ecclesiastics, or persons of both sexes, devoted to a religious life, without reckoning the clerks, beadles, choristers, sextons, &c., devoted, in virtue of their position or their salary, to the propagation and the defence of the “mystery of iniquity,” in a kingdom numbering 4,500,000 inhabitants. One can imagine what power of action such a militia must have, under the government of five bishops and an archbishop, who servilely receive their word of order from Rome.

To all this power must be added that of the fraternities or associations formed among the laity, adults, and children of both sexes; associations of the Rosary, the Sacred Heart, the Good Death, St Vincent, &c.

One may number by thousands and tens of thousands the members of these associations, who engage themselves to recitations of prayers, mortifications, subscriptions, and the payment of a certain number of masses.

In the presence of such a force, it is rather a matter of wonder that Catholicism does not bind the country hand and foot beneath the yoke of Rome, than that it maintains its empire in Belgium.

## II. SCHOOLS.

Since Popery has been made ashamed of the state of ignorance in which it kept the populations under its domination, it has begun to occupy itself generally with the subject of education. The instinct of self-preservation has caused it to discover that men's minds are beginning to be enlightened, and that unless it constitute itself their instructor, they will escape from its influence altogether.

Since this period, it has directed all its attention to the subject, particularly in France and Belgium. Little anxious to impart elementary instruction to the youth of Spain and Italy, it is ardently desirous that the schools of this kingdom, and of the central European countries, should be placed under its care and directed by its ministers.

By negotiations skilfully conducted it has obtained the right of installing itself into all the primary schools supported by State funds. There is, therefore, not one commune in which the priest does not possess the right of inspecting and of giving religious instruction in the public school.

In addition to this, the Romish clergy have employed the association or order of the Christian Doctrine, to multiply its schools in all the towns, and even in the most obscure hamlets, but more particularly in those localities where evangelical chapels and schools have been opened.

After having made sure of the religious direction of the communal school, they have intermeddled with that class of establishments which appeared to them to be still more or less under lay influence, and the brethren of the Christian Doctrine, commonly called Little Brethren, or Illiterate Brethren, as well as the nuns or *béguines*, have been imposed upon the parents at the confessional, as the teachers of their children.

The liberty of worship and instruction that prevails in Belgium, undoubtedly permits any one to open an educational establishment side by side with the school of the parish, and that of the clergy, but the maintenance of such schools has usually been found impossible. The parents may send their children almost gratuitously to the other schools, where they receive the instruction adapted to their age, and are prepared for their first communion—a ceremony which Romanism and the custom of the country have consecrated as indispensable. In a private school, on the contrary, a monthly equivalent must be paid; and as these are ill regarded by the clergy, the young people who frequent them are exposed to expul-

sion from the catechism class, and to rejection at the first communion.

On the one hand is a teacher, clever, perhaps, but poor and isolated; on the other, a compact mass of ecclesiastics, supported by all the prejudices of a superstitious and false religion. The victory of the latter is not doubtful; and, therefore, not only is the formation of primary schools, in which the parents are obliged to pay, a thing almost impossible in Belgium, but those that still exist are gradually disappearing.

The small number of establishments of this nature yet to be found, only preserve their existence by means of submission to the clergy, and by seeking in every way their protection and support. We have more than once seen honourable teachers weep at witnessing their schoolrooms emptied of pupils, who have gone to fill those of the *Little Brethren*, or the *Nuns*. And more than once we have seen them burst forth into bitter complaints, and shudder with indignation at the humiliations, and even the oppressions to which the clergy subjected them, and to which they were obliged to submit, in order to avoid being deprived of the only means they had of gaining their bread. The only competition dreaded by the clergy at present is that of the evangelical free schools. Now it is remarkable that these are everywhere well attended, even by children whose parents have not yet abandoned Romanism. The efforts of the clergy are in vain, they cannot disperse the pupils.

For secondary instruction, Popery has founded establishments in all the towns, and, by means of a convention with some of the communes, has even succeeded in causing some of its colleges to be adopted and supported as public institutions, while reserving the entire direction of them to itself.

The new law regarding secondary instruction has caused this state of things to cease. But, even although this new law has opened the doors of the colleges and the schools for secondary education to the priests, these gentlemen cannot restrain their anger at being excluded from absolute authority. Rome desires an undivided sway. No idea of this can be formed without reading the *Memorial on Public Instruction*, by Mr Van Bommel, Bishop of Liège, dedicated to the Queen in 1846. It is impossible to present with greater crudity these pretensions of Belgian Catholicism to the exclusive care of the youthful population, in the name of liberty of worship.

The clergy have also their large and small seminaries paid by

Government, which, however, possesses no right of inspection or surveillance. But an institution remarkable in its nature, and, perhaps, unique on the Continent, is the University of Louvain. Free in its operations, because wholly unsupported by the State, and only receiving the subsidies of the town, and the use of the halls and buildings necessary for the purposes of study, and for the residence of the professors, it is solely under the direction of the Archbishop of Malines and the Court of Rome, and is only supported by the gifts and subscriptions of the faithful.

This novel kind of institution takes its date from the years succeeding the Belgian revolution of 1830. Its origin is owing to the distrust entertained by the clergy regarding the two State Universities, Liège and Ghent. Here, again, Rome will have all or nothing; and to be a good Catholic, parents must send their sons to study rhetoric, law, medicine, and chemistry, under the reverend fathers at Louvain. In order to rival the public and private institutions for classical instruction, the Jesuits have also founded a college at Brussels, which, of modern date, and already very spacious, becomes from year to year too small, and requires additional buildings. A magnificent edifice is now being erected there, which will admit of the chapel being converted into new halls of study.

In order to judge of the spirit which directs the education imparted, it is sufficient to say, that the Rev. Father Boone, the furious opponent of the reading of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, has been the director for many years, and has caused the institution to prosper.

There is, indeed, cause for the tears of Jeremiah to flow, when so many men calling themselves the priests and prophets of the Lord usurp authority over almost the entire youthful population of a country, in order to draw it to the feet of their altars, which Baal might well claim as his own.

### III. THE FESTIVALS OF POPERY.

These are powerful and efficacious means of retaining the people within the pale of the Romish Church.

In the *first* place, because they are always associated with the pleasures and diversions of the times, as we have already seen. For this reason many unbelievers, and persons indifferent to religion, use the following language:—"The wind of human opinion is not in favour of Protestantism. The doctrines of Calvin are

severe; they are not human. I have seen the English at home; I have a horror of their Sunday; their prejudices against the theatre are ridiculous; and their narrow spirit does not understand life aright. No, never do I wish my country to become Protestant; I should dread it as a misfortune. We like our festivals, our fairs, and the joy that follows our public solemnities."

*Secondly*, The pomp of the Romish worship, which the clergy are ever striving to augment, retains many of its followers within the Church, as well as procuring for it new adherents.

In vain we cry out to this people, "Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is not bread, and your labour for that which satisfieth not?" They would rather be deprived of bread than of these theatrical festivals, where they see brilliant costumes, and hear harmonious voices mingling with the strains of the organ and a thousand instruments. The processions enchant them above all things. They can follow the shrine of their patron saint, display the consecrated banner, and carry it in triumph amid the sound of melodious music, and a band of girls elegantly attired. Now, will not an unregenerate heart prefer these almost magic spectacles to the calm and severe tone of the evangelical worship, where only the voice of prayer and the exposition of the Scriptures are to be heard? Rome reigns as heretofore, by giving *plays* and *bread*. Yes, bread—for that is the third advantage of its festivals; they retain within the pale of Popery all those who directly or indirectly gain money by the preparation or the execution of the Romish worship. One cannot take in the whole extent of this means of influence and action upon the people. Besides those persons who are directly receiving payment, and they are very numerous, almost every art and trade is called in to assist in the performance of the Romish worship. It is a religion, we have often been told, which gives the workman bread; it furnishes him with bread.

#### IV. THE PAPAL PRESS IN BELGIUM.

This means of action, the Romish Church undoubtedly fails not to employ; but, considering the number of the clergy, convents, and fraternities, and the millions of Catholics who inhabit this country, there are few journals, periodical papers, tracts, and pamphlets published and circulated by the Romish clergy. We may affirm, that, proportionably speaking, the religious press is ten times more active in England than in Belgium. The few thousands

of Protestants inhabiting Belgium have almost as many journals and fugitive publications devoted to the defence and exposition of their principles, as the four millions of Catholics.

In some of their periodical papers, and, amongst others, the *Catholic Review*, published at Louvain, serious articles bearing the stamp of erudition appear, from time to time, upon patristic archæology and the canon law; but scarcely any upon the hermeneutical and exegetical study of the Holy Scriptures. As to the preaching of the doctrines essential to salvation, it can hardly be said to exist. The eloquence of the pulpit is regarded superficially, importance being attached to the form of the discourse, and the more or less skilful use of the writings of the fathers, rather than to the exact and full development of the words of Scripture chosen for the text.

Among the publications of the Roman Catholic press, there is not one journal to be found which is solely devoted to subjects of Christian meditation and edification; not one journal, such as the *Glaneur* and the *Chrétien Belge*, in this country; *Temoïn de la Vérité*, in France; and the *Feuille Religieuse*, in Switzerland. This deficiency is attributable to the fact, that none but the priests and their most zealous adherents subscribe to the religious papers. The writer of this statement does not, indeed, remember, during the twelve years of his residence in Belgium, to have seen, in the house of an artizan or agriculturist, a single periodical paper devoted to the subject of edification, and edited by the Romish clergy.

The entire library of persons in this grade of life is limited to a few books of devotion. The higher class possesses, in addition, works belonging to religious literature, such as the immortal writings of Bossuet, Fénelon, and Pascal; but it is rather for the sake of the style than the subjects treated of, that they occupy a place upon the shelves of the library. In general, religious works are not read.

A glance at the following statement will afford conviction of the sterility of the Belgian press in matters purely religious.

We extract, for the months of March, April, and June, the critical notices of books from the two most important monthly journals published in this kingdom, the *Catholic Review* of Louvain, and the *Historical Journal* of Liège.

A single original and indigenous work is noticed, bearing a character of scientific study. It is the second volume of Belin's *Com-*



*mentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, published at Louvain, 1851. This is followed by a little treatise on Confession, and a few works for the use of the Societies of the Precious Blood and the Immaculate Conception. All the rest, consisting only of some translations or reprints, is either of a foreign origin, or has no direct connexion with religion. The institution of religious Catholic libraries is also a thing almost unknown in Belgium. There is one at Brussels, and they may, perhaps, exist in a few of the principal towns, but they bear no proportion either to the amount or the wants of the population. It is by means of images and ceremonies that the clergy desire to instil instruction and morality. For this purpose they address the senses and not the understanding; they speak to the eyes of the body, but nothing is said to the conscience. They agitate the religious sentiment, but neither enlighten nor direct it.

The Catholic political press, on the contrary, is very active. It sends forth large daily papers in the capital, and numerous small journals in the provinces, at a low price, and edited in the same spirit. The style of all is exceedingly uniform, the clergy continually reiterating their complaints against the incredulity and impiety of the age, or against the intolerance of the Government, because it will not permit Popery to usurp the public administration, to assume the direction of all education, and reduce the dissenters to silence and inaction.

The concordat of Spain with the Pope, on the contrary, would be highly extolled—the concordat already mentioned as implying the most absolute interdiction of any other worship but Romanism.

They declaim against the intolerance of England in refusing their ecclesiastical titles to the Romanist bishops, while they openly justify the persecutions which have been recently perpetrated in Otaheite, at Rome, and at Florence.

These politico-papist or ultramontane journals are supported by certain members of the Chamber of Representatives, who are the blind partisans of the Popedom. But these gentlemen, with a few honourable exceptions, are scarcely remarkable for anything besides their unjust and violent tirades against everything that does not belong to their party; and, for want of solid arguments, they abandon themselves to the most absurd extravagances. Accordingly, one may say that the influence exercised by the speeches of the ultramontane members of our Parliament is almost null; and the system of tactics which they have followed for some years past

is by no means calculated to gain them the favour of a just and enlightened public. But this is somewhat deviating from the plan of my reflections.

#### V. MONEY OBTAINED AND EMPLOYED BY ROME IN BELGIUM.

We have already remarked that the pompous and splendid worship of Rome entails considerable expenses. This procures for the clergy a direct means of action over a numerous class, that lives almost entirely by the work which it performs for purposes of worship. Taking the musicians, painters, sculptors, and decorators, down to the owners and letters of chairs, the number of those is immense whose daily bread depends almost exclusively on the good pleasure of the priests. But, to supply these enormous expenses, proportionate resources are necessary. And that is not all. To the expenses of worship, we must add the maintenance of the monks and nuns who inhabit the convents. Then the cost of erecting no small number of churches and chapels, built without the aid of the State. One never sees the regular or secular clergy stopped in their undertakings by the want of money. Here, in full view, the Jesuits are adding a magnificent cupola to their college; and, in another part of the city, they have hired a church, of which, according to report, the rent is 40,000 francs a year.

Even while the law of the country forbids the existence of mortmain in favour of religious establishments which are not acknowledged and adopted by the State, they are continually acquiring houses and lands; and even the "*fabriques*"\* of churches under the surveillance of the Government have found the means of possessing vast properties, over and above what is known to the civil power. To give an idea of the wealth of these "*fabriques*," we will cite what has been declared in the communal council of Brussels. The "*fabrique*" of St Catherine has offered 100,000 francs towards the building of a new church, as well as to give up the ground and materials of the old one.

Then the bishops, curés, and vicaires, double and triple, and sometimes quadruple, the moderate but sufficient stipend which they receive from the government; as the Archbishop of Malines, whose stipend is fixed at 21,000 francs; the bishops, 14,000 francs; the curés, first class, 2047 francs, second class, 1365 francs; the vicaires, 787 francs.

\* The *fabrique* of a church is a sort of trust or committee, whose business it is to partition the funds received, in a regular proportion, to the priest, the building, &c.

If one asks one's self by what means the secular and regular clergy get possession of so much money, one is compelled to avow that, in addition to the considerable sums which the voluntary offerings amount to, and the perquisites, regulated by a fixed scale, one must look for some other source of revenue; and one need not seek very long to find it in the shameful transactions which take place between the confessors and their penitents, and which result in donations or testamentary legacies.

Let a man who possesses some hundred thousand francs' worth of property, which has been wrongfully gained, see death approach, and he will regard as very light the condition which is imposed upon him of reconciling himself to the Church by the sacrifice of a few thousand francs. Let the pains of the wretched man's conscience be a little sharp, and he is happy if, by the gift of these thousands, he can quietly leave to his natural heirs three-quarters or two-thirds of his fortune.

It is precisely the same if the dying man, instead of being dishonest, has been the slave of guilty passions. Donations, or pious legacies, will be proposed to him to make his peace with God, with the addition of certain acts of penance and devotion.

Persons of both sexes who, without having to reproach themselves with similar offences, have allowed the clergy to become their masters during their lifetime, particularly if they have no children, are sure to leave all or a part of their property to some priest, or to the "fabrique" of some church. Alas! this is what is seen in every country where Rome has dominion—and Belgium sees the recurrence of it but too frequently. Quite lately, a lady of Antwerp, not having any but collateral relations, left all her property to the sister-in-law of her confessor. These relatives opposed the alienation of the estate, and the matter is now before the courts; who, suspecting that the will was made under undue influence, have caused seals to be placed on the house of the deceased.

Another method of the same kind by which the clergy used to enrich themselves, was to get charitable foundations created by will, and to have themselves named as trustees. Such or such a priest accordingly became the manager of a considerable estate without being subjected to regular and sufficient control, while in the eyes of the public he did not appear to have had any object in view except the interests of the poor. The abuses on this head became so crying, that the government stirred about it; and, with

a praiseworthy severity, it now causes all the bequests of this nature to be handed over to the chest of the "Bureau de Bien-faisance" of the commune.

In order to continue exclusively in the hands of the clergy the property acquired by these artifices, the priests in their turn make their wills in favour of other priests. Only a few days since, the newspaper recorded the fact that a bishop had left his fortune to a brother bishop. At other times, the families of ecclesiastics are the gainers, and, for fear of losing their inheritance, they shew themselves zealously Catholic. And the cases are frequent where a curé after thirty years' service, begun in poverty, leaves to his kindred a hundred thousand francs to share amongst them.

How is it that, in sight of all these facts, the world does not open its eyes, and see that Popery is in reality, both in its spirit and in the means which it employs, nothing more or less than the most artful system for deceiving consciences and gaining honour, money, and favour; and that it deserves in no respect the name of religion, and, least of all, the character of being a Christian Church? When will the nations who have been so long blinded by it see it in its true colours? It is the answer to this question which will bring our present task to its termination.

### PART III.—THE PROSPECTS OF POPERY IN BELGIUM.

Our Lord has told us, "The world loves its own," and the spirit of Popery being that of the world, this spirit will maintain its influence so long as men shall love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil.

Besides, the means employed by Popery being such as generally procure success in the world—namely, reputation, power, numbers, fortune, added to the influence of a position established by the support and pay of the State and of long standing—we must expect, humanly speaking, that the "mystery of iniquity" will yet display its power for a long time. And if cunning, superstition, pious frauds, flatteries adroitly directed, and threats judiciously fulminated, ought to give prosperity to a cause, that of Rome will see its successes multiply.

We shall find a new element of durability and power for Popery in the character and dispositions of the Belgian people.

The spirit of inquiry and research in matters of religion is null

in the population, and particularly in the Flemish part of it, which counts two-thirds of the whole. They can criticise the clergy, and turn into ridicule the doings and actions of their curé—they will laugh sometimes at certain ceremonies, and will perhaps so far emancipate themselves as to deny their belief in some absurd dogmas—but no one gives himself the trouble to discover the true road which conducts to heaven.

Amongst the men who are the least under the influence of Popery, their religion consists, as they express it, in being honest men; and as to *forms*, they submit to them, at long intervals, out of respect to public opinion and for the sake of their families. How, then, can a religious reformation extend itself amongst a people, one part of which is bigoted to excess, and the other indifferent and worldly, but held in the bosom of Romanism by the power of custom, and, we must add, by that of fear? For, even in parts where the clergy are not loved, they are feared. Their rule has been long exclusive and without control, and they say it may return in full force. Its influence with the rich, the nobility, the magistracy, and the proprietors of landed property or of manufacturing establishments, is still great, because it flatters their tastes and their fancies. Accordingly, every one is afraid, if the priests are against him, of losing his work, or his custom, or his inheritance. As regards the poor, the greatest part of the help which they can hope to receive must reach them by the agency or with the consent of the clergy. In the towns, the overseer of the poor is almost always the friend of the curé, and his right hand; and, in the small towns and villages, the burgo-master must be a man of great energy if the “Bureau de Bien-faisance,” of which the curé is a member, is not entirely under the domination of the latter. Also, in the distribution of the public charities, we see continually the poor and needy, who have left the Roman communion, deprived of that which, according to the law, they have a right to receive. It is indeed rarely that claims of this sort are even listened to.

The rich and the noble, from an idea of self-preservation, generally ally themselves with the clergy. They think that without them their influence, their titles, and their property would be wrested from them. One can scarcely count *one* in a *thousand* of those who belong to this class who has dared to act in opposition to the priests' party, and who seeks the light of the gospel.

In the class of the *bourgeois*, the shopkeepers, the manufacturers, and the men of liberal professions, one finds, much more than elsewhere, a dislike to the doctrines of Rome and opposition to clericalism. It is also from this class that the party is recruited which offers the most vigorous resistance to the ultramontanes, and asserts strongly the independence of the State in relation to the Church of Rome as well as the rights of religious liberty. Nevertheless, this party gives us very little reason to hope for a genuine reformation. Liberal, it is true, in its policy as regards the Popedom, and rejoicing in everything that puts an obstacle in the way of the clergy, it neither has, nor seeks to have, generally speaking, genuinely Christian convictions. Its delight is in pleasure, fêtes, the theatres, luxury, and all that development of a superficial civilisation which multiplies external enjoyments at the expense of domestic life, economy, and religious habits. To support its philanthropic designs independently of the clergy, it will be continually setting on foot new fêtes to be given on Sundays. So, every time that the disciples of the gospel address themselves to men known as *liberals*, and make known their own opinions and the language of the Word of God on what ought to be the life of a Christian, they find themselves repulsed with more animosity than if they had been priests or Jesuits; and they are forthwith accused of Puritanism, of unreasonableness, and even of intolerance and a sectarian spirit.

Many, thinking that they would find amongst us a system of morals which would permit them to live in our religion in a more unrestrained manner, have very soon withdrawn themselves when they have known us better.

It appears, besides, that they hold, more than the poor, to their temporal position; and knowing well that Rome will pardon them sooner or later, if they return to her bosom, and that public opinion will support them so long as they have not *changed their religion*, and committed the crime, which in the eyes of all honest people is most grievous, of *forsaking the religion of their fathers*, they will not cease to be Roman Catholics. So long as this almost universal and deep-rooted prejudice against all change of religion shall continue, the future of Popery will not incur any serious danger.

It is true there are men, both in the republican party and amongst the liberals, who do their best to bring about the complete separation of the Church and State; and others, who think it

possible, under the influence of democratic institutions, to reform Catholicism, and make it return to the point where it was in the seventh century, before Gregory I. assumed the tiara, and took the title of Universal Bishop. The Pope would then be nothing more than a president, "*primus inter pares*;" all abuses would in like manner disappear, and the superstitions which the middle ages gave birth to; and the clergy would be subjected to popular election, like the public functionaries. We have heard this system set forth by men of talent and study, but we cannot at all see that such views are becoming popular; and the thinkers who have adopted them have forgotten that Rome, which is easy to deal with on questions of morals and politics, will yield nothing as to the rights of the Pope. For an instant she will know how to bend her head, in order to let the storm pass over her; but it will be to lift it up more proudly than ever, as soon as the times are more favourable to her.

Further, politicians and members of the liberal press scarcely exhibit any marked favour to Protestantism. Its doctrines seem to them to belong to an age long past, to be mystical, and to tend to a morality little in accordance with the state and wants of society. They have learned, too, that men of influence and numerous ecclesiastics in England have passed over to Catholicism, which already fills them with distrust.

And, in a political point of view, they do not consider the Protestant Church as being at all more liberal than the Catholic. They remark enormous abuses in certain Reformed churches, and accuse them of being equally intolerant with those that are under the dominion of the Pope. Ireland is the continual theme of their charges against the professed liberalism of the Protestants. Persons of high consideration in Belgian liberalism have told us very plainly that the Protestant ecclesiastics were not the friends and defenders of liberty of worship, except in the countries where they were in the minority, or only while they did not succeed in getting themselves acknowledged and paid by the State. The following article from a journal edited at Brussels, in the liberal interest, will give an idea of the exaggerated character of the complaints of this party, in its accusations of intolerance against the Protestants:—

"In England, the Protestants are acting towards the Catholics and the Jews, in the same manner as, with us, the episcopate would wish to see the government act towards the Protestants and the Jews. In England,

under the pretext of the supremacy of the Anglican religion, the parliament is exerting itself in the making of bills to hinder the Pope from conferring ecclesiastical titles on the bishops; in Belgium, under a similar pretext, the bishops demand that no state professor may be named without their approbation; that is to say, in fact, that all professors belonging to other than the Catholic religion may be excluded from the state instruction, and so on. In England, the parliament shelters itself behind a law which it might easily modify, to shut its doors against Mr Lionel Rothschild, and to drive from its bosom Mr Salomons, because they are Jews: in Belgium, the bishops demand, against the formal will of the constitution, the right to hinder pupils from receiving the religious instruction of the ministers of their own religion, in the colleges of the state, because they are Jews or Protestants!

“The bishops, above all, considering the evils which the Catholics have to suffer in England, ought loudly to proclaim the principle of complete religious liberty, instead of giving themselves up to quibblings, in order to bring about a change in the carrying out of the wise provisions of our constitution.”—(*Le Politique*, July 25, 1851.)

If you join to this cause for the unpopularity of Protestantism, the fact that Belgium has shaken off the yoke of the Protestant government of Holland, and has retained a feeling of resentment against everything belonging to its old masters, you will agree with us that the Popedom has not the least reason to fear that it will see the Belgian people turn, in a body, to the Protestant religion.

Lastly, will the Popish clergy see a reforming movement proceed from themselves? What we have said of the spirit in which they are educated—of the practices to which they are continually addicted—of the influence which they exercise—of the servitude and absolute dependence under which they are placed in relation to their rulers, and to the powerful hierarchy which directs the action of the forces of Rome, as it were, by one head and one arm—gives us reason to doubt whether a movement of any extent could declare itself amongst the ecclesiastics towards a return to the doctrines of the gospel.

Unquestionably, there is in the clerical body, and particularly amongst the young priests, as well as an ardent and fanatical party which is devoted to Rome and which favours Jesuitism, another class which submits impatiently to its servile position. It would willingly break its chains, but by little and little it is gained over and brought into subjection. The most refractory are driven away, or sent to convents to do penance. Very soon, by far the greatest number of those who have dreamed of changes, end by being calmed down and resigning themselves to their



lot. They get accustomed to slavery, and come, at last, from finding it pleasant to themselves, to persuade their young brethren to follow their example, and bow the head under the gilded yoke of the Popedom. To have reason to hope for any reform of a useful and blessed character, we must have ecclesiastics rich in evangelical light, and strong in Christian convictions. But where are the members of the Romish clergy to find these treasures? It is not in their "offices," which take up a great part of their time; it is not in each day's compulsory reading of the Breviary; and still less in their relations with laymen or ecclesiastics who are strangers to the Word of God.

The absurdity of the dogmas and rites of Romanism will render them sceptical and indifferent, and will make them cold deists, who do the work of the priesthood as the only means of existence within their reach; but, without the work of the Spirit, and a serious perusal of the Bible, it will never guide them to saving truth. Accordingly, to whichever side we turn, we see that, as far as man can judge, the partisans of Rome may feel the greatest security, and flatter themselves with the prospect of a long domination over the people of Belgium; and a few isolated defections of ecclesiastics and laymen do not hinder them at all from singing their triumph, and from continually recording in their journals that the confessional has never seen so many penitents, and that their *fêtes* and their processions have never been better attended.

Must one, then, absolutely despair of the future of Belgium, in a spiritual point of view? By no means.

Popery, being a worldly religion in its spirit and its practice, bears within itself an unceasing cause of dissolution—like everything else which is of the flesh and of Satan. The lie which is at its foundation, and which reproduces itself in its different ramifications, is the ever-gnawing worm which, sooner or later, according to the Word of God, will bring on its ruin.

Truth must eventually triumph over fraud and cunning; we have on our side Jesus Christ, *the Truth*: and the gates of death shall not prevail against the Church of his people. Now, such a church exists in Belgium; the Lord has a people and flocks there. The lamp has been set up, by Him who is *the light of the world*, upon the table of many houses. Messengers of good news are repeating, from hill to hill, the tidings of salvation; and the Church of Christ is erected amongst us, like a city set on

a lofty mountain, whither all those who, like Lot, have their souls afflicted on account of the sins of their generation, go to find a refuge.

Besides the ten Protestant churches with their schools, which are supported by the government, there are twenty Independent churches, of which the greater part, with their schools, are in connexion with the Christian Missionary Church of Belgium. Although spiritual light and piety are not to be found in the same degree in each of the congregations spoken of, one may truly affirm that most of them possess faithful leaders, and count amongst them pious members more or less numerous.

Nearly one hundred and seventy thousand copies of the Bible or New Testament have been distributed and sold, as well as some hundreds of thousands of tracts and of printed writings, containing sound doctrines of faith. Various institutions, such as regular meetings for prayer, Sunday-schools, societies for aiding the cause of missions, and that of the Evangelical Alliance, exist in Belgium, and hold their ground with a manifest blessing. But the most important is the Christian Missionary Church of Belgium, or Evangelical Society. By its past labours, which date from fourteen years back, as well as by its present efforts, it contributes powerfully to the propagation of the truth.

If the pecuniary resources of the different associations which devote themselves to the work of Christian proselytism were stronger and more commensurate to the wants of the population, one would see a much greater number of men shake off the chains of Popery and break them asunder; for, generally in every place where one has been able to open chapels and schools and to provide regular instruction, great numbers of adults and children have come to profit by them in spite of the opposition of the Romish clergy. Without exaggeration, one may put down at more than two thousand, if we add together the different congregations, the number of Romanists who at present attend the worship of the Evangelical churches; and these churches have prospered in spite of the difficulties of all sorts which have been raised up against them, and the extreme poverty and distress which they have had, and still have, to suffer.

The Protestant press publishes not only numerous edifying writings or tracts, which are distributed at a very low price, but, moreover, three religious monthly journals have been successively established, and reckon each of them a thousand to fifteen hundred

subscribers. Two of these publications are of a character decidedly orthodox and edifying.

If we sum up these different means of action, one will easily be convinced that if Popery as a whole does not incur serious danger from the Evangelical Church, it has been, nevertheless, vanquished by it in several places, which have seen some hundreds of inhabitants join together to form congregations, presided over by ministers of the gospel. Brussels, Liège, Nessonvaux, Paturages, La Bouverie, Charleroi, Jumet, &c., have been witnesses of such facts.

To what degree will the Lord, by the life-giving breath of his Spirit, continue to breathe on Belgium, and to bless the efforts of the friends of his reign? He alone knows. But this we can affirm, that to the gospel alone in Belgium belongs the glory of having burst for thousands the chains of Popery, and of having led very many souls to the glorious liberty of the children of God.

By prayer, by the dissemination of the Scriptures and of godly tracts, by the faithful preaching of the truth, by the establishment of numerous evangelical schools, and by the Christian zeal of the members of the churches, there is no doubt that the Popedom has sustained shocks much more fatal to its empire than the blows have proved which have been given to it by liberalism.

Nevertheless, on this latter side also it may have to suffer grievous trials. Popery always stays itself upon the world; but the world is inconsistent and often perfidious. It is an ancient and it is also a modern proverb, that the multitude may crush to-morrow what it crowns to-day, and Popery being at its mercy, is exposed to all the variations of popular caprice.

Besides, the avarice, the ambition, and the despotism of the Romish clergy weigh heavily upon many, who only wait for a favourable opportunity to get rid of the burden. Although in a minority, they will avail themselves of every means which political disturbances may put at their disposal, to humble the clergy, and to overthrow, wholly or in part, the whole system of the Papacy. Even the Monarchists and the Conservatives may at last come to the conclusion that the Popedom has always betrayed them, and that it is a perfidious ally, which turns its back in the day of battle. Accordingly, Popery stands upon the shifting ground of human opinion in Belgium, as well as in all other countries where the social soil is in movement, owing to political passions and the

exaltation of human reason. In short, the Belgian episcopate, by its intolerance and ultramontane pretensions, may bring on a crisis which will be fatal to it. The liberal party does not demand the overthrow of Popery; on the contrary, it professes great regard for the religion of the country. But, when one knows the men who are at its head, one may well have doubts as to the sincerity of its professions. Now, the headstrong and obstinate conduct of the episcopate, encouraged by the court of Rome, may occasion a decided schism. The Papacy is running the risk of destroying itself in Belgium by its own fault.

We have omitted all considerations drawn from Scripture which militate in favour of the gospel against Popery and the numerous predictions of the ruin of this wicked system. Powerful as they are, we leave them to the appreciation of each reader of the sacred volume. We should teach them nothing which they do not know already; or which, if they are ignorant of it, they may not learn in innumerable writings on the subject. Besides, our reflections on this head would have no more particular relation to Popery in Belgium than to the whole of Roman Catholicism established in the ten kingdoms of the empire of the west. We believe, with all our brethren, that ere long, perhaps very soon, the colossus, with his feet of clay and iron, will be smitten by the stone cut out and hurled without hands, and that the cry shall be heard over all the earth, "Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city, because she made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication."

We close by presenting the following conclusions:—

1. The spirit of Popery in Belgium being anti-scriptural, and consequently in agreement with the spirit of the world and hostile to true piety, ought to be combated by all the means which the Holy Spirit has provided in the revealed Word.

2. The mode of action and the works of Popery in this country, being in conformity with the spirit of its system, are such as ignorance and superstition on one side, and pride and worldliness on the other, can provide; and their results cannot but be carnal, and fatal to true religion.

3. The future of Popery in Belgium, smiling as it may be in their opinion who look to the wisdom of the world and the strength of man, is terrible in the eyes of thinkers—who have often observed in history, that the world is a Saturn devouring his own offspring—and of Christians, who see it condemned by the Word of God to a near-approaching ruin.

4. The Christians whom the Lord has brought together in Belgium, in his purposes of mercy towards this kingdom, on account of their weakness and their small number, as well as in consideration of the multiplied obstacles which they meet with on the road, have a claim upon the sympathy and support of their brethren who are placed in more favourable circumstances, in order to have it in their power to struggle courageously and successfully against the influence and strength which numbers, riches, dignities, and temporal power give to Popery.

5. The religious liberty with which God at this time favours Belgium, furnishes the most favourable opportunity to the friends of the reign of Jesus Christ for applying the resources which the Lord has confided to them to the propagation of the gospel, by supporting evangelical chapels and schools, and the colportage of Bibles and tracts.

6. Lastly, the influence which the kingdom of Belgium exercises over the neighbouring states, by its two languages, by its constitutional and liberal institutions, by its industry, by its situation and facilities of communication, and by the residence which it offers to numerous strangers, renders it of the highest importance that the Popedom, which reigns there up to this day, almost without control, as in one of its strongholds, should be energetically and unceasingly combated on the spot, by means of the sword of the Spirit, the Word of God, by all the disciples of Christ who have at heart the temporal and spiritual welfare, not of Belgium only, but of all Europe.

## PRESENT CONDITION OF EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANITY IN BELGIUM.

BY THE REV. LEONARD ANET, OF BRUSSELS.

THE Committee of the Belgian section of the Evangelical Alliance has called upon me to reply, as briefly as circumstances will permit, to the six following questions submitted to it by the Committee of the British Organisation:—

1. The extent to which evangelical truth is preached, and whether it is increasing.

2. The facilities for printing and distributing Bibles and religious tracts and books.

3. Educational institutions and missionary operations for spreading the gospel at home, in heathen lands, and among the Jews.

4. The chief obstacles which have to be encountered within the nominal Christian Church, as Popery, Rationalism, the desecration of the Sabbath.

5. Religious liberty—how far it is protected or impeded by the laws, and by the Government.

6. Generally, what doors of usefulness are opening before us in Belgium, and how far Christian brethren of the universal church in other lands are assisting us.

To these questions I submit the following replies for their consideration:—

### I.

My intercourse with the ministers of the Anglican Church is not of a sufficiently intimate nature to enable me to say to what extent evangelical truth is or is not preached by them; but I can safely affirm, that in all the other congregations, with but two exceptions, the gospel is preached.

Truth is making some feeble, but I believe substantial progress, in the ancient Protestant churches, in which it is taught in its purity.

Among the Roman Catholics, wherever it has found its way, truth has made a favourable, and, in many instances, a vast advance. During the last few years, sixteen congregations, without counting the chapels of ease, have been formed by converts from the Roman Catholic religion. To these, fourteen schools are annexed. These congregations may be estimated at about 4500 souls; and, generally speaking, a fervent piety animates them all.

## II.

There is entire liberty of the press in Belgium. Distinctly guaranteed by the constitution, it knows no legal restriction whatever, save that against writings recognised as criminal in every country.

Every facility is afforded for the colportage, the distribution of Bibles and of religious tracts and books, for advertisements in the papers, and notices in public places.

One only facility is wanting—that of acquiring the funds necessary for the due performance of that which ought to be done.

## III.

Throughout Belgium there exists no Evangelical or Protestant establishment in which labourers might be trained for the missionary field. In this respect, as in so many others, we are destitute of every requisite. Our only schools are for the working classes, with the exception of some establishments for the education of young ladies.

Our missions at home are:—

1. The *Evangelical Society*, or the *Belgian Christian Missionary Church*, now in the fourteenth year of its operations.

The labours of the Society are divided into five branches.

(1.) Religious publications. It re-edits or publishes tracts or religious works adapted to the wants of an awakening conscience. It publishes a monthly Review, entitled, *Le Chrétien Belge*. It publishes also a popular almanack, called *Le Fidèle Messager*. The Rev. Messrs Girod (deceased), H. Cornet, Anquier, and Dupont,

agents of the Society, have published some controversial works at their own expense.

(2.) It has a library at Brussels, for the sale of Bibles, religious tracts, and books; the only evangelical library existing in Belgium, containing the complete works of the British and Foreign Bible Society, tracts, and religious works of the Societies of Toulouse, Paris, and of Neufchatel, the writings of all orthodox authors, together with many other tracts, both English and German. This library is of the utmost importance as regards the evangelisation, not only of Brussels, but of the country at large.

(3.) The Society supplies tracts for gratuitous distribution by pious persons. It employs *colporteurs* to traverse the whole kingdom, distributing, in their progress, religious works, and impressing upon the mind the first ideas of the knowledge of salvation.

(4.) It endows schools, or gives pecuniary assistance to those congregations which already have them, but are unable of themselves to maintain them.

(5.) Lastly, it causes the gospel to be preached by ministers of God's Word. It has ten or twelve ministers, or missionary pastors, and two evangelists. It has twenty-six or twenty-eight places of worship.

Besides the regular labourers employed by the Society, the elders and deacons, and nearly every one of the faithful, may be ranged amongst those who announce the gospel to the Roman Catholics.

In a word, the labours of the Evangelical Society constitute a missionary work.

2. Brussels is essentially evangelised by three of the evangelical congregations within the city.

1. The Flemish congregation, of which the pastor, M. Von Maasdyck, was formerly a Romish priest. It is numerous, and has many members zealous for the advancement of the kingdom of God. It has a Sunday-school, but not a day-school.

(2.) The congregation of which M. Panchaud is pastor.

(3.) That which is committed to my feeble exertions.

Besides the regular preaching of the gospel, and the writings of the pastors, above all, those of my friend M. Panchaud, we ought to regard as missionary labours the establishment of Sunday and week-day schools, and the journeys of evangelisation undertaken



by members of these congregations to visit the flocks and churches without pastors.

3. The British and Foreign Bible Society has, for fifteen or sixteen years, laboured for the dissemination of the Holy Scriptures in Belgium. It has expended, and still expends, immense sums in this good work.

We have a Belgian and Foreign Society, the sole object of which, *for the moment*, is to supply the Holy Scriptures to the poor who are unable to procure them, to the schools, and to the poor congregations.

4. There is besides, at Wasmes, near Mons, a small congregation, which displays much zeal for the advancement of God's kingdom. At Louvain, an English congregation supports a Flemish evangelist for them at its own expense.

With respect to foreign missions, we have some auxiliary committees, monthly prayer meetings, and every year some few hundred francs are collected for different societies. But, so far as my knowledge extends, this is confined to Brussels.

#### IV.

The chief obstacles which evangelisation has to encounter from the Roman Catholic Church are to be found—

1. In the bigoted party, enslaved by the priests, the prejudices by which the clergy succeed in making them consider us as *impious*. They avoid us with horror, and even terror.

2. In their ignorance and superstition, both of which infinitely surpass all that the mind of a person born and educated in the Protestant faith can conceive.

3. In the profound indifférence and contempt which the Romanists entertain for religion. They are either determined unbelievers, or brutalised by materialism.

4. In all shades of Romanism and of unbelief, one capital impediment to the reception of the truth is sensuality in all its phases—sensuality is the national character.

5. In the prodigious influence of the clergy in public and private instruction; that of women belongs to them exclusively. Primary instruction is entirely in their hands. Secondary instruction, until this year, when it was regulated by a new law, was under their absolute control. The studies at the universities are

partly under their influence. Private schools cannot exist but by their patronage.

6. In the vast number of convents and monasteries of every order, and in the incredible number of priests that swarm in Belgium.

7. Lastly, the double fact, that the country is divided into two political factions, the liberal, and the Roman Catholic party; the one hating religion, especially Protestantism, the other believing it impossible to govern but by the religion of Rome.

As to the violation of the Sabbath, it is general—it occupies a prominent place in their manners and customs, individual, domestic, and social. If they abstain from work, it is but to give themselves up to frivolous and sensual enjoyments. After attending mass, every one has a right to do as he pleases. When you speak to them of observing the Sabbath, they regard you with astonishment, as if you were not of this world. Such a state of things must, evidently, prove a source of difficulties obstructing the path of evangelisation.

## V.

The constitution guarantees, with admirable clearness and vigour, these four important rights:—

The liberty of the press.

The liberty of instruction.

The liberty of association.

The liberty of worship.

No law restricts the full and free exercise of these rights; and if the Government sought to impose any restrictions, it would fail in its efforts.

## VI.

Every door is open to do good, and to announce the glad tidings of the gospel. First, in a legal point of view, since we have the four great rights above-mentioned. Besides, there may everywhere be found many who read the Bible, and religious tracts and books: everywhere you may assemble people to listen to the gospel. Could we, in the course of a year, but receive one hundred and fifty labourers, ministers of the gospel and instructors, we would engage to find ample occupation for them all, unless God should withdraw his blessing from our exertions.

We receive assistance for the various branches of the work, and for building chapels, from Holland, Great Britain, America, Switzerland, and Germany.

As to religious denominations, we are aided by members of the Church of England, the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland and England, national and dissenting, by Dissenting Churches in all countries, and by members of the national Churches of Holland and Germany. We also receive contributions towards our schools from members of the Society of Friends.

I trust I may be permitted to observe, that not only has that not been done which ought to have been done for the evangelisation of such a fortress of Romanism as Belgium indisputably is, but that even has not been done for Belgium which has been done for other countries not more accessible to the preaching of the gospel.

I would earnestly that ten times, nay, fifty times more had been done for France than has been done; I would that she abounded with evangelists and preachers of the glad tidings; but if we draw a comparison between France and Belgium, we shall find that much less has been done for the latter than for the former. I feel myself perfectly justified in thus writing, for, in the first place, I am not a Belgian, but a Swiss, and am therefore actuated by no patriotic egotism; and, in the second, I ask nothing for the congregation intrusted to me, which is able to defray all its expenses, while it supports a school, and aids the Evangelical Society.

Allow me, then, to remark, that the French Protestants have their refuges, their orphan asylums, their houses of education, their normal schools, and their theological schools, while Belgium has not even one of these establishments.

England, or rather Great Britain, has granted upwards of £12,000 for houses of orphans and for schools in France,—she has not given one pound to Belgium.

Great Britain annually expends upon France upwards of £8000, exclusive of the support she receives from the British and Foreign Bible Society, while the amount received by Belgium exceeds not £600.

One seventeenth of the population of France is Protestant—one fiftieth of the population of Belgium is so likewise.

Supposing the case that there should be, proportionally to the population, as many Protestants in Belgium as in France, Belgium

should receive—a scrupulous attention to the proportions being observed—one eighth of the amount advanced to France. But France must not be neglected in any degree for Belgium.

However, all the doors are open (will they always remain so?) for the evangelisation of Belgium, and the field has been rendered fertile even to this day, by the blessing of God.

# STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN BELGIUM.

BY THE REV. LEONARD ANET, OF BRUSSELS.

THE Evangelical or Protestant Churches in Belgium may be divided into three classes:—

I. Those of the Church of England.

II. Those composed of Lutherans and Reformed, born Protestants, forming a confederation called *The Union of the Evangelical Churches*.

III. The Churches formed of converted Roman Catholics, including the Evangelical Society, or *Belgian Christian Missionary Church*, and some other congregations.

## I.

During the winter months, the service of the Church of England is performed in seven different congregations:—two at Brussels, one at Malines, one at Louvain, one at Antwerp, one at Bruges, and one at Ostend.

In summer, there is one at Spa, and sometimes there is one at Liege. There is also in Brussels a small English dissenting congregation, of which the agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society is the pastor.

It is impossible to state the exact number of the members of these different congregations, as the population is everywhere fluctuating, and in some places (as, for example, in Brussels) it is much greater in the winter than in the summer months, and consequently diminishes in the spring and increases in the autumn. The contrary is the case both at Spa and Ostend, as at both these places the population is most numerous in the summer.

At Brussels, the number of the resident English amounts sometimes to six thousand, but ordinarily it is about four thousand. The mean of the English population in Belgium is about 5500.

Three important remarks ought to be made here.

1. The congregations belonging to the Established Church of England have no connexion with each other, excepting that arising from uniformity in celebrating their sacred rites of worship; in other respects they keep themselves separate from the other Protestant Churches.

2. The Scotch and Irish Presbyterians and the English Dissenters (with a few exceptions) frequent the Episcopalian English Church, and a good number of the English Episcopalians frequent the French Protestant Church.

3. There is no English school in Belgium; but in some boarding-schools almost all the pupils are English.

The English, and, above all, the members of the Established Church, are amongst those Protestants who the most readily place their children in these Roman Catholic schools. You will find young English females placed even in the schools annexed to convents, and where the education is solely directed by the nuns. Also, in most of the towns in Belgium you will find mothers of families, of English extraction, and born Protestants, who have become Roman Catholics after having been educated in one of these Popish seminaries, and subsequently married to a Belgian.

I mention these facts on purpose to exhort our brethren in Great Britain (and above all, the members of the Established Church) especially to point out to their children the errors of the Church of Rome.

## II.

The Union of Evangelical Congregations in Belgium conduct their service in French, German, and Dutch. They form eight congregations, and have ten titular pastors, one curate, and one evangelist.

They are situated as follows:—At Brussels, two pastors, one German and one French; three teachers. At Antwerp, two pastors; service in German, French, and Dutch; three teachers. At Dour (Hainault), one pastor, with a curate for the hamlet De Pâturages; two schools, one at Dour, the other at De Pâturages. At Tournay, one pastor, and one school at Rongy. At Ghent, one pastor; service performed in German, French, and Dutch; one school. Maria Hoorbeck (four leagues from Ghent), one pastor; one school. Hodimont-Verviers, one pastor; service

in German and French. Liege, one pastor; service in German and French; one school. Vilvorde and Malines, one evangelist; service in Dutch and French. The total number of souls belonging to these congregations may be fairly estimated at about 5000, of which, at least two-thirds are in Antwerp and Brussels. The number of children instructed in the schools is about 500.

There are several important remarks to be made, in order fully to explain the statistics of this class of congregations.

1. As to their management. Each congregation is directed by a consistory, presided over by the pastor. Vacancies are filled up by the consistory. The congregations form a confederation, which bears the name of *The Union of the Evangelical Congregations in Belgium*. This confederation has a synod, composed of the titular pastors and a deputy from every consistory. If a consistory has two pastors, it delegates two lay deputies to the synod. The income of the pastors and the expenses of the congregation are defrayed by the Government and municipal authorities.

2. As to their origin. Three of these congregations—those of Dour, De Rongy, and Maria Hoorbeck—are composed of the descendants of the Protestants who were persecuted in the time of the Reformation.

The congregation of Pâturages is composed of Roman Catholics, converted some years since, with God's blessing, by the labours of the pastor of Dour (M. Devismes), assisted by the evangelists of the Belgian Evangelical Society.

3. The others are composed of foreign Protestants, who are established in the country, or temporary residents.

The native population, really Belgian, belonging to these congregations, may be estimated at about 900 souls—the sole remnant of the numerous Protestants who were destroyed or expelled by the Duke of Alva, in the sixteenth century.

### III.

The third class of churches is composed of congregations formed almost entirely of converted Roman Catholics. They are fifteen in number, without counting the hamlets. I place them all in the same class, for four reasons:—1st, They spring from the same source, namely, conversions from the Church of Rome; 2d, They have a remarkable unity of faith; 3d, They have a strong mis-

sionary feeling; 4th, They have no connexion with the State, and they do not receive any assistance from the Government.

A population of at least from 4500 to 5000 souls is decidedly attached to these churches; from 400 to 500 are born Protestants; the others converted from Romanism.

Besides this, at the lowest estimate, we may safely affirm that about 3000 Roman Catholics habitually frequent the preaching of the gospel. Lastly, from the attendance at funerals, it is proved that, over and above these numbers, 10,000 Roman Catholics listen to the preaching of the gospel in the course of the year. These congregations have almost all of them Sunday-schools, taught in different methods; and thirteen day schools, with fifteen masters or mistresses. The number of scholars is upwards of 700. About fifty of these children are born Protestants; all the others are the children of Roman Catholic converts, or of persons still belonging to the Romish Church.

Now, if we look at these congregations in an ecclesiastical point of view, they are divided into Presbyterian and Congregational churches.

1. There are two Congregational Churches; one at Brussels (pastor, the Rev. E. Panchaud), comprising seventy communicants, about two-thirds of whom are converted Roman Catholics, and two or three hundred hearers. Attached to it is a Sunday-school, and a day-school for young girls, averaging about forty.

The other Church is at Wasmes (Hainault), comprising nine communicants, and a school attended by about sixty scholars.

2. Churches belonging to the Presbyterian form.

At Brussels, two; one French, on the Boulevard de l'Observatoire (pastor, the Rev. L. Anet). The number of communicants is about 120, chiefly converted Roman Catholics; about 500 persons belong to this congregation; there is a Sunday-school, and a day-school for primary instruction, with about fifty-five children. The administration is different from that of the churches belonging to the Evangelical Society, but the church has the same confession of faith, the same ecclesiastical principles, and is closely united with it.

One Flemish Church (pastor, Von Maasdyck), numbers about 800 souls, has a Sunday-school, but no day-school.

3. Congregations composing the *Evangelical Society*, or the *Belgian Missionary Christian Church*.

They hold the Presbyterian principles.



Their confession of faith is the *Belgica Confessio* of the sixteenth century, of which a new and very good critical edition has been recently published at Brussels, and is found in the evangelical book shops.

The congregations are twelve in number, and are situated in the following places:—

PROVINCE OF LIEGE.

At Liege, one pastor and one school; at Lize-Seraing, one pastor and one school; at Verviers, one pastor; at Sprimont, one evangelist.

PROVINCE OF HAINAULT.

At Charleroi, one pastor and one school; at Gallisseau-Jumet, one pastor, one school, and two teachers; at Fontaine, L'Evèque, one pastor, one school; at Leers-Fosteau, one pastor, one school; at La Bouveries, one pastor, one school; at Cuesmes, one pastor, one school—and this congregation is under the direction of a member of the committee residing at Brussels, and the expenses are defrayed by special gifts sent from Germany; at Tanitignies, one evangelist.

PROVINCE OF BRABANT.

At Bier, one pastor; the hamlets of Ohain, Gouvet, Vert, and St George, are united to this congregation.

It is to be observed, that the evangelical Christians in Belgium have no establishment for orphans nor for old people, nor educational houses for young men.

There are only three boarding-schools for young ladies at Brussels.

	Congregations and Pastors.	Schools and Masters.	Population.
Church of England .....	7 or 8 Congregations.	None .....	About 5000 souls.
<i>Union of the Evangelical Churches</i> .....	8 Churches.....	12 Masters or Mistresses	About 5000 souls.
Churches composed of Protestants by birth.	12 Pastors.....	About 500 Pupils .....	
Churches formed of converted Roman Catholics.....	15 Congregations... }	13 Schools..... 15 Masters or Mistresses 700 Pupils.....	About 4500 souls.



# HOLLAND.

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SOME STATEMENTS RESPECTING THE HISTORY  
AND PRESENT STATE OF HOLLAND.

BY DR ISAAC DA COSTA.



# HOLLAND.

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## SOME STATEMENTS RESPECTING THE HISTORY AND PRESENT STATE OF HOLLAND.

BY DR ISAAC DA COSTA, OF AMSTERDAM.

I AM very thankful for the opportunity allowed me of laying before my Christian brethren some few particulars' respecting Holland.

I came to England, with the cause of Israel (if I may thus express myself) in my right hand, and with that of Holland in the other; with both, at least, deeply imprinted in my heart. It was my fervent wish to co-operate, with all my power, in all that could tend to promote closer union between those whom God in his providence has united, and whom no human power, no prejudice whatever, may be permitted to separate. It is, in particular, my fondly-cherished hope, that the old ties between Christian England and Christian Holland may revive; and that these meetings of the Evangelical Alliance may, to a certain extent, be efficient to that end.

But we have in some languages a proverb—"We cannot love what we do not know."\* I fear that this saying is but too applicable to the present relation between the two countries. In particular, I should wish that my Christian brethren of Great Britain knew more than, I fear, they do of my native Holland. And very happy should I feel myself, if I were able to further, by some brief information, a better knowledge of Holland in this country, by calling to remembrance some important periods of the Netherlands' ancient history, and by bringing to your better acquaintance some particulars of her present state.

\* In Dutch—"Onbekend maakt onbemind;" lit. "Unknown makes unbelov'd."

I shall, with a single word of introduction only, mention those centuries when the identity of German extraction manifested itself in the first preaching of the gospel by English missionaries in Holland and Friesland. The English Christians, to whom we owe the first foundation of Christian churches in our country, according to the measure of the light enjoyed at that time, were perfectly well understood in both countries, when preaching the gospel in their own native tongue. Thus, the brotherly ties between the German tribes on the opposite shores of the Northern Sea, were strengthened in the eighth century by the preaching of the gospel and by martyrdom.

Those same ties of common origin were again, and much more strongly, confirmed by the blessed Reformation of the Church, or, rather, the restoration of gospel light and gospel truth, in the sixteenth century. A mother church of the Netherlands (that of Emden) found, with her renowned ministers and elders, during the persecution on the Continent, a shelter and sweet refuge in England, under the sceptre of your King Edward the Sixth, of blessed and affecting memory. The Netherlands (all united under the dominion of Charles the Fifth), very soon after the celebrated publication of the ninety-five *Theses* at Wittenberg, had already, at that time, their confessors and martyrs for the doctrines of the Reformation. The new and renewing doctrines had extended themselves, in large measure, over both the great portions of those dominions, Holland and Belgium; having been introduced on one side from Germany, on the other from France. But the chances of war too soon brought Belgium again under the tyranny of Spain and of Rome. Antwerp, Brussels, Ghent—after having been, for a time, almost entirely pervaded by sound doctrine—were subjected, by the arms of the Spaniards, to Popery. The Reformation afterwards concentrated itself within the limits of the Seven United Provinces, more generally known abroad under the denomination of one of them—*Holland*.

What do you think, my honoured brethren, of the political and religious annals of a nation, amongst whom the gospel of the Reformers made its way, and struck its roots deep, during a bloody struggle of no less than one hundred and thirty years? During fifty years, the Reformation had been preached by her confessors, in defiance of the animosity of the great, and under the promulgation and execution of murderous laws and edicts. After those fifty years (1517-66) it pleased God, who establishes kings and

removes them according to His own will, to raise up a deliverer for the oppressed provinces of the Netherlands. It was William of Orange, called "The Silent."\* (I wish I could persuade my French brethren to find out another word for this excellent surname, instead of that of *Le Taciturne*, which they are wont to use for the purpose. Our noble Prince possessed quite the opposite character to that of reserve or taciturnity. He was a man, master of his tongue, as a wise man ought to be; but far from any gloomy or unsocial cast of mind.) This was the noble instrument by whom it pleased Almighty God to commence that glorious war of eighty years between our little Holland and the potent Spain. With his four brethren of the House of Nassau, he stands in history at the head of those Protestant Maccabees, of whom one of your own poets once testified—

"The race of Nassau was of Heaven design'd  
To curb the proud oppressors of mankind;  
To fight in every injured nation's cause—  
The world's great patriots."—ADDISON.

The struggle, commenced by the five noble brethren, continued under William's sons, Prince Maurice and Prince Frederic Henry, till 1648, the epoch of the well-known peace of Munster. But, in the very midst of this fierce struggle, a new Protestant state had been raised, *born full-grown* (as a great historian, Heereñs, has expressed it)—a naval power, next to England, of the first rank—a land of refuge for every one who was persecuted for the sake of conscience and religion;—a country mighty, not only by trade and industry, but at the same time a *centre* and *focus* of light and life for the Church and for science, by means of her three celebrated universities, founded amidst the very alarms of war. Where are the names of Leyden, Groningen, Utrecht, unknown?—or those of their great luminaries, such as Voetius, Cocceius, Vitringa, and Witsius? And not only were the higher ranks and professors of science imbued in those days with the genuine Christianity of the Word of God, but a very considerable part of the nation shared that blessed privilege of a deep knowledge of the Bible—a know-

\* More properly, *the Secret-keeper*; for this gives the true sense of the Dutch word *Zwijger*. *Zwijgen* is, indeed, *to be silent*; but it also means, *to keep a secret*. And William I., being once cross-questioned by one who wished to find out the secrets of the Reformed party, very prudently asked him, *Maar kunt gij zwijgen?* "But can you keep a secret?" to which, when he answered, very readily, "O yes," the Prince coolly replied, *En ik ook*, "So can I."

ledge of saving truth—an experience of spiritual life. To give an idea of the extent of evangelical and practical religion in Holland, in the latter part of the seventeenth and the first part of the eighteenth centuries, I shall only mention the remarkable popularity of Brakel's *Δογικὴ Δατρεία*, *Reasonable Service* (Rom. xii. 1), a work on Christianity, dogmatic and moral. This book (a masterpiece in its kind), of no less extent than 2000 closely-printed pages, in the quarto size of those days, was reprinted more than twenty times. More than 40,000 copies, we may suppose, circulated in this way among all ranks of society in Holland, during one century and a half; and contributed, in a measure, to that considerable knowledge of the true Christian life and doctrine, which distinguished (and yet, to a certain extent, distinguishes) the Dutch nation, especially the middle classes. Nor did the works of native writers only, next to God's Word and the preaching of it, so eminently contribute to supply sound spiritual food for the people of those countries;—all that the times afforded of good and solid religious reading, from France, and Switzerland, from England, Scotland, and Germany, found in Holland immediately its translators and numerous readers. In the libraries, in the remembrance, in the hearts of many Christians, those works have passed from one to another, as it were by way of inheritance.

Indeed, the small territory of Holland had, during a considerable time, the privilege of a vivid sense and large enjoyment of the Christian life. From thence came those ancient sympathies between Protestant Great Britain and Protestant Holland—sympathies that were never quite ruined by national rivalries, or reciprocal complaints and prejudices. Of course, Englishmen and Dutchmen had, more than once, fearful strife, one against another, on the great waters of the ocean. Yea, it had happened (God forbid that it ever should be seen again!) that English guns, in alliance with Popish or infidel France, were directed against the shores of Holland, when, in the year 1672, such an unhappy alliance had taken place. What do my noble English brethren say of the revenge taken, sixteen years after, by Holland? It sent to your shores her Stadtholder, the Prince of Orange, the kingly defender of your kingly liberties—your and our William the Third, of immortal memory!

There exists between England and Holland, amongst many reasons for mutual affection, one in particular, which to me, especially, it could not be permitted to forget—I mean, the remarkable



protection and benevolence afforded to the Jewish nation in both countries. In Holland, a place of refuge and security, peace and welfare, was opened at the end of the sixteenth century; *first*, to the remnant of Israel persecuted in the peninsula of Spain; *afterwards* to those who came from Poland and Germany, to obtain a share in the same privileges. Seventy years later, the example of Holland was followed by England; the toleration, attempted only under the Protector, was openly promulgated and regulated under Charles the Second. King William III., by his personal esteem and affection, contributed much, both in England and in Holland, to confirm the privileges and distinctions granted to Israelitish individuals and families, on account of their personal services and riches, and of their important relations in Spain and Portugal. High respect for the memory of that great sovereign, as well as loyalty and affection in general for the illustrious House of Orange, is a distinguishing feature in the feelings of the Jews in both countries, especially in Holland.

As to the Protestant Netherlands, soon after the peace of Utrecht (1713), the nation began to share in the common fate of European nations during that century—a state of general relaxation and *malaise*, which mainly prepared the way for those great subversions that historically characterise the end of this period. In religion, a kind of lifeless orthodoxy, a formal profession, succeeded, to a great degree (among the higher classes more especially), to the strong spiritual life of former generations. From abroad, the convictions of men respecting religion and society were considerably shaken and perverted. Men of quite a different temper from *your* mighty and zealous Reformers and *ours*, influenced an important part of the nation. We were instructed, at this time, by English *free-thinkers*, German *deep-thinkers*, French *no-thinkers*. New theories, united with old party-spirit, undermined the safety of our national institutions. We learned to taste and to appreciate the fruits of the revolutionary tree of liberty. We lost our independence, our glory, our very national existence. Liberty, equality, and brotherhood, bought for a price somewhat higher than a hundred millions of guilders, brought us soon afterwards under the iron rod of Napoleon. The great events of 1812 and 1813 were, for old Holland, too, by God's blessed providence, a sign for national awakening and emancipation. Some noble patriots placed themselves at the head of the insurrection against the French tyranny. They recalled, in the name of a reviving

Dutch nation, the House of Orange, and invested it with the sovereign power. Soon after this national regeneration, the independence both of Europe and of the new kingdom of the United (Northern and Southern) Netherlands was confirmed and sealed by the glorious battle of Waterloo, where, at the side of your celebrated Wellington, his disciple and companion in war, the Prince of Orange (late our King William II.), had so important a share in the ever-memorable victory.

But it is more especially to some particulars of the spiritual and ecclesiastical history of the Netherlands that I undertook to direct your attention. Spiritual life (as was observed already) had not vanished from our population in the same measure as was unhappily the case in other countries of the Continent—for instance, in Germany. The contrary is, in various ways, apparent. Yet, in Holland, too, a mighty revival, in regard to the knowledge of the truth and the life of faith, was highly desirable, amidst the sad effects of the semi-rationalist or accommodating theology of so many ministers and professors in the Reformed and other Churches. Germany had her revival soon after the celebration of the tercentenary of the Reformation. In Holland, some few years later, an old and faithful watchman on the walls of the spiritual Zion raised the banner, by a loud commemoration of those fathers of the Dutch Reformed Churches, who, two centuries ago, defended and purified the Church from encroaching and threatening Pelagianism, Arianism, and Socinianism. The battle, then begun, continues, in different forms and with different modifications, till the present day. One of those who took, from the very beginning, and with much offence to many, an active and zealous part in that battle, was the most eminent of our Dutch poets, *Bilderdijk* (who died in 1831); a man who, five-and-twenty years before, had suffered banishment on account of his loyalty to the House of Orange. Herein he was followed by several of his friends and admirers.

Among those whose names are still remembered with distinction, in the history of this strife for the faith once delivered to the people of God, I am happy to mention here a dear brother in the Lord, a member of your Evangelical Alliance and a clergyman of the Church of England, who is to this day as far from forgotten in the Netherlands as, I am sure, the Netherlands are from being forgotten by him—the Rev. A. S. Thelwall, at that time missionary to the Jews of Amsterdam, and minister of the gospel in the

Episcopal Church of that city, who published, in 1825, a small but very important and (for the good cause of gospel truth) fruitful tract, under the title, *Turn to Him that Smiteth*, which found, at that time, a remarkable response in the hearts of many. This tract,\* insisting seriously on the necessity of a *spiritual regeneration* from above for sinful and condemned man, excited, in no small measure, the displeasure of the champions of what they call, in our times, *moral improvement*.

Five years after this publication, political events contributed greatly to a further revival, both in national and in religious feelings, in the Netherlands. The insurrection and the loss of the southern part of the kingdom (in 1830-39)—at this moment regretted by nobody in our northern provinces, and considered rather as a blessing in the way of God's providence—were, nevertheless, in their principle, and as to the question of right, the result of an odious plot, between infidelity and superstition, against the lawful government of a Protestant dynasty. The Belgian insurrection, favoured by France, and not opposed, but rather confirmed, by the great European powers—even by that of Great Britain itself—became nearly fatal to Holland's very existence. But it pleased God in those days to strengthen, to save, to raise the nation which was forsaken and neglected by all, before the eyes of their enemies. The whole Dutch nation rose up as one man around King William the First and his son, the Prince of Orange, who in ten days overthrew, in two decisive battles, the Belgian armies. Had not, at that time, Great Britain interfered with her peace-loving and politic *вето*, Belgium would have been immediately reduced again under the sceptre of the House of Orange.

But (as has already been observed) the consequences of this intervention, and the ill success of the campaign which had begun so prosperously, proved, in many respects, better than (humanly speaking) a more victorious issue could have done. Adversity, struggle, prosperity, vicissitudes of every kind, appeared to be not without many a profitable result to the people of old Holland. I remember, for instance, how the garrison of the citadel of Antwerp having been transported, according to the capitulation, to the French city of St Omer, some of us seized this opportunity for

\* It was, indeed, merely a tract; for it consisted of only sixteen pages octavo, and was sold for threepence, for the benefit of the sufferers by the inundation. When the profits were handed over to the committee, they amounted to more than £55 sterling.

sending an evangelist with Bibles and tracts to those prisoners, our fellow-countrymen. We have reason to hope that this mission was blessed to the souls' welfare of many of those soldiers.

As to Belgium, the separation of the two great portions of the Netherlands operated to produce a more friendly relation between them. The Dutch language, which is the old and original language of a great part of Belgium, is now spoken and cultivated more than ever it was under the former government. But, above all, the preaching of the gospel found in Belgium, from that epoch, a large and blessed entrance. The Protestant Christians of Holland have manifested, almost without interruption, their sympathy with this happy result in a manner to which the Rev. Mr Anet of Brussels, here present, has gladly given testimony, that, even in regard to temporal aid, the proofs of that sympathy equalled at least those of England itself.

But I intended to confine my information to a general survey of the state of religion in Holland. To that end, my Christian brethren will allow me to give some statements in figures. The population of the kingdom of the (Northern) Netherlands is calculated at this moment at somewhat more than 3,000,000. Full half that number consists of members of the Dutch Reformed Church, which, together with the 42,000 seceders from that Church, and the 9000 members of the French, English, and Scotch Churches, represents the Dutch Establishment (or State Church) of former times. The number of Roman Catholics amounts to 1,170,000 souls; in that number are comprehended the 5000 or 6000 Jansenists residing in Holland. We have more than 670 members of the Anglican Church; 54,000 Lutherans, and 9000 Lutherans of the separate (or orthodox) denomination; more than 38,000 Baptists,\* 5000 Arminians, 290 members of the Moravian Brotherhood, one Quaker, one Armenian, and 40 members of the Greek Church. The number of Israelites amounts to more than 58,000 souls, whereof 3200 belong to the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue.

The conflicts and dangers of positive Protestantism in Holland are, in their principal features, quite the same as in Great Britain. Popery (I use the word with all the consideration, love, and pity which we owe to our Roman Catholic fellow-men as individuals)—Popery is, in the Netherlands too, a dangerous enemy. In that

\* Or, *Mennonites*,—so called from Menno Simon, who suffered martyrdom at the time of the Reformation.

country too, it is used to consider means as sanctified by the end. We know her as ready at all times to acknowledge and bless, with equal sympathy, revolution and restoration, the tree of liberty and the decrees of tyranny, provided that the kingdoms of the world may be hers. On the other hand, our true Protestant faith in Holland has to oppose infidelity, in the numerous forms wherein it multiplies itself in our days, on many sides. We have particularly to struggle with that enemy on the fields of theology, as taught in our universities; that theology being, for the most part, in the power of men, of whom it cannot be said that they profess and defend the great doctrines wherewith, according to your convictions and mine, the truths of the gospel stand or fall. I shall only mention here, the doctrine of the true and personal Deity and humanity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ—the Trinity in the Unity of God's essence—the Atonement for our sins by the mediatorial and expiatory sufferings and death of our blessed Redeemer on the accursed tree.

But in the domain of the lower parts of the public instruction of youth, we have also an important question to debate between those who advocate *separate schools* for Roman Catholics and for Protestants, and the defenders of those *mixed schools*, in which the history of the world, and of our Protestant country, is not allowed to give any offence to the Roman Catholic; nor is the Christian element permitted to influence public instruction further than may seem good to the Christ-denying Israelite.

I am happy, nevertheless, to observe that, notwithstanding the undermining tendencies of false and infidel science, of idolatrous enthusiasm for human art and industry—notwithstanding the manifold opportunities for dissipation and sin—the Dutch nation has conserved in her bosom, in some respects, much of the attachment of their fathers to a positive Protestant faith, opposed both to Romanism and Rationalism; and that, indeed, this attachment is rather increasing, both among the higher and among the lower classes of society. Where Christ crucified is truly preached, the multitudes are always seen thronging the churches, with manifest preference. Among our younger ministers of the gospel especially, a return to the old doctrines (but with new and fresh development and light) is everywhere to be observed. At the same time, the voices of laymen in the Church are become, in these last years, more loud, more clear and audible, in the defence of the great fundamental doctrines which are intrusted to the Christian

churches in general, and in particular to the Reformed Church. Among those voices, we have to mention the testimony of some of our distinguished statesmen, who deem it a great honour and privilege to confess Jesus Christ, as the only true foundation of salvation and happiness for nations and governments, as well as for individuals, in the midst of the Assembly of our States-General. Nor must we wonder that faculties and capacities, which, in your country, would be honoured next to those of your Pitts and Burkes, when associated with the confession of Christ, are but too often the more obvious to that bitterness and scorn which are the portion of the true confessors of the gospel. Among those eminent Christian men who are members of our Dutch Parliament, I am happy to mention my excellent friend, Groen van Prinsterer, the celebrated editor of the *Archives de les Maison d'Orange*, and an eminent statesman, both in theory and practice. I am happy also to be able to mention, at the same time, the increase and progress of Christian institutions, on the same blessed principles as Ragged Schools, Magdalen Asylums, Prayer Meetings and Associations for the welfare of Israel, and the like.

When commending, finally, to the prayers of Christian brethren in Great Britain, the spiritual and national welfare of Holland, I beg leave to remember a voice that came some time ago to this Evangelical Alliance from our Dutch Asiatic colonies. The prayers of Christians have been asked for a powerful preaching of the gospel in the Indian Archipelago. I gladly declare among you that this voice has been echoed by a great many confessors of the Lord in my native country. But, when pressing on the hearts and consciences of English Christians this important matter, I feel the duty of adding another wish to that which has already reached this Evangelical Alliance;—that never, and nowhere, the intervention of English Christians, with their prayers to God and exhortations to men, may be interpreted as connected with any political aims or worldly or national ambition whatsoever; yea, that our English brethren, in pressing upon the conferences both of their own countrymen and of their Dutch fellow-men, the duty of evangelizing their colonies, may be the very first to protest against any transgression of that holy law of God, written equally for nations and for individuals—"Thou shalt not covet."

Finally, may I be permitted to wish that in our days, more than ever before, Great Britain and Holland may meet each other,

and be united in the same efforts for promoting the gospel of the cross, and the glories of the kingdom of God and his Christ? Yea, if it be indeed the sense and meaning of the prophetic Word, that Christian nations on the occidental shores of the ocean shall carry the sons of Jacob in their vessels to the promised land of their fathers, that they may, at last, look upon Him whom they have pierced, and adore their King in his beauty and his glory—may it be those two of old united nations, Great Britain and Holland, to whom that glorious mission shall be committed, of bringing about, under their united banners, those events of the glorious future, which shall prove so unspeakably blessed to the world at large. Amen.

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# GERMANY.

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# GERMANY.

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## ON THE RELIGIOUS STATE OF GERMANY AND ITS INFIDELITY.

BY THE REV. F. W. KRUMMACHER D.D.,  
MINISTER OF TRINITY CHURCH, BERLIN.

IN being requested to give a description of the religious state of my native country, I feel as if I had to describe "a new fall of man." I am almost inclined to use the lamentation of the prophet, when he says, "How art thou fallen, thou beautiful morning star!" The religious history of my people is described in the 16th Ezekiel; nevertheless, the chapter ends with the promise of the Lord, "I will remember my covenant with thee in the days of thy youth, and I will establish unto thee an everlasting covenant." The Germans being of a more contemplative disposition than other nations, received a mission in the kingdom of God conformable to this peculiarity. This may be seen from the manner in which the Romish hierarchy depended upon its German dioceses, which were well noted for earnestness and fidelity in faith, as upon the strongest barriers of its power and government. In the middle age, the flower of Paradise in its holy mystery, unfolding itself in literature, paintings, and architecture; and again the work of the Reformation—which proceeded not so much from cool reflection, as from the warmth of the inmost feelings of the heart, with its deep theology piercing into the inmost recesses of the Word of God; and then their holy and heavenly hymns;—all these considerations put it out of all question that the Germans, beyond others, are a people of Christian depth.

The German people first began to swerve from the holy path into which the Lord himself had directed them, in the last quarter of the first century of the regeneration of the Church. Luther, that bright light of German Christianity, and the middle point of

its nationality, had scarcely left his platform, than it appeared as if he had taken with him a great portion of the regenerating spirit that rested upon him, and which, like living water, had flowed from him upon those who surrounded him. A sudden stoppage began to take place in the living stream which till now had run through the young Church. The holy warfare had been accomplished, and the result was a glorious triumph. Confessions and sacraments, in the primitive Christian form, were the booty of this triumph, of which the victors were most justly proud. There was cause of rejoicing for what had been gained, and anxiety was likewise needed for its conservation. But it was also necessary to be preserved from the temptation of looking upon the outward possession of the regained treasures of the Church, as a sufficient reason for inward quietude respecting future judgment and eternity itself.

The evangelical treasures of grace are not the possession of man by general inheritance of the Church, but only by an inward and spiritual regeneration; unfortunately, however, this simple truth was placed in the background of the conscience of Church members; and the false opinion, that they already possessed, in the form of the purified Church order, that which makes one acceptable and pleasing before God, had gained the ascendancy. The gospel was treated, by degrees, more and more as a law; and the transition was found the easier, as, by the formation of the Protestant states, the *juridical signification* of the confession gained ground. We admire the works on doctrine which were produced in Germany in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; but we mourn over the one-sided views with which the religious interests, by degrees, turned exclusively to the intellectual and scientific side of Christianity. The period of formal stagnation and blind orthodoxy entered the Church. The flag of truth widely unfolded itself, but there was neither bloom nor blossom under its shade. The lights of knowledge shone clearly from the heaven of the Church, but as cold stars of the north pole, and not as the bright sun, producing life, and fructifying it.

Amidst all the brilliancy of knowledge, there prevailed throughout the parishes a spiritual death, and a want of discipline was in all ranks the order of the day. The degree of religious stagnation which then reigned in Protestantism may be seen in the mighty reaction with which a single attempt to create a revival in the dead Church was received. That man of God,

John Arndt, the celebrated author of *True Christianity*, who preached the necessity of a new birth and regeneration in order to be saved, was obliged to see himself considered, by his own Church, an enthusiast and a fanatic; and amongst all the theologians of his time, it was the excellent John Gerhardt alone who dared to stand up boldly as his defender. No better fate, nearly a hundred years later, awaited Philip James Spener, who was so richly imbued with the Spirit of God. This man, who only aimed at a living and practical Christianity, declaring that the Christianity of the head and tongue would never save a soul, and preaching this simple and clear truth, was soon branded by his fellow-men with the name of "The Father of the Pietists." He found his most bitter enemies, not among Libertines and Antinomians, but where they certainly ought not to have been found—among the honourable ranks of his orthodox collegians!—yes, among the theological leaders of his Church.

Until this time, the oppositions and dissensions existing in the Protestant Church were confined within the pale of its Confession. All parties were of one opinion as to the infallibility of the Confession. The nature, and not the object, of saving faith was the topic of discussion. The question was not *if*, but *how*, one must believe, to be saved. The time, however, was not far distant, when the antithesis was still more dangerous. The more theologians were accustomed to treat the dogmatical subject in only an intellectual and scientific manner, so much the more the danger appeared of their entering into a scepticism for which they were the less prepared, as they were wanting in those weapons of defence and preservation which an inward experience of saving faith affords.

It is remarkable, that even the later heirs of the former pure and sound evangelical principles of Spener (against either their will or knowledge) contributed their mite in preparing the cradle for the monster Infidelity, through which we shall soon see the German Church laid waste.

They were the means of so doing, being governed by their zeal in defending practical Christianity; for they not only began to speak of the Church symbols with a certain indifference, but also took upon themselves to discern arbitrarily in the pale of Christian knowledge between essential and non-essential, and altogether to value religious knowledge less than they ought to have done. The seed of unbelief did not, indeed, as yet, lie in this opposition

of the Pietists to Church dogmas; but, nevertheless, this conduct rendered the entrance of this monster the easier which broke in from without.

England sent us her Naturalism, and France her Deism—principles which bore in them the seeds of all negative theories of later times, and which very quickly found on German soil their organs in such men as Edelmann, Barth, and others, on the frivolous side; on the more serious one, Mendelsohn, Reimanur, and Lessing; and, added to these, Frederick the Great, the royal protector and most potent propagator of Infidelity.

These so-called free opinions spread with the rapidity of wild-fire. They found no opposition, neither in a constitution conformed to the nature of the Church (to which, as yet, in most German provinces it had not reached), nor in a union of the members on Church doctrine; for this had been rendered disgusting to them by the sinful and fleshly manner in which the theologians had treated it for so long a time. The old Church doctrine was given up, in a light and trifling manner, for the new wisdom, that represented human knowledge as a sufficient fountain for all truth, the free will of man as the independent factor of all moral good, and which bound salvation to the good works of man, and knew not how sufficiently to praise the natural goodness of the human heart.

Thus the doctrines of the Church in her most essential articles were denied; and even if this denial did not so distinctly appear in the whole, as upon the platform of theological science, and in the literature of the day—and, indeed, if apparently their proper worth was left to the symbolical books—it was only because an anxiety was at that time felt lest all the members of the Church should not have reached that degree of intelligence which would make them capable of accepting and valuing the new interpretations of Scripture.

The German people were indebted, besides, to their own natural, deep, and religious feelings, and to scattered voices in the wilderness, which in a happy hour warned them against the fall upon the brink of which they stood, that they were not immediately drawn away to join the radicalism of a Shaftesbury and a Tindal, and the libertinism of a Voltaire.

Among men who prevented the nation from falling, I name not only Hamann, Claudius, Gellert, and Lavater, but also the philosopher Kant, who, to judge him according to Christian

principles, was a heathen; nevertheless, as the consistent representative of practical reason and conscience, he was, in the hands of God, a blessing—indeed, a sort of new Moses, and a school-master to bring men to Christ, through his Categorical Imperative, which persisted in morality and virtue.

Theology, both scientific and popular, now appeared for a long time as the slave of Kant's philosophy, thus robbed of its dogmatical contents, and in possession only of three ideas—God, Freedom, and Immortality; which Kant supported, as the postulates of practical reason.

This theology was believed to be far above Church doctrine, as above an absurd web of nonsense; and whenever it met with an article of the same in a biblical text, it knew how to bend it out of the way, or to turn it into a trivial commonplace of the so-called Natural Religion, through all kinds of artful interpretations.

Rationalism—or that form of theology which vindicated human reason as the supreme authority in religious subjects; denied supernatural Revelation and the necessity of salvation to man; disputed that God was able to work miracles; and only accepted Christ as the teacher of natural religion and of a better morality; ascended from the middle of the eighteenth century in Germany to such an extended dominion, that the few isolated believers in Revelation began seriously to fear that the Lord might have determined entirely to extinguish from his holy temple the light of the gospel.

It is true, that a reaction against the negative principles of the times was not wholly wanting. I only name the preachers in the wilderness—Klopstock, Gellert, Hamann, and Claudius. These men only found in small circles a willing ear, and were not able to stem the flood of unbelief which continued to rage with such rapidity. The new school of philosophy, of Fichte, Jacobi, Fries, and Schelling, brought the hitherto despised Christianity so far again into honour, inasmuch as they valued many dogmas of the Holy Scriptures, and likewise the Church theology, which the unbelief of the times had driven from them, as symbolical envelopes containing deep thoughts worthy of fresh attention; or, as they termed it, they received single forms of Scripture as welcome vessels for a new train of thought. If this philosophy did indeed assist in paving the way for a return to the gospel, still it was but in the circles of the higher and more instructed classes;

and they gave to Christianity only a negative value, as, notwithstanding all appearance of acknowledged Christian ideas, they still held fast to Antichristian principles, stating that, besides the knowledge which dwells in the human spirit, there was no other truth, and that, as truth, they could only accept what was already to be found in an enlightened conscience.

The enthusiastic reception which the first French revolution likewise found in Germany (it being regarded as a glorious triumph of true humanity) is significant of the degree and circumference in which Christian principles were already buried in this nation. Notwithstanding, God had not abandoned his backsliding people. He now made them feel the anger of his love, and permitted the severe judgment of foreign tyranny to come upon them. It was, it is true, for a long time that one was obliged to exclaim, "Thou chastisest them, but they do not feel it." A clear or a misty knowledge of wrong, however, awakened up in thousands, and God permitted grace to anticipate justice, and glorified himself in the victories of the War for Freedom.

A sudden change of sentiment favourable to Christianity now took place among them. The hand of God was acknowledged in their miraculous deliverance from the Gaulish tyrant. They gave glory to God, and confessed with repentance the guilt of their apostacy from him and his holy Word. A decided desire was soon manifested to return to the gospel, although, to the mass of the people, it was as enveloped in clouds. However, the cross of Christ was again the sign to which all pious feelings turned. Poets, such as Max von Schenkendorf, and others, gave wings of expression to their dark feelings. One man, however, lent them a more positive substance, conducting back to the proscenium the almost forgotten historical Christ, if only considered as the most perfect flower of humanity, and as the sinless ideal of all human excellence. Notwithstanding, he raised him to the centre of all religious knowledge, and recommended him to the love and enthusiasm of his contemporaries in a manner which struck the mockers dumb, awakened the indifferent out of their religious apathy, not only satisfied the Rationalists, but even sometimes, in a certain degree, baptized them as with fire, and on many sides awakened new sympathies for Christianity, theology, and the Church. This man was Schleiermacher. It is true that his theology was far from being identical with that of the Bible and the Church. On the contrary, it again presented itself as a Christian rationalism,



setting aside its pantheistic inclination; it was justly reproached for not understanding the nature of sin, for seeing only a sinless man in the person of Christ, and for not leaving one of the Church doctrines untouched—esteeming them as given not from God, but as expressions only of human knowledge and piety. Notwithstanding, Schleiermacher's merits in relation to the spread of the Redeemer's kingdom are beyond all question; for, first, he reconciled science with religion—he verified the axiom, “that true science cannot be irreligious;” secondly, he prepared the throne again for Christ, as the moral regenerator of the world, in the hearts of the people; and, thirdly, he gave the first impetus to a new and deep-believing theology, as his scholars, Lücke, Nitzsch, Twisten, Sack, Tholuck, Augustus Neander, Julius Müller, and others, prove.

The jubilee of the Reformation, in the year 1817, afforded a most joyous spectacle for a promising religious elevation of the people. But, at the same time, a severe conflict came with the jubilee, which brought to light how very little, in general, the conscience had been awakened to discern in what the true spirit of Christianity consists.

Pastor Harms, in Kiel, proved, in his celebrated thesis, the contrast between the rational theology, not only of Brettschneider, Wegscheider, and their party, but also in many parts of that of Schleiermacher, and Christianity, while he drew the attention of the public to the perfidy of which numberless preachers had been guilty, through denying the symbols of their Church. This conflict—to many, a conflict *pro aris et focis*—was combated by them with the greatest bitterness, and thus became a blessing to the Church, as it brought again to light, out of the realms of forgetfulness, the eternal and fundamental truths and facts of salvation, and in this manner shewed to thousands the sure coast on which their longing souls could cast anchor. Yes, my brethren, if theology began from this period to form itself more positively, an impetus thereto had lain in the Church emotions which the thesis of Harms called forth.

Notwithstanding, if we compare the later progress in Germany with the high expectations entertained after the War of Freedom, we cannot conceal that those expectations were far from being realised. We will not here seek the reasons through which it was possible that an apparently promising religious movement could so soon be at a stand-still, and, indeed, for the mass of the people,

turned quite on the opposite side. Enough that this did indeed happen. The promising and lovely spring decayed without bringing forth the anticipated harvest. A lovely unfolding vine brought forth more briars and thorns than grapes.

After the vulgar rationalism had been deprived of its citizen right through the deeper school of philosophy, and particularly through the theology of Schleiermacher, the philosophy of Hegel obtained ascendancy, and pretended, with great assurance, to have exclusive sovereignty in the empire of thought.

Under the pretext of affording new supports to Christianity as the absolute religion, he imperceptibly perverted it into his own negative creed, presenting such a solution of certain conflicting ideas—God and man, here and hereafter, death and eternity, holiness and sin—that he deified man, denied a hereafter, set aside the immortality of individuals and only vindicated the immortality of the race in general, and represented sin as a passage to virtue. From this philosophy proceeded the faction of Radicals, those violent opponents of all holiness, who were generally called “the left-hand school of Hegel.” Among the leaders of this school, David Strauss is the most celebrated. He was the man of whom it was once justly said, “That he received the gospel wounded and bleeding from all its veins, and that he had been the Antony who took away the garment from Cæsar, so that all could perceive the wounds with which the holy body had been pierced.” Men such as Feuerbach, Bruno, Bauer, and Arnold Ruge, deserve the sad glory of having surpassed Dr Strauss in the boldness of his negation. After these men, who themselves possessed no kind of Christian principle, had, as they thought, gnawed the Holy Scriptures with the piercing tooth of a demoniac critic, they preached their new pantheistic heathenism from the roofs. In making self a god, and in deifying that beloved I, they robbed God of his personal deity. They called futurity the last enemy which is to be destroyed. They applauded the emancipation of the flesh, and presented to the world a material Utopia, instead of a heavenly blessedness. Thus the unbelieving theology had reached its summit in Germany, and had arrived at entire Antichristianism. What God’s holy Word predicts has been verified: “The sons of Adam, thinking themselves wise, became fools.” The more boldly unbelief appeared, the more believing reaction was fortified.

In the newest battles of spirit which are fought in German science, it is not the question if this or that Christian doctrine is

still to be esteemed, but if the whole Christianity—yes! if general religion—*is to be* or *not to be*.

I am now arrived at that point at which I must bring before you the subject put into my hands. I am to inform you of the Religious State of Germany, and particularly of the reigning Infidelity in my native country.

This monster appears in Germany principally in three different forms—as *Indifference*, *Rationalism*, and *Radicalism*. First, we find especially an indifference to all that is called religion in that mass of people with whom care and anxiety for daily bread exists. In this so-called *proletariat*, particularly in large towns, this indifference often borders on animal stupidity; the material wants fill the whole soul. The just complaints against the clergy lie principally in this state of things. Here the revolution gains with but little trouble its army. Nevertheless, in this sphere of labour the Home Missions have of late displayed their works of love. The number of the indifferent are, however, unhappily not less in the circles of the well-instructed, and particularly among State functionaries. Besides that time which is necessary for the fulfilment of their official duties, they have but barely sufficient left for the more trivial dissipations which they find in literary and political lectures, and in social intercourse. In regard to all higher interests, Pilate's question reigns—"What is truth?" They believe that they are able to infer from the religious controversy by which they are on all sides surrounded, that in the region of supernatural things nothing certain is to be learned. They therefore consider it wiser not to enter upon their consideration, and passively to await what is once to be revealed as truth or as a lovely dream.

Nevertheless, the German race are too religiously disposed for us to entertain any fear that religious indifference should ever entirely prevail. Indeed, it does not prevail in Germany. But vulgar Rationalism, although refuted by science, still triumphs.

The being of God and an existing Providence is believed. Christ is looked up to as the wisest of men and the greatest teacher of morals. It is believed that true Christianity consists in the fulfilment of his commands, and salvation is expected as the reward of good works. These are the fundamental elements of the miserable theology which, up to this very hour, is done homage to by the greater part of the German clergy, either openly or under a veil. And this theology unhappily reigns in the greater part of

our parish and grammar schools. It forms the highest religious sentiment in the literature of the day. It was up to the latest times favoured by most German governments in opposition to the true Church doctrine, and therefore we cannot wonder that it has become the theology of the people. Millions believe, in great simplicity, that with this theology they are good, nay, indeed, the only true, Christians, and imagine that they are fighting for the gospel in arguing against the doctrines of the Holy Trinity, the fall of man, the sinful state by nature of the human heart, the divinity of Christ, and likewise reconciliation through his blood, as against pietistical mysticism and mere nonsense.

There are others, who, indeed, well know that the Holy Scriptures do contain doctrines such as above described; but they imagine that they possess, in their bare and mean dogmatic notions, the pure and true kernel of the Bible, divested of the local, temporal, and national shell. It is quite natural that these people should not be distinguished by a love for God's house. According to their opinion, they require no religious instruction, as all religion conducts them back to such easy and comprehensive ideas. A so-called orator of the day, who shares their enlightened views, perhaps draws their attention for a time. True orthodoxy is unpalatable to them; if even it approaches near them, it is an object of dislike and hatred.

In Berlin, which contains more than 400,000 persons, not more than 20,000 visit the house of God. The remainder, as far as our judgment allows us to infer, are, with more or less knowledge, attached to vulgar Rationalism.

There are German provinces, such as the duchies of Saxony, both the Hesses, Oldenburg, and others, which, with but few exceptions in preachers and parishes, are quite in a state of Rationalism, and have lost all idea of anything scriptural. They are now enjoying the fruit of the so-termed "enlightened work" with which, during half a century, universities, schools, and literature have been occupied. The symbolical Church books, without having been officially put aside, are buried in entire forgetfulness to these people. The Church catechisms, in nearly all parts, have been compelled to give way to insipid books of instruction upon the Christian religion. A similar fate has also fallen on the beautiful hymn-books of better times, in nearly all the German provinces.

Works, such as *Hours of Meditation*, by Zschocke, which only

play with the miserable ideas of natural religion in colours dyed with Christian phrases, and which are more suited to the satisfying of æsthetic sentiments than to those of true religious need, have taken the places of the good old collections of sermons.

In short, a popular philosophic inundation of the most shallow kind, which bears nothing of true Christianity but the assumed name, covers up to this day an immeasurable extent of the ground of the German Church. Millions are swimming unconsciously away with this stream of Rationalism; and they imagine it a dark fanaticism if any one, doubting, dares to inquire, if with such views they are in harmony with the gospel of Christ, and if they can possibly reach the desired haven thereby.

Of late, however, vulgar Rationalism, in a new form, of the most dreadful development, has appeared. Partly driven by its own consequences, and partly drawn away by influences from without, this Rationalism has developed itself among the people in a religious Radicalism.

The left-hand school of Hegel knew how to find its way among the lowest classes of the people, by making its philosophy popular, in a flood of pamphlets, novels, romances, &c. In consequence of this, it is natural that Atheism, which opposes religion in every form, denies the existence of God, personal immortality, and the moral order of the world, should spread further and further. This secret of wickedness had long sneaked about in darkness; but no one would credit it, up to the year 1848. Since then, truly we have been convinced of the contrary. It is true, that Atheism in the lower classes appears as a plant, proceeding more from political interest than as a proof proceeding from a clear self-judgment. Not only Christianity, but religion altogether, is in the way of verifying the democratical, social, fantastic world, which has been juggled into the people; and therefore they perceive, in the decided negation of all religion, the first step to their desired aim. A man belonging to the working class, in my own parish, to whom I wished to pay a pastoral visit, received me with the following words: "I have nothing more to do with the Church and her preachers. That time is past. Religion is an invention, to press down the people. For the purpose of gaining us more into their thralldom, they preach to us about a God who does not exist; and to keep us down, and make us satisfied with our oppressed state, they comfort us with the hope of a heaven in which they themselves do not believe. The days of our minority

are over, and we are no longer to be held in by the fable of a supernatural world. We are now aware that the *hereafter* of which you preach is but a dream. We all live in this world only, and we are looking forward to a time when we, too, shall be privileged to live." On expressing my dismay at such principles, he continued: "Yes, sir, this is my conviction; and be assured, that my opinion is the opinion of millions; yes, we poor and despised people think thus, although all dare not venture to give utterance to their feelings."

Yet I do not believe that it has really arrived at so dreadful a pitch. But that these dangerous principles and sentiments prevail, already, in a wide extent, and daily gain ground, is the experience of all who mix more closely with the lower classes of the people. The Antichristian seed, which is sown so diligently, increases amazingly, and material preventive measures alone will not hinder it from sooner or later bringing forth more terrible fruit than we saw appearing three years ago. The so-called Free and German Catholic Churches are already arrived at this Radicalism, or are ripening more and more towards it. There are, certainly, fewer such churches than there otherwise would be, if the religious unbelief bore an organised power in it; which, however, happily, it has not, for reasons well understood. In parishes where these unbelieving spirits have united, it was more a political and social interest which brought them together than a religious one. This is indisputably the case with regard to the eight or ten thousand who assembled round the well-known Ulich, in Magdeburg and its environs.

I refrain from mentioning more minutely the single provinces in which Antichrist has particularly set up his standard; but I observe, that the same, as I have heard from reliable quarters, found an asylum not less in the pious Suabia than in the long systematically rationalised provinces of Hesse, Baden, and other parts of Germany.

A literature, diabolically insipid, and sneaking about in darkness, does not cease to nurse and fructify these principles.

Little more is necessary than that a mighty and talented personality should appear, who should set himself up as the centre of Infidelity, and represent it with energetic pathos and strong decision, and the reign of "The Man of Sin" would be amongst us in more than a state of embryo.

What is now to be the power that shall keep within bounds

and combat with this mass of corruption? Thank God, we are no longer wanting in such weapons of defence in Germany. If the dark side of my country's religious state has become darker during the last twenty or thirty years, still the light side of Christianity has become clearer and more promising. Those who have lived observingly during the last fifty years call these times, compared with those of the first years of the present century, "golden times."

A great reform has also taken place in all the universities. In most, positive believing principles prevail at present, in the theological faculty.

Naturally, this reform cannot remain without producing salutary results. For some time past, the younger clergy have entered their parishes imbued with the doctrines of the Church. The time does not appear far distant, when the representatives of the vulgar Rationalism will be wholly extinguished. Since the year 1848, a remarkable return to true belief has even been observed in the old clergy.

Governments, which formerly for the most part exerted their influence against practical Christianity, and favoured the Anti-Christian development, have at length come to the knowledge of what alone can guarantee the throne and the order of the State, and have begun visibly to alter their policy of opposing the Church. Instead of placing any obstacle in the way of the promotion and re-establishment of the true belief, they assist, to the utmost of their ability, in promoting it.

All believers feel themselves more and more induced, from regard to the necessities of their fellow-men, and from love to Christ, to unite themselves in evangelical works of love. There are now circulated through the land in immense numbers, added to no small number of periodical journals of decided believing tendency, Christian sermons, copies of the symbolical books of the Church, and newly revised edifying books of old and better times.

The Bible Society continues its work with great energy. Christian loan libraries are now and then established, and other benevolent institutions are called into life by the Inner Mission, which, I am rejoiced to say, continues to be blessed by the Lord.

If I am to name those provinces of my country upon which the eye of the Christian observer particularly rests with satisfaction, or at least with hope, I would mention that still blessed and

highly favoured Wurtemberg, with its great flock of believing preachers and practical Christians; besides this, a part of the Protestant Bavaria, the kingdom of Saxony, in which, at least among the theologians, a very joyful reformation of sentiments has taken place; and in Prussia I name the countries of the Lower Rhine, a part of Westphalia, and some districts of the provinces of Pomerania and Saxony, perhaps, also, of Brandenburg.

With deep regret, however, we must confess, that up to the present time the fruits in only a very small degree answer to the zealous efforts which have been made. It is a fact, that as formerly the theological world was devoted to unbelief, while the people held fast to the belief of the fathers, now just the contrary exists. The theological world *is* believing, or *will be so*, more and more; while in the people, Rationalism, in its various forms, sits upon the throne.

This sad circumstance finds its explanation in the following reasons:—

1st, Only few preachers, who now give glory to the gospel, preach it with that fervour and zeal which a spiritual experience of the saving power of the work of God affords. The oldest among them are driven, in many cases, to that positive position which they now fill, by observing with consternation that Rationalism, in its new form, would threaten the overthrow of the Church and their offices, with the emoluments.

The younger preachers, who have had the happiness to sit at the feet of believing teachers in the university, have, in several cases, slipped into the ready-made dress of orthodoxy, without having either scientifically or practically triumphed over the heterodoxy imbibed from their cradle. They are likewise wanting in the joyful and energetic freshness of life, through which the preached Word, as coming from the heart, must inevitably go to the heart.

2d, Pedagogy, in respect to evangelical faith, has not kept pace with theology; on the contrary, the rationalist maxims of Dinter and Diesterweg continue to prevail in most of the elementary schools.

The aversion of our teachers, in the elementary schools, to Church principles, draws not a small portion of its nourishment from the deeply-rooted prejudice, that the clergy are only striving to extend more and more their government over them. The desire of emancipation, which has seized so many of them, not a



little contributes to strengthen them in their unbelief. Thus the people in general are continually nourished with the milk of the old false enlightening, and robbed in the school-room of that good which they perhaps receive in the catechumen instruction. The teachers of the higher schools, particularly of the grammar-schools, are, for the most part, either addicted to pantheistic philosophy, or altogether indifferent to religion, and fully satisfied with the ideas of their Socrates and Plato.

3d, Added to the far-spread suspicion, that, in conducting the people back to the old religion, only secret political schemes of oppression are cherished, the Confessional disputes, which of late have brought among believers ill-will and animosity, have contributed not a little to rob their sermons of all fruitfulness.

A return to the symbolical books of the Church, which in many parts of Germany has taken place, is certainly as rejoicing an appearance, as it must be termed a painful misfortune, that the Union, which was born in 1817, is still wanting in a formal Confession. But much more to be lamented is the circumstance, that in a faction of the Lutheran Church, in opposition to the Reformed and the United, that of an Exclusive has entered into life, which bears all the signs of Christianity, except the one in the absence of which Christ and his apostles declare all other signs to be insufficient and of no avail—I mean, humble love. That which most certainly embitters the gospel to the natural man—namely, the *rabies theologorum*—has again appeared, and we continually find less occasion to use the exclamation, “See how they love each other!” which once conquered the heathen world.

Allow me to close. What is now to be done for Germany? *First*, We must increase the popular Christian literature; only these works must not be dry discussions, but witnesses which breathe the odour of life to life.

*Secondly*, We must extend the work of our home missionaries, particularly in relation to our Christian youth. We must arrange, in all parts, religious services for children, and use our intercourse with the little ones for a bridge, over which we may hope to reach the hearts of the old with the gospel of peace.

*Thirdly*, We must send gifted and zealous evangelists, who are certainly to be found among our theological candidates for the ministry, through the whole country. A willingness to receive and accept them will not be wanting. The material means alone are necessary to bring them into action. To provide these means,

we must call forth, more and more urgently, the love of believers in the name of the Lord and Bishop of his Church. If this lever is once properly awakened, I do not despair of a speedy regeneration in the German Church.

Germany is as little arrived at the aim of its mission in the kingdom of God as your highly favoured island. It will again be richly savoured, that it may savour further and further, as it has once done in old times. I hope and trust with full assurance, that the words which the prophet Jeremiah once had to communicate to fallen Judah, will be applicable to my country (Jer. ii. 2) —“Thus saith the Lord, I remember thee, the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine espousals, when thou wentest after me in the wilderness, in a land that was not sown.” Germany will once again appear in the first phalanx of the peaceful crusades for Immanuel’s cause, and the *hagiumonie* will be Prussia’s—yes! Prussia’s, with its Christian king!

## SUPPLEMENTAL REMARKS ON THE STATE OF THE UNIVERSITIES.

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR THOLUCK, D.D.  
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE, PRUSSIA.

My friend Dr Krummacher has taken upon himself to exhibit that side of the state of Germany which is mournful and distressing, and has only given a glimpse of that better day which is about to dawn upon us. The happy lot has been assigned to me, to carry out, a little further, at least, one of those hopeful points which he has been hinting at, one of the bright stars of hope for Germany. He has spoken of our universities and theological faculties; and I have the privilege of dwelling somewhat longer upon this star of hope. I do not belong to those who, perhaps, from their professional position, may be tempted to consider the university as a focus, from which alone the Spirit of God can come down upon a nation. We Germans have been otherwise taught. In those very days to which Dr Krummacher was alluding, not from the universities, but from the battle-ground of Waterloo and Leipsic, the Divine spark was kindled which was to spread through Germany. These were the schools in which our countrymen learned true divinity. But though I am far from believing that universities are the only focus from which the Divine light can spread upon a nation, yet I ask, have not you been taught, by the sad experience of a later period, how baneful the influence of a university upon a nation may become? and, therefore, Christians cannot do otherwise than look up with respect and awe to those seminaries where the ministers of the Word are to be educated, either in baneful error or in blissful truth. That dark and disastrous period to which the preceding speaker has referred, embraced not less the seminaries of our country than the rest of its institutions. If we look back to the time a little before the liberation of Germany from the French yoke, with the exception of Wurtemberg, we may say that there were, perhaps, amongst all the rest of the teachers of divinity, not more than

three or four that may be called evangelical. But how happy the change that has taken place since that time! It commenced even during our French thralldom! It was a deep sense of the necessity of a moral agency which awakened in the heart of our late king and of his friends the design of establishing in Berlin a university, that might carry out, if not the religious principle—because at that time it was not yet sufficiently recognised in its dignity—at least a moral principle, to act upon the people, in order to be able to resist the French tyrant at that period. Under these circumstances the University of Berlin was established before the French war; and even then it had, among its professors, that man whose name afterward became endeared to many an European heart—Augustus Neander, that converted son of Israel. And let me on this occasion remark, that Prussia owes a great deal of her revival in religion to converted sons of Israel. Some years ago, there were no less than four converted Israelites in the University at Berlin; and even at the present moment, and during the disastrous crisis through which our kingdom has passed, there is a Jewish professor of law in the University of Berlin, who is zealous in promoting the order of the State, as well as the interests of true religion. I allude to Professor Stahl. But I hasten to my subject, and I shall be brief.

This university having been established, it contained in itself, from the very beginning, chiefly among its teachers in divinity, some measure of gospel light: but our late king, Frederick William III., who is well known to this nation, though seriously disposed from his youth, had not yet experienced that change which leads a man to take the interests of the Church to heart, and to consider it as one of the chief duties of life to promote the glory of Christ. You remember, perhaps, that glorious word of the emperor Alexander, which he uttered, when asked whence he derived his living faith:—"The fire of Moscow was the fire at which I kindled the lamp of my faith." So would the king of Prussia say:—"Before I was humiliated, I went astray, but now, Lord, I keep thy commandments." It was only after those days of trouble that a glorious victory was given to the Prussian and Russian armies, and then it was believed that the king's heart was changed—that memorable day when, on the battle-field of Leipsic, after they had gained the victory, two emperors and one king were seen kneeling down, and offering up praise to the Almighty. That day was the dawn of the new light of true religion which

was breaking forth upon our country; for, after that happy change in the heart of our monarch was effected, it became one of his principal cares to see his universities provided with professors of the Truth; and after the lapse of ten years this was to a great extent effected.

But that university on which the theological education of most of our youth depends—the University of Halle, to which I have the privilege to belong—that very university which has, in two memorable periods of our ecclesiastical history, decided, as it were, the faith of the Protestant religion in our country, and which numbered during a long period no less than 900 pupils of divinity, so that you may judge how beneficial and salutary its influence must prove—lay entirely in the darkness of Socinianism and Unitarianism; and only one voice—it was a timid one—but yet a candid one—was lifted up among the professors, by a man, whose name, though scarcely known to English ears, is, I trust, well known in heaven—Professor Knapp, a man who had received the knowledge of Christ in that small body of Moravian Brethren among whom alone was to be found in that dark period any healthy fountain of light. But what was the general state of the universities at that time? Some letters were published after his death, in which he replies to a friend inquiring about the state of vital Christianity among that vast number of nearly 1000 students of divinity;—“How can you ask after life in a mass which is dead in sin and frivolity, and entirely given to the distractions of youth? I have only known one student whom I considered to be a real Christian, and he came to me from the Moravians.” In proportion as such a state was lamentable, the more glorious is the change that has taken place in that sphere in which I have the happiness to live. I shall only observe here, that even during the latter part of our late king’s reign, and afterwards, under the government of our present king, vacant professorships were taken up by faithful men. I am happy to say, that perhaps without exception, my colleagues are men that work with myself in the same spirit and in the same faith. How rarely do you find, even among those who hold the same principles, unity of spirit! But I must say, that in unity of spirit we all go on our way. Now, you may readily imagine what the influence of this will be upon the youth. It is true, that youth will always rather follow every new light that shines upon them, and therefore have a disposition towards every pernicious doctrine which arises; nevertheless, I am

happy to say, that at the present moment there is not a party among our students that takes in the whole of Rationalism. Probably vital Christianity may be circumscribed to a smaller number—and how can it be otherwise?—but at least that spirit of opposition which formerly had a majority has ceased.

It is the custom of German students to form certain companies, bands, or associations, to partake of the amusements of youth, and to enjoy life. In former days they indulged in licentiousness and frivolity, and not merely the innocent amusements of the age; but we have now had for almost ten years an association, formed by their own accord, which lays down as the basis of membership faith in Christ the only begotten of the Father; and these youths support one another, in this way, in their most holy faith. That faith has, indeed, been brought to the test; and I will just mention a proof which they have practically given, that the principles which they adopted were not merely the principles of the head, but the principles of the heart. In that baneful year, 1848, Halle also was threatened with a movement amongst the people, which aimed first at the destruction of the professors of vital Christianity, called Pietists; and one evening it was announced to myself, that at nine o'clock an attack was to take place upon my house. The magistrate of the city solicited us to leave the house, as he was not able to give sufficient protection against the mob. Those students remained, and formed a camp around their professors. In my own house I had four or five, and opposite to it there was an encampment of students engaged in a similar manner. And then again, a little while after, when the royal authority was overthrown, and the magistracy was elected from the mob, and they received a student among them in order to please the students, the students were the first to issue a placard to the people:—"Do not obey that magistrate who has raised up himself: there is only one legitimate authority which we obey."

Now that spirit is also calculated to promote the objects for which we are assembled here. There are many practical proofs that they have the same object at heart as you have—to fight against Popery and Infidelity, and to establish gospel truth among the people. There is here a young man respecting whom a paper has been laid before most of you. It is an address in which is described his self-denial and exertion: he has undertaken to become pastor of a flock which has scarcely an existence, but

which he has undertaken to collect in the midst of one of the darkest Popish provinces, and has already assembled a little flock of about 200: he has not yet succeeded in building a church, nor is his own salary provided for, but he goes on in faith.

Twenty-four years have elapsed since I first addressed an English meeting of the Continental Society. I had then nothing to report but what was sad: I could only move the English public with reports of the utter prostration of our Church; and in consequence, on my return, I was threatened with dismissal from my professorship for dishonouring Germany. But, I asked, can truth ever dishonour? It was a sad truth that I had to tell. But I had to speak the truth, because I was the servant of Christ. And now, dear brethren, if after the lapse of twenty-four years I have brought you better tidings, will you not give me credit for them too? What is joyous, not what is sad, is now the truth. The wretched state of a country is a motive for sympathy; but is there not also a motive in a country's happiness? Therefore let both what my brother who last addressed you and what I have said work together for the good of Germany.

But not the rising generation of the *Prussian* clergy,\* nor the clergy in general, presents the darkest aspect of our country—it is the state of the *laity* over which we mourn. But how, you will say, can the flock choose the wrong way if the shepherd precede on the right? Here indeed the children must drink the bitter cup their fathers have filled, for how may you reap grapes from a ground where through two generations thorns and thistles have been sown? But, I am sorry to say, I have to mention another equally strong reason—that our pastors, even the faithful ones, have been, and are, up to the present time, more *preachers* than *pastors*; and no stronger impulse but the dire outbreak of the depravity of the people has been able to rouse them from their indifference to their cure of the single souls. Since that time, indeed, our Inner Mission had a blessed effect also upon the pastors themselves.

\* I speak of Prussia only, because my observation would not be applicable to all the other parts of Germany.

## SUPPLEMENTAL STATEMENT ON THE GERMAN CHURCH UNION.

BY MR VON BETHMAN HOLLWEG.

CHARGED to bring you, dear brethren, fraternal salutations from German Christians, and especially from the Committee of the German Church Union, I think it convenient to give you first a short account of that Church Union, which is, I suppose, not well known to the majority of this assembly. I hope you will find it is an addition to what the preceding speakers told you on the bright side of the religious condition of my country. The German Church Union has indeed some similarity with your Evangelical Alliance, and yet differs from it in many points.

It was in the spring of 1848, when we were in the middle of revolutionary movements throughout Germany, that some evangelical men thought of, and convened a general assembly, representing in fact the living Evangelical Church of their fatherland.

The first motive was, to make a public act of humiliation before God, in the name of the whole people, for all the sins which provoked the Lord's wrath and just punishment upon them; to give an open confession of their faith, and to protest against the unholy decrees of the representatives of the nation assembled at Berlin and Frankfort, by which they seemed to say—"We will not that the Lord and his Anointed shall reign over us; let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us."

The second motive was, to propound a confederation of all the Protestant Churches of Germany.

You know, my dear brethren, that when by the exertions of God's blessed instruments, Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, and others, the Reformation took place in Germany, and all the bishops of that country opposed it, the supreme ecclesiastical powers passed over to the civil governors, the princes and magistrates of the different states into which Germany is divided; and thus it happened that the Protestant Church was divided into as many territorial churches as there are larger or smaller states. And if it may seem lu-



dicious to speak of a Church of Hesse-Homburg, or Nassau, as well as of Hanover and Prussia, you will find it rather a sad thing, when you consider that those little churches, unsupported by a larger body, and not corrected by their fellow-Christians—moreover, often misguided by an unbelieving clergy, and oppressed by narrow-minded magistrates—became the very seats of Rationalism and Infidelity. This bad state was to become worse, when the civil magistrates, overpowered by the mob, intended, under the specious pretext of separating State and Church, to desecrate the first and deliver over the latter to an unbelieving multitude.

Therefore we thought the natural and best way to prevent this unhappy result would be, if the believing members prepared a fraternal confederation between those territorial churches, by which the whole body, at the same time that it acquired an independence of the State never possessed before, should be strengthened and founded anew on the unaltered basis of their old confessions. These confessions, however, are—*first*, the Lutheran; *secondly*, the Calvinist; *thirdly*, the United Church, which is based on the consenting articles of both. The zeal, not always well enlightened, which the civil and ecclesiastical power of some parts of Germany employed in promoting this union between the Calvinist and the Lutheran Churches, gave occasion to a reaction, which threatened to destroy it entirely, and to separate both parties more than before. The proposed confederation of Lutheran, Calvinist, and United Churches, seemed as fit to prevent this evil, and to prepare for future time a more intimate and complete union in faith between them. These were the motives of the first assembly of Wittemberg. Though many believing as well as far-looking men prophesied a sad event, the Lord blessed the enterprise. More than five hundred evangelical men of the clergy and laity, of the three denominations mentioned before, and some of the Moravian Brethren, met in the month of September 1848, at Luther's town, and laid the first foundation stone of the Evangelical Church Union. The meeting was opened by a profession of faith, not prepared by any discussion, but spoken by a layman, in the form of a prayer, and agreed to by all who were present. Of course the intention was not to alter by it the old tests of faith, or to make a new one; but only to let the whole Church know what men were assembled. As it is characteristic of the spirit of that first assembly, and those of

following years, it may be of some interest for you, my dear brethren, to hear it. It was this:—

“ We confess before Thee, O God, that we are altogether miserable sinners, who left Thee the fountain of life, and fell by Thy righteous judgment, into damnation and death.

“ But we know too, by Thy infallible Word, and we profess it, that Thou art love, that Thou desirest not the death of a sinner, but that he might turn himself from his wickedness and live; and that, therefore, Thou didst send Thy only begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, into the world, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life.

“ We believe and profess that Thou, O eternal Word, which in the beginning wast with God, and wast God, hast been made man in all things except sin, like as we are; that Thou didst die on the cross for our offences, and rise again for our justification; that Thou didst ascend into heaven, and sittest on the right hand of God, where Thou makest intercession for us.

“ We believe and profess, O God, the Holy Ghost, that Thou art our Comforter; that Thou didst gather Christians from all tongues in the world; and still thus edifiest Thy Church. We believe and profess that it is only by Thy mercy that we may obtain repentance toward God, and justifying faith, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord.

“ So we confess Thee, O Jesus, in whom God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, is our God; now, according to Thy promise, confess us too before Thy Father by Thy mercy. Send down Thy Spirit, and confirm Thy Word with signs following it; let the deaf hear, the blind receive their sight, the dead rise up, and the poor have the gospel preached to them. Remove not Thy candlestick out of its place among our people, but let us all live in Thy name, and stand on Thy right hand when Thou comest to judge the quick and the dead.”

The transactions following the confession tended to give an outline of the confederation intended. It will be sufficient to mention here, that it was agreed—*first*, that the confederation ought to be founded on the Confessions of faith of the Reformation; *secondly*, that the single churches ought to remain independent in their government, but be confederated to carry out the ends common to all. Among these ends, the revival of the Church by the Inner Mission, and the communion with all Protestant Churches in

the world, were especially named. But as the assembly of Wittemberg had no power nor commission of the official Church to realise this confederation, it was resolved to meet again, in the next and the following year, and, till this confederation itself should take place, to do instead of it all those things, as much as a private assembly could without infringing the ordinances of the Church. Therefore a committee was appointed for carrying out its resolutions in the interval. Then we met again in 1849 at Wittemberg, in 1850 at Stuttgart, and the fourth assembly will take place the 16th of the next month at Elberfeld.

If you ask now, my dear brethren, what was the actual result of the whole enterprise, I must make a distinction.

The confederation of the official Churches itself, though many of their governors were willing to do it, has not yet been formed, because the much embroiled political affairs of Germany prevented it. But in this very year deputies of the supreme authorities of the Churches of Wurtemberg, Baden, Prussia, and some other places will meet at Elberfeld at the same time as our assembly will take place, and deliberate how a nearer connexion between their Churches could be managed. As the utility, I dare say necessity, of it is almost generally felt, I have no doubt it will be realised, and become a great blessing for the whole Church of Germany.

And whatever may come of that, our annual assembly of the Free Church Diet, as we call it, will be repeated as long as the Lord has his work in it. And, indeed, he has his work in it! The assembly of the most distinguished Christian men from almost all parts of Germany, discussing the most important practical questions of the present time, becomes more and more a power in the Church. The revival proceeding from it is evident, and it has exerted in many single cases a decisive and salutary influence. I shall only mention that the Church of Wurtemberg, in giving a new organisation to its congregations, followed the rules proposed by the first assembly of Wittemberg. The intervention of the assembly of Stuttgart prevented most pernicious measures in the Church of the Bavarian palatinate. Finally, an appeal to the highest authorities in all German states, as well as to the whole Church, on Sabbath desecration, gave a general, and we hope durable, impulse to keep holy the day of the Lord.

And, above all, the progress of the *Inner Mission* ought to be

looked upon as the greatest blessing with which the Lord crowned our enterprise.

As my excellent friend Dr Wichern will tell you more of that, I shall not trespass longer on your patience, but stop here, and say only this:—You held out to us a brotherly hand, and we accepted it; we are here as deputies of the German Church Diet, and of the Central Committee of the Inner Mission, to profess that we stand on the same ground as you do—it is “Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever;” Jesus Christ our wisdom, our righteousness, our sanctification and redemption! And if you are willing to draw closer the bonds of union between us, I shall say, come and see who we are and what we are doing. A deputation of the Evangelical Alliance, sent to Elberfeld to confirm the brotherhood between English and German Christians, will be heartily welcome.

Your deputies will find that our Evangelical Alliance or confederation has already found its work, the object of its common national and evangelical action; I mean all those works of Christian charity and Christianisation of national life which we comprise under the name of the Inner Mission.

And I beg leave to recommend to your most serious consideration the two questions—*first*, whether this *evangelical confederation*, as able and powerful as I am sure it will be found willing to co-operate with you, is not the body which you should consider as your organ among the German nations; and, *secondly*, whether the *Inner Mission* is not the work demanded by the necessities of the time, and the work which you ought yourselves to adopt, both as the object of your own action and as the most proper object of international co-operation.

And if you agree, moreover, I dare say to you, as St Peter said to the sons of Zebedee, when at the word of Jesus they enclosed a great multitude of fishes and their net brake: “Come and help us!” that the kingdom of Christ may come to all nations in the world.

## POPERY IN GERMANY.

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR EBRARD, D.D.  
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ERLANGEN, BAVARIA.

WHEN the circular issued by the British Evangelical Alliance, for the purpose of inviting all evangelical Christians to this present meeting, reached me, it was accompanied by a letter, in which I was requested to read to this assembly "*A paper on the system of the Romish Church, as at present affecting and as yet likely to affect all countries speaking the German language; her spirit and tactics; her operations, influence, and prospects.*" However gratified and honoured I felt by the *invitation*, I was rather at first sight startled by the *request* which came along with it. For I could not but feel that there would be in the forthcoming meeting many far more competent and experienced to treat of this difficult matter than I am, whilst a minor and yet not unimportant difficulty presented itself in the consideration as to language. Still I felt it to be the duty of every one here present not to withhold his mite, however small, from that fund of knowledge and experience which is to be accumulated on this occasion for the benefit and furtherance of the Church at large,—and to endeavour, according to the measure of gift and talent intrusted to him, to advance the great end which this truly *evangelical* meeting has in view. And hence I determined to comply with the request, resolving, at the same time, to appeal, which I do herewith, to your kind indulgence, both as to the subject-matter presented to you, and as to the language and manner in which it is pronounced. And now I address myself at once to the question before us.

The Christian Church is the establishment of the means of grace; for God will not work faith in us but by his own appointed means. His eternal Son did not effect our redemption by a doctrine or a theory, but by a fact. Born of a woman, in the fulness of time, he offered himself a sacrifice for our sins on the cross, and overcame death by his resurrection; and our redemption, thus

purchased, became thereby as real a fact as the fall of Adam. Such facts as are become historical can only be handed down by tradition or Scripture; and thus the gospel is made known to sinners by the Word, which God has been graciously pleased to give us through his inspired instruments, and which has been transmitted to us genuine and unimpaired from generation to generation. But our blessed Saviour, in his infinite wisdom, did not think proper to leave it to accident, whether those men who had heard, believed, and followed his doctrines should form a society, for the purpose of handing down the word of salvation to their own posterity and the world at large. Thus a *school* might have been established, but not a *church*. Such a school would have been liable to be divided by dissent into divers schools, without any common bond of union. No, not to us poor mortals did He leave the propagation of his gospel, but he resolved himself to be in the midst of this holy work, and to assist us with his Spirit; and, therefore, as a second and further means of grace, added to the Scripture the holy sacraments, thereby making himself the heavenly seal of grace and promise to the body of his followers, and forming them into a community which belongs to him who is its Head, and whose members, by his Holy Spirit, shall be partakers of a new life, and nourished by the bread of heaven, which giveth life unto the world.

Now, as the Church can only be regarded as the *medium* of grace, and as Christ with his Spirit must, in addition to these means, afford the grace itself, it will follow that the Church has not the power of *bestowing* eternal life, but only of *offering the means* of obtaining it, and that we owe to her, not our salvation, but only the possibility of salvation. As may be expected, however, from the nature of the pride of the human heart, there ever exists a disposition among men to boast of their own deeds, and to regard with a species of idolatry their operations in the Church.

On the present occasion, it is not necessary to pursue the development of this self-deification; we will confine ourselves to mentioning, *that the establishment of the means of grace has been formed into a court, distributing salvation and condemnation*. In order to participate in the blessings of redemption, it is indeed necessary that we should become members of this visible society, which preaches the Word, and exhibits the sacraments; but this human fellowship is only a *condition* of salvation; the *efficient cause* of our blessedness is the triune God alone. By participation in the

means of grace we become subject to the influences of this Holy Spirit, but they have but little effect, if the invisible communion of faith with the Head is not combined with the visible fellowship of the Church and her members. Instead of acknowledging these fundamental truths, the Church of Rome considers herself with her means of grace as the *efficient cause* of salvation, insisting that our peace with God, our justification before his sovereign tribunal, our entrance into heaven, does not depend solely on our inward communion with Christ *by faith*, but on our relation with *herself*.

*Thus the meaning and proper acceptation of the word church has been altered.* While that society termed "the Church" is both the *body* of believers in Christ, and at the same time a *mother* who bears her children to the feet of the Saviour, and may be compared to a flame, which propagates itself both by being kindled and by kindling, the Romish Church has fixed an enormous gulf between the incorporated body of believers and the Church; on one side of which is a congregation of wretched sinners, standing in need of forgiveness and grace, and on the other the priesthood, alone possessed of all the riches and benefits of God's mercy and grace. The Church thus ceases to be the communion of believers—she is only the mother of believers. The laity are blessed, and it is she who blesses them. But this mother, like a stepmother, instead of bearing her children to the arms of Christ, to the end that they may embrace him by their own faith, thrusts herself between the Shepherd and the sheep, taking good care that no repenting sinner shall prostrate himself with his burden of sins immediately before the throne of grace, and that all the blessings of redemption shall be only attainable through her. Concealing the fact—wilfully withholding the divine, the all-important truth—that "there is one God and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus," she constitutes herself another mediator between the one Mediator and men, and thus incurs the reproach of *bearing both a judaical and pagan character*. She does not deny that Jesus Christ has once for all obtained redemption for our sins, by his voluntary sacrifice of himself on the cross, but nevertheless teaches, that all the blessings to be derived therefrom are only available by those to whom she chooses to communicate them, by means of a bloodless repetition of this sacrifice to the Father. She does not deny the Holy Scripture to be the Word of God, containing those laws, doctrines, and decrees, by which alone we must be guided on our way to

eternal salvation; but she wilfully breaks the express command of our blessed Lord to "search the Scriptures," reserving to the priesthood alone the liberty of explaining and expounding the Word of God. She does not deny that the ear of God is open to all prayer, but she is jealous of the people's addressing themselves immediately to the Father or the Son, wishing rather that they invoke the secondary mediation of the triumphant Church and her queen the Holy Virgin. She does not deny that God alone has power to forgive sins when we are penitent; but she still teaches that this forgiveness is efficacious only for those who have fulfilled their duties and penitential offices to the Church; and in order to facilitate these duties, she releases from them on payment of money. In a word, salvation is considered as a sum deposited in the hands of the clergy as a fund, whose interest can be obtained by paying the price demanded by the Church. The Papacy does not destroy the basis of our religion, but she conceals it beneath a curtain; she does not overturn the theory of salvation by grace, but in her practice she misleads the mass of the people by teaching them to found their hope on works.

Now, it is impossible for the Romish Church to bear such a *judicial* character as the foregoing facts must satisfactorily prove to any well-regulated and unprejudiced mind, without at the same time involving herself in a species of *paganism*. By excluding the laity from the inner sanctuary of the Church—that Church which, in truth, is one only of the priesthood, and not of the people—she elevates herself above the latter, assuming a position and a relationship to them which belongs to God alone. She teaches that they must build their hope of salvation upon the Church, or, in other words, the Virgin, the Saints, the Pope, and the clergy and their intercessions. Those saints who offer up their prayers to God for the people must be invoked by them. Thus, at the same time that the priesthood represent the laity in the presence of God, they occupy the place of God in the eyes of the laity; and hence our blessed Lord becomes of second consideration to his mother, the Virgin Mary. And in the same manner, the priesthood becomes to the laity of equal importance with our Lord himself, as the adoration of the Saviour is held of little importance unless accompanied by the sacrifices and intercession of the Church, while any one, who has a clear account with the priesthood, may rest assured of his favourable acceptance with God.



Thus it follows, that *the limits of the Church* have been displaced; for, instead of acknowledging the difference between the *Church* as the establishment of the *means* of grace, which includes all who by baptism are made objects of the influence of these means, and the *kingdom of God*, which is the invisible number of those who stand in the inward communion with the triune God by faith, the Papacy exalts the Church to that place which is due to the kingdom of God; and, consequently, instead of acknowledging that all who are baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, conformably to the institution of our Lord, belong to the catholic Church, founded by our blessed Lord himself, they regard none as members of the Church who do not subject themselves to the rule of the Roman priesthood, and to the Bishop of Rome, as the visible head of the Church—all others being denounced as heretics and deserters from the true faith.

In consequence of this confusion between the visible catholic Church and the invisible kingdom of God, it is not surprising that *the relation also between the Church and the State politic* should be affected. Where each of these two estates is aware of its own interest, the latter will address the former thus:—"Offer the means of grace to my subjects, preach to them the Word of God, administer to them the holy sacraments; for we well know that every good Christian will be a good citizen, and perform his duties towards the community and its institutions." Upon which the Church will reply:—"All this it is my purpose to perform; but it is your duty to defend me from injury, oppression, and persecution from without; you must by law restrain what God has forbidden, and thus, assuming the post of a Moses, keep alive in the hearts of the people a consciousness of the difference between the good and the wicked." Thus acting in union, the Government will not assume authority in ecclesiastical matters, nor will the Church meddle with the affairs of the State, but each confine herself to her own peculiar jurisdiction. But far different is the practice of the Church of Rome. By assuming to herself that power on earth which belongs only to God, she claims a right of subjecting under her supreme authority all human orders, states, and governments. She not only undertakes to serve and administer the necessary means for human salvation, but she reigns; she invests herself with sovereign power; she opens the gates of heaven, and condemns to hell, with absolute authority; she is God's vicegerent on earth, and whatever is done by her is done

by God; why, then, should not all human powers be subject to one invested with divine authority? The Pope is, as it were, the sun; the head of the political government, which is no more than the moon; public as well as private interests must give way, wherever they interfere with the interests of the Church. In obedience to the commands of Pascal II., the Emperor Henry V. raised the sword against his unhappy father; and numerous instances can be produced of subjects who have been absolved from their oaths of allegiance sworn to their legitimate sovereigns. Happy would it be, were the Church of Rome really invested with the richness of grace, divine power, justice, and infallibility, which she boasts of; but her whole system being nothing but a base imposture, a vile counterfeit, she injures herself as well as the secular states. She undertakes to guide the people to God, to inculcate piety and devotion; but, lo! she follows a wrong path, she misleads them, and her error will not be found out until it be too late to retrieve it. She engages to reconcile the world with Christ, but all who rely upon the efficacy of her intercession build their hopes upon fallacious sands. Endeavouring to overcome the world with carnal weapons, the world obtained the victory over her; subjected to the spirit of the world, she ceased to be governed by the Spirit of God, and became carnal herself. Woe to poor mortals, who attempt to take the sceptre of the eternal God into their own polluted hands, and who do not tremble at the malediction and fearful punishment that must be the inevitable result of this their temerity!

More injurious, however, than the conflict of Popery with human governments, is *her opposition to the gospel itself*. The flesh will not be reprov'd by the Spirit, and she applies her carnal weapons against the doctrines of the evangelical Church of Christ, wherever they make their voice and protests heard. Until the sixteenth century, she even succeeded in persecuting the professors of the gospel by fire and the sword; and the knowledge of the truth was constrained to retire into the inaccessible recesses of Piedmont, and to seek refuge among the wool-dressers and weavers of Flanders and of the Lower Rhine. And when, at the time of the Reformation, the Spirit of God was poured in streams on the Church, the Church of Rome employed every means in her power, that both force and art could suggest, to damp this Spirit, and quench its influence; and she continues this contest even to the present day, wherever she has any influence, which she maintains

with an energy and perseverance calculated to excite our highest admiration, were it applied to a good cause. But means, employed with ever so much vigour and energy, cannot justify a bad end; nor, on the other hand, can the pretended holiness of that end justify means of an equivocal nature.

Let us now proceed to take into consideration our principal proposition—the *present state of Popery in Germany*; and in so doing, we cannot forbear cursorily to remark on the manner in which the existing mutual relations between the Protestant and Roman Churches have been arranged and regulated, from the time of the Reformation to the Congress of Vienna; as it is not possible to comprehend rightly the nature of her present encroachments, without first knowing her historical position, and the settlement which forms the basis of them.

When the Reformers began their work, their object was, not to found a new Church, but to endeavour to reform, purge, and cleanse the one catholic Church from all human ordinances which were contrary to the Word of God; thereby naturally incurring the wrath and enmity of the Pope and his clergy, who condemned them as heretics, declaring that those alone who acknowledged the divine authority of the Pope formed the Church of Christ. The Reformers, on their part, asserted that this Pope, who suppressed, in the name of God, the very Word of God itself, could be no other than the Antichrist; they consequently considered the Papacy as a tyrannical power in the Church, and created a strong distinction between the catholic Church, or body, whose Head was Christ, and the Pope, with his clergy—regarding the latter as a rebel against the kingdom of Christ. Neither party, therefore, conceded to the other, “You are a species of church, as well as we; we are a church, and you are a church;” but each party asserted, “We are the only true Church of Christ, and you are either misled or misleaders.” Thus arose a most severe conflict; the Papists regarding it as a duty to extirpate heresy; while, on the contrary, the Protestants used their utmost endeavours to convert the Papists, and propagate their own doctrines.

But while in France, in the Netherlands, and in some other countries, this contest was waged, during one or two centuries, with the most passionate ardour, the Protestants in Germany were soon constrained to content themselves with acting on the defensive. Without hoping that they could overcome the Papacy, they requested only tolerance for themselves. These were their views,

from the Diet of Augsburg, 1530, till the peace of Augsburg, 1555. In this peace, the Protestants attained their purpose; for it was decided, that all princes or ruling powers should have liberty "of erecting and introducing into their countries the Confession of Augsburg," without let or hindrance from the Roman princes or powers. Thus the princes and the governments of free towns could determine their religion for themselves, as well as for their subjects; whilst to the individual, the liberty to choose his creed was not granted. Protestant subjects of Popish princes were only allowed to emigrate without great hindrance into other countries. In vain the Protestant princes endeavoured to alter this point; all they could obtain was an imperial declaration, by which immunity was allowed to those Protestant nobles whose position was such as to include them within the circuits which were ruled by ecclesiastical princes.

There was another point determined upon at the peace of Augsburg, which occasioned some confusion—the "*reservatum ecclesiasticum*," which decreed, that every ecclesiastical elector, archbishop, bishop, or abbot, who embraced Protestantism, must renounce his benefice. This conclusion, which was never assented to by the Protestant princes, became a point of the greatest importance, when the elector of Cologne, Gebhard Truchsess (1582), seceded to the Reformed creed. Had the Protestant princes then been able to secure his retaining both benefices and dominion, a majority of four Protestant electors, against three Popish electors, would have been secured in the electoral body, and consequently a most decided preponderance of Protestantism in Germany. It is not improbable, also, that the imperial crown, which was then elective, might have passed from the house of Hapsburgh to that of Saxony, and the whole history of Germany might have become different from what it now is. But, there was another circumstance which influenced the decision with regard to the above-named elector. Gebhard Truchsess did not meet with the requisite support, in consequence of his having adopted the Reformed doctrines instead of the Lutheran, and thus the Protestant princes lost the fourth electorate, and at the same time the majority in the empire; and as they would not include the Reformed princes or governments in the advantages of the peace of Augsburg, new contentions arose, and a terrible war of thirty years was necessary before the Reformed states were able to participate in those advantages. The peace of Westphalia did

not materially differ from the peace of Augsburg; still it was only princes and governments, not individuals, that were allowed for the future to change their religion. And not only this; the treaty also included that very important clause, that, as regards single communities, they were to assume that position in ecclesiastical matters which they held in 1624, which year was agreed upon as the normal year.

In consequence of this arrangement, the Germans, tired of the terrible war, accustomed themselves in their practice to acknowledge each other as members of Christian Churches. The Romish, the Lutheran, and the Reformed Churches were looked upon as three sections of the one catholic Church. Formerly, the opinion obtained, that, in every town or village, one church only could be established; for instance, in the Lutheran countries, the Lutheran Church was considered the only and true Church of Christ, and besides it, no other denomination was permitted to build a place of worship; in the Popish countries, the Romish Church was recognised as the national Church. But now it happened, by degrees, that several denominations were tolerated in the same place; two different events contributing to this alteration of practice. In the first instance, several princes of one denomination obtained, by inheritance, countries whose inhabitants belonged to another denomination. For example, the Elector of Brandenburg got possession of the Popish duchy of Cleves (1609). Secondly, some Lutheran princes gave shelter within their territory to Reformed refugees from the kingdom of France, and allowed them to build churches in the midst of the Lutheran countries—for example, the Elector of Brunswick-Luneburg, the Margrave of Brandenburg-Baireuth, and Anspach. Now, although the clergy continued their polemical controversies, yet their congregations began to consider each other as legitimate sections of the one Christian Church. But here let us not forget, that this acknowledgment was not reciprocal between Protestants and Papists; for while Papists in Protestant countries were tolerated and received, Protestants under the dominion of Popish princes could scarcely obtain the realisation of those few and scanty rights and privileges which by the Westphalian peace had been conceded to them. When Protestant countries—for example, Pfalz-Neuburgh—by inheritance came under a Popish government, the latter employed all possible means to induce them to return to the Roman Catholic religion; and though a special corporation, the

"*Corpus Evangelicorum*," existed in the German empire, in order to defend the Protestant rights, yet earnest reprisals were often necessary to put a limit to the vexations, oppressions, and cunning stratagems which were practised by the Popish princes.

At length this state of affairs was put an end to by the French wars of Napoleon, and by the Congress of Vienna. Now it has been determined, in regard of all the confederate states of Germany, that these three churches, the Popish, the Lutheran and the Reformed, have a right to exist; that not only the governments, but also each individual, had "the liberty of choosing one of these religions," as the term runs in modern German legislation; and that no government should oppress the adherents of either of these confessions. We should, however, lie under a great deception if we supposed that therefore these three denominations were possessed of equal rights in all German countries. They have only the right to exist, and are tolerated. But in several Popish states the Roman Church enjoys the most important privileges. For example, in Austria, till the year 1848, the right of *public service* was not conceded to the Protestants; they were not permitted to have either churches, steeples, or bells; they were obliged to hold their service in spacious apartments which had the appearance of private houses, and the greatest inequality existed in regard to intermixed marriages. At the same time, Papists under the sceptre of Protestant princes have full security for all their rights; there exists *concordata*, or other agreements, which guarantee them their right of existence, their privileges, and the public exercise of their religion; and more than once they demanded greater privileges in Protestant countries for their Church than even the Protestants themselves possessed.

Besides all this, there exists a very dangerous inequality, the Pope having acknowledged neither the peace of Augsburg, the Westphalian peace, nor the constitutions of the Congress of Vienna. Innocent X. protested in a bull (1651) against the Westphalian peace, and his successors have on every occasion renewed this protest; at last, the Cardinal Gonsalvi did the same, in the name of Pius VII., in opposition to the decrees of the Congress of Vienna. The Papacy only suffers the rights which were granted to the Protestants, because it cannot help it; and takes no notice of them, as long as it is destitute of the power of hindering or abolishing these concessions: in the meanwhile, it does not cease to uphold its old protests. Hence the acknowledgment is reci-

procal, not in theory, but in practice; for, whilst even some old Reformed theologians—Polanus, for example—have acknowledged the Popish Church as being a real church, without its being a pure church—while at the present day all Protestant theologians concede that the Popish Church is also a part of the universal Church, and while they justly distinguish between the Papacy and the body of the Romish Church—the Papacy, on the contrary, insists upon its old views, that Protestantism has properly no right to exist, being no species of church, but only the result of an insurrection against the legitimate ecclesiastical power. Thus, it is dangerous to allow to the Popish Church, in Protestant states, equal rights with the evangelical churches; or full and unconstrained liberty for organising themselves, and carrying out their system; for they consider it as an essential part of their system, and of their rights, to refuse to Protestantism every particle of right, and even toleration; and they will, undoubtedly, renew their old persecutions against us, as soon as the weight of worldly power ceases to restrain them. Now, should it be asserted that it is but just to allow the Papists the same liberty which is due to all other denominations—I reply, until they acknowledge us to have equal rights with themselves, as members of the catholic Church of Christ, they can have no possible claim for an equalisation of rights with us in the state politic. As long as they do not allow us to be a part of the Church—as long as the Pope does not acknowledge the Westphalian peace and the Congress of Vienna—as long as Popery uses worldly and carnal constraint against all those who differ from her in religious matters—we must uphold the word of Scripture, “Eye for eye, tooth for tooth;” and unless we do so, we are committing an act of suicide against our evangelical Church, and against the holy gospel.\*

But it is time to turn our attention *to the present state of Popery in Germany*, and to her tactics, operations, and prospects, since

\* In a communication I have received from Professor Ebrard, he requests me to subjoin to this passage the following note.—EDITOR.

“The meaning of the author will be understood as not being this, that evangelical governments should pay persecution by persecution, vexation by vexation, sin by sin; but (as the preceding words teach, and as he will expressly declare) only this, that, as long as Popery does not allow to evangelical peoples and governments the right of existence, evangelical governments again must not give a *boundless and unlimited* liberty to the Popish Church, unless they will bring the evangelical Church into the most serious danger of persecution.”

the year 1848. This matter being extremely complicated, by the number of divers governments and constitutions which come under consideration, and by the different objects of controversy, we must endeavour to divide our subject into several distinct parts. I will therefore speak, in the first place, of the newest experiments, by which Popery has attempted to escape the control of all *earthly government*: and, secondly, I intend to call your attention to the various attempts which the Papacy has made to injure the *Protestant churches*, with regard to their general privileges in the Catholic monarchies, their admissions in the particular towns or communities, their rights in the parishes, and intermixed marriages.

I. In Germany, as everybody knows, the control of Government extends both to the Protestant and the Romish Church. By this arrangement, the ruler of these countries must needs be made acquainted with all conclusions, laws, and regulations touching ecclesiastical government, in order to examine whether they contain anything dangerous to public safety. This right, termed the "*placetum regium*," and the "*jus cavendi*;" was exercised within the Roman Church by Popish as well as by Protestant governments. Joseph II. had introduced it even into Austria. But after the revolution of 1848, the bishops and archbishops of Austria held a conference at Vienna (1849), and requested that they should be allowed, in the first place, to hold synods; and in the second, to publish all ecclesiastical bulls, regulations, and documents, without having first presented them to the emperor's government for approval. By means of the first, they had in view to enlarge their independence of the See of Rome; by the second, their independence of the political government. The first request was made also by some bishops in Bavaria, Prussia, and Baden; namely, the Bishops of Passau, Ratisbon, and Fribourg; but the Pope immediately put a stop to these efforts, by declaring (July 1849) that the present was not a proper time for such an undertaking. The second, on the contrary, namely, the abolition of the "*placetum regium*," has been granted to the prelates of Austria, in an imperial edict of the 18th April 1850, by which the whole edifice of the Austrian canon law, as raised by Joseph II., has in fact been overturned. By this stroke, the Papacy obtained immense power in Austria; and it remains to be seen, whether the Government of this large empire will be able to maintain, against the Church, its own independence.



IN *Prussia*, during the last year, another contest arose between the Church of Rome and the Government. The king, conformably with the opinion of his diet, resolved that every person in office, who held his place by nomination from the king, should take the oath of the Constitution from the 31st January. Clergymen, as such, were not required to take the oath, excepting those who held certain offices under the Government, as professors of divinity, or counsellors or inspectors of schools. Suddenly, the Bishop of Treves forbade such priests to take this oath, without adjoining the express restriction, "*salvis ecclesie juribus.*" This took place on the 22d February 1850. On the 29th March, the Bishop of Munster followed the example of his colleague, as did also, on the 14th April, the Bishop of Aix-la-Chapelle. It is difficult to explain what purpose they had in view by proceeding in this manner; for shortly afterwards they declared, as we shall soon see, that the literal sense of the Constitution admitted an interpretation favourable to the Church of Rome. Either they intended to keep open a possibility of renewing their old protests against the secularisation of the ecclesiastical benefices, which occurred in the beginning of this century, or, more probably, it was done merely to put difficulties in the way of the Government. Upon this, the minister of educational and spiritual affairs addressed a circular letter (on the 29th March) to all the presidents of provincial governments, to the effect that the royal power would not allow either this restriction or any other; and that the bishops were to be requested to state whether they found an irreconcilable difference between their duties as in the employment of Government and as priests. If they did so, they should be called on to resign the posts they held under the king; if they did not, it should be stated in the official document, to be drawn up on the occasion, that the Government attached no importance to such a restriction.

Shortly after this, a certain school-counsellor in Munster, called Mencke, refused the oath, and was temporarily suspended. The professors of divinity in Munster declared that they, for their parts, had no scruple to take the oath, but they wished to act in union with the bishop, and requested a respite, in order to confer with him. This being allowed, they questioned the bishop, whether his rescript should be considered as a command, or as a simple intimation of his personal opinion. He did not reply. They questioned him a second and a third time. At last, he answered, that it would be impossible to decide, in so short a time,

a question of such difficulty. It was not until the month of April that he decided that his rescript had the nature of a command, interdicting them to take the oath.

About the same time a letter of a bishop (presumed to be from the Prince-Bishop of Breslau), addressed to the minister of State, was published in the newspapers, wherein he says, that he could not imagine for what reason the minister could object to this restriction, unless he had in view the violation of some acknowledged and existing ecclesiastical rights by means of the new Constitution, but *in contradiction to its chief principles*. It must appear to us a very strange manner of proceeding, to acknowledge that the chief principles of a constitution were opposed to any violation of ecclesiastical rights, and to defend, nevertheless, a restriction which must then have been quite superfluous.

Meanwhile, the professors of theology in Bonn and in Breslau took the oath without hesitation and without any restriction. The Government, far from yielding in so just a matter, declared, on the 17th of April, that whoever found it incompatible with his duties as an ecclesiastic to hold any situation under the crown, had no other alternative but to resign it. On the following day, namely, the 18th of April, the bishops of the Archbishopric of Cologne met, and issued a paper to their clergy, in which they advanced some steps towards satisfying the Government; for, constraining themselves to the concession, that the new Constitution, in its literal sense, was favourable to the Church, and that there only remained a possibility of distorting and expounding it in a disadvantageous manner, and in contradiction to ecclesiastical rights, they sacrificed the restriction "*salvis ecclesie juribus*," and decreed only this, that every priest, before taking the oath, should declare, that by that act he did not intend to make any admission prejudicial to the Church or his own duties, or his relation to the Church. With this the ministers of State declared the Government to be content (on the 25th of April); and the Prince-Bishop of Breslau adding also (on the 4th of May) the declaration of his colleagues, put an end to a long contest which had been waged about nothing.

Infinitely more important is a controversy between the Government of *Bavaria* and the See of Rome, which arose early in the year 1818, and was renewed some months since. King Maximilian Joseph I. issued, in the year 1809, a law, called the "*Edict of Religion*," by which full liberty of conscience is guaranteed to all

his subjects, and by which the Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed Churches are recognised as “public societies of religion,” investing them with all the privileges of the public service, and the promise of support from the public funds. Besides which, this edict of religion introduces the “*placetum regium*,” and subjects the clergy, in certain matters, to secular jurisdiction—such as regards testamentary dispositions, all questions relative to the employment of ecclesiastical property, all those punishments to be inflicted on clergymen by which their civil rights could in any way be affected, the laws of matrimony, &c. Eight years after this, namely, the 5th of June 1817, king Maximilian concluded a concordat with the Pope, which, in its first article, promises to the Romish religion *all rights and privileges which belong to her, according to the Divine ordination and the canonical decrees*. But as, according to these decrees, the Romish Church alone has the right of existence, and as she claims for herself the privilege of destroying all heresy, it follows, that this article of the concordat involves a very dangerous contradiction to the before-mentioned edict of religion. A further contradiction consists in this circumstance, that the twelfth article of the concordat allows to the bishops and clergy full liberty of publishing “their ecclesiastical instructions and ordinances,” without their previous recognition on the part of the secular power; the same article submits all those questions which, conformably to the edict of religion, are to be decided by secular courts, to the jurisdiction of the bishops. The more important these contradictory points are for the freedom of the kingdom, and for the existence of the Protestant Church, the more necessary it becomes to possess a distinct decision, whether or not these laws should be valid. But the decision about the value of these regulations is as important, in point of form, as it is in regard to the subject-matter to which these regulations refer. For the sixteenth article of the concordat determines that, by this present compromise, all laws, ordinances, and decrees, issued till now in Bavaria, should be considered as abolished, so far as they are incongruous with the concordat. But, in contradiction to this, the edict of religion was published again, in the following year (the 26th of May 1818), as an essential part of the Constitution, while the concordat is received only as an appendix into the documents of the Constitution. Immediately after the publication of the Constitution, the Pope protested against it, but the good king replied, “that the edict of religion concerned only the

Protestants, while the Roman Catholics were subject to the arrangements of the concordat." Though this declaration, which was repeated in the edict of Tegernsee (1821), was in no way decided enough, yet it must follow, that the concordat was of no consequence in regard to the mutual relations between the Romish and the Protestant Churches. And, indeed, until the present moment, it was decided by practice, not only that the Protestant Churches had equal rights with the Romish Church, but also that concerning the "*placetum regium*" and the secular jurisdiction, Government maintained the settlements of the edict of religion against the twelfth article of the concordat, although these points concern only the members of the Romish Church. But, last year, the bishops of Bavaria presented a petition to the Bavarian parliament, in which they demanded the carrying into effect of the concordat, especially the twelfth article. This question has not yet come under discussion, but we cannot doubt that the next session will introduce debates of the highest importance on this subject.

In surveying these facts, we see in Austria the effectual victory of the Papacy in a most important point; in Prussia, a victory of Government, but in a matter of no consequence; and, lastly, in Bavaria, the commencement of an important process, whose issue cannot yet be predicted.

II. We now pass on to the second part of our subject, namely, to the attacks which Popery has directed immediately *against the Protestant Churches*. Of late, the state of things has been such, that Popery has had, in many cases, to assume a rather more defensive position, so as to ward off the attacks of Protestantism; hence she has been less aggressive, and perhaps also less oppressive. Above all other countries in Germany, we must, under this point of view, commence again with *Austria*. For, while the Romish Church obtained the most important privileges from the Imperial Government, the Protestant Churches likewise gained a number of rights, which they had stood greatly in need of, ever since the time of the Reformation. The revolution of the year 1848 having shaken many a legal institution, Government being intimidated, and the question of separation between Church and State everywhere broached and discussed, several Protestant ministers assembled at Vienna in the month of August 1848, in order to demand public acknowledgment, and the right of publicly exercising their worship. Indeed, they obtained, by an edict of the

ministers (31st January 1849), a provisional concession of the following five points:—1. While up to that time they were compelled to bear the denomination of “*Catholics*,” the appellation of “*Evangelical*” Christians was now granted to them. 2. While hitherto no Papist durst secede to Protestantism without such difficulties as made the change almost an impossibility, now every one who had passed the eighteenth year of his age should have full liberty of going over to another denomination, on condition only that he declare his resolution to his pastor twice in the space of four successive weeks, and in presence of two witnesses. 3. While hitherto Protestants had been assigned to the Popish parishes, and while their own ministers were deprived of all parochial rights, the privilege of fees, and of the parochial registers, they now obtained the full character of official clergy. 4. While hitherto Protestants had been constrained to pay fees to the Popish clergymen for all ecclesiastical duties, their own ministers performing them, this burden now ceased, and they were no longer obliged to contribute to the support of Popish schoolmasters. 5. Lastly, betrothed couples, where the bridegroom as well as the bride were Protestants, were no longer compelled to have their banns of marriage published in Papist churches. All these provisional concessions were definitively confirmed by an edict of the ministers of State (27th June 1849), which was founded upon the Constitution of the 4th of March.

Without doubt, the state of Protestantism has been ameliorated by these edicts in a very high degree; yet we must remark, that two great inconveniences remained unchanged—namely, the ecclesiastical law, which forbade the Roman priest the performing of mixed marriages; and another law, which ordained that all children of mixed marriages must be educated in the Popish religion.

But, alas! even the five points which were granted by the ministers of State were only imperfectly carried into effect, the Popish party exerting every means to render void in practice what was promised in theory. For example, at Troppau, a Protestant minister officiated at a mixed marriage. He was called before the bailiff of the district, who demanded of him a justification of his conduct in performing a marriage ceremony in a *Catholic* place of worship (as the bailiff expressly stated), between a couple to whom the Catholic clergyman had refused the benediction. In the month of May 1850, the minister of education issued a rescript, com-

manding the Protestant peasants to pay rates of grain to the Popish schoolmasters, or they would be constrained to do so by force. In the month of August 1850, a Papist clergyman refused not only the *benediction*, but also the *passive assistance* to a bridal pair, who were of different denominations, by urging the pretext, that the Romish Church was now independent of Government and secular laws. Now, there still exists a law, issued the 5th of April 1850, which forbids Protestant ministers to perform the ceremony of marriage, in every case, without the "passive assistance" of the Romish priest. Thus, as the Romish priest had refused this assistance, the Protestant minister could not officiate, and the couple remained unmarried. The Protestant clergyman addressed himself to the proper authorities, but in vain, receiving no answer. On the 29th of July 1849, all the Reformed and Lutheran superintendents of Austria met at Vienna, in order to deliberate on the propriety of drawing up a bill purporting to enforce the performance of the principles of equal rights, which were decreed by the law of the 27th of June 1849. When this bill was completed, they presented it to the emperor and his ministers, entreating that his majesty would graciously give it his sanction. Though all general principles are inefficient without such a law, by which the individual officers and bailiffs are obliged to act, yet, up to this day, neither the emperor nor his ministers have given any reply; and it is greatly to be feared that the influence of Popery will frustrate the whole work. Opportunities might offer, where the ambassadors of Protestant states would be able to exert all their influence upon the Court of Austria in order to effect it; that, while the Romish Church in Austria has grown immensely in power, the Protestant Churches may not remain behind, in their old lamentable condition. Though we have said above, that the Romish Church was constrained to a defensive combat against the progress of Protestantism, yet we cannot overlook the fact, that Popery must obtain an immense victory over Protestantism, were it only by hindering these movements, while she herself grows unhindered in power and independence. On the other hand, let us not shut our eyes to the joyful fact, that since the year 1848 the number of Protestants has increased in a considerable degree. In Bohemia, in the year 1781, the numbers amounted to 33,957 members of the Reformed Church, and 10,237 Lutherans; in all, 44,212 Protestants—while now there are 88,500 Protestants. At Eger, last year, a new evangelical community was formed. In the

same year, the German evangelical community at Prague procured itself bells; and a multitude of evangelical communities of the Tchech language united themselves with the Church of Bohemian Brethren. However, it was often more a libertine spirit than that of the Holy Ghost which occasioned their secession, and it is a question of conscience for the universal evangelical Church throughout the whole world, whether they should not adopt such measures as that Protestantism in Austria might be confirmed by Christian intelligence, and inspired by a true evangelical spirit, and built upon the foundation of the eternal Word of God. In Austria, also, some faithful witnesses of the truth exist, who exert all their endeavours to propagate the gospel among their own brethren. I will mention only the Rev. Augustus Kotsky the elder, in Eferding. The superintendent Obder Ens called upon the Protestants to form missionary societies, in consequence of which, several societies have been established at Eferding, Gosau, and in other places. May the gracious Lord be with them, with his blessing!

While in Austria, Popery resists the *public rights and privileges* granted to the Protestant Churches by the new Constitution, a similar resistance is exercised by them wherever Protestants demand to be received into a town, and where they claim *civil rights in the community*. As is well known, a great number of towns as well as districts once existed where Protestants have never dwelt. In our time this is changed. At Inspruck, on the 13th of August 1849, a select number of the corporation held a meeting, and deliberated on a new arrangement of the municipal constitution for their town, on which occasion Dean Amberg made the proposition that the town should be declared purely Popish. As this proposition was rejected by all votes except three, an extraordinary excitement took place, promoted by innumerable articles in the local papers, and by a multitude of tracts. The Popish party convened a meeting, and excited the people by a number of fulminant speeches against the magistracy, who saw themselves under the necessity of yielding, and of agreeing to a compromise with the clergy, by conceding that the conclusion of the 13th of August should never be carried into effect. All communities in the Zillerthal likewise, on the 29th of April 1849, formed a union, promising each other that the Popish religion should be upheld in their valley.

These two occurrences may suffice as instances of the activity

with which Popery everywhere endeavours to resist the propagation of Protestantism. Another field for their operations is the burials, and the possession of churchyards; for Popery withholds from the Protestants all *parish rights*, as well as the civil rights of a secular community. It is a general custom throughout the whole of Germany, if any dispersed Protestants dwell in a Popish parish, where there is no evangelical minister in the neighbourhood, for the priest to obtrude himself by accompanying the burial of such a Protestant, but without canonicals, and without bestowing the benediction; thus wishing to exhibit to the people the deceased as a heretic, and as having no share in the heavenly promises, in a more striking manner than if he did not at all accompany the burial.

Where Protestant clergy are in the neighbourhood, and cannot be prevented by the priesthood from officiating at the burial, there remain yet to Popery two means of casting a slur upon the deceased and his religion;—either they refuse the use of the churchyard, and thereby compel the corpse to be interred in an unconsecrated spot of ground; or, where this is prevented by the law, as, for example, in Bavaria, they refuse the use of the bells, or of the churches. Though this proceeding cannot in any way affect the Protestants in the conviction of the truth of their faith, yet the priests do it with the view of deterring their own parishioners from heresy, and to counteract the deep impression which the funeral sermons of Protestant ministers almost invariably produce upon the minds of Papists, who never before had the opportunity of hearing the gospel.

On the 30th of March 1850, the Prince-Bishop of Breslau, in contradiction to a custom established from time immemorial, forbade his clergy to allow to Protestant ministers, on the occasion of Protestant burials, the use of pulpits or altars in churches situated in burial grounds; in consequence of which, the Protestant ministers were forced to preach their funeral sermons in school-rooms. In the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, two species of churchyards exist—those which belong to the parish, the ground being bought with the funds of the church; and those which are established by public means, and belong, therefore, to the local community. It is settled by law, that Protestants shall not be excluded from churchyards of the latter kind. Such a churchyard was founded at Treves, in the year 1820, at a time when no Protestants dwelt there; but the expenses were paid



from the town treasury. Five years after, Protestants having then settled at Treves, the magistrate granted them, without any resistance, conformably to the law, the use of the churchyard. A year ago, it became necessary to enlarge the churchyard; but lo, the Papistical vicar-general suddenly refused the consecration of the additional ground, insisting that only those churchyards could be consecrated which were exclusively destined for Papists. He demanded, therefore, that the addition should be divided into two pieces, one for the Papists and one for the Protestants; this being agreed to, he would be ready to consecrate the Popish half. But the magistrate not yielding to this proposition, the new place remained unconsecrated.

The most memorable event, however, occurred at Erpel, a little town near Linz, between Andernach and Bonn. There the churchyard was founded by the mutual voluntary contributions of Papists and Protestants. Now, as a certain Baron of Arneim, a Protestant, died (the 10th February, this year), the Papist dean, called Krautwig, declared by letter that he would not permit him to be buried in the churchyard. The grave being already dug, the dean gave an express command to fill it up, to shut the gate of the churchyard, and secure it with a large iron chain and hook. As the deceased had not dwelt in the town itself, but in a country-house called Heister, about one English mile from Erpel, all these measures remained unknown to the survivors; and on the 13th of February the funeral procession proceeded from Heister to Erpel, conducted by the Protestant minister, Tungk, from Linz. But scarcely had it left Heister, when a band of street boys, headed by an adult, came to meet them, with the cry, "Back! back!" The procession, nevertheless, continued its way; a troop of children accompanied them, with a cross of straw, which they bore before the hearse, and with all sorts of mockery; for it must be remarked, that the schoolmaster had, only that morning, given the children a holiday. When the procession reached the churchyard, it was met by a great multitude of people with loud cries and clamours; the mayor commanded the police to open the gate by force; but the frantic mob pelted them with stones, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the Rev. Mr Tungk could prevent a skirmish between the people and the police, who were on the point of drawing their cutlasses. The mayor then went into the town, and fetched several members of the council of the corporation; it was, however, an hour before they arrived, and the fury

of the mob had so much abated, that they at length succeeded in opening the gate. The procession now entered the churchyard, while the mob out of mockery sang a very comic song, which being sung anywhere else could not be heard without laughter. The commencement of it was in these words:—

“ Ever slowly forward ! ever slowly forward !  
Lest the old Austrian hirelings could not follow.”

During the singing of this ludicrous song, the funeral procession reached the grave, and found it filled up. The coffin-bearers began to dig it afresh, but the mob pelted them with mud, and broke their spades, so that they were compelled to run off. Drunken fellows danced upon the grave, and one of them struck the coffin with a clenched fist ; thus a second hour passed, while a heavy shower of rain poured down upon the funeral procession, which was exposed to the continual mockeries of the people. At length, the bearers having been again brought back, the grave was finished, and the burial-service was performed ; but still, during the repeating of the Lord’s Prayer, scornful laughter resounded. When the funeral procession left the churchyard, somebody called to them, “ To-morrow the coffin will be found before the gate, for the wolf shall not sleep among the lambs.” The following night, a number of men did indeed endeavour to exhume the body ; but, fortunately, the cords with which they attempted to lift out the coffin broke, and the malefactors were scared away. Forty soldiers were quartered in Erpel, and ten of them were obliged continually to guard the grave. The dean has been called to an account for this.

Let me now wind up this paper, by taking into consideration *the influence Popery exerts on Schools and Education*. In a time of increasing infidelity and hostility towards the Christian faith, we can blame the Papist Church as little as the Protestant, if she endeavours to extend an inspection over a school which attempts more and more to emancipate itself from the authority of the gospel, and to educate the youth in a spirit of free-thinking and insubordination. We ought, therefore, not to complain, that in the crown-lands of Austria (the 23d April 1850) such a superintendence is granted by Government to the clergy, as regards religious instruction in Popish schools, and theological lectures in the universities, although we have reason to fear that this just privilege will be abused, in order to suppress all germs of evangelical intelligence which might arise in the body of the Popish Church.

The example of the Bishop of Limburg, in Nassau, will prove that this fear is not groundless. No sooner was liberty of study proclaimed by the Governments of Hesse and Nassau, than this bishop, dissatisfied because no legal influence in respect of the installation of the professors of divinity at Giessen was conceded to him, ordered, that the payment of ecclesiastical stipends should no more be clogged, as had been hitherto the case, by the condition of the receivers frequenting the University of Giessen; at the same time, he forbade the students of his diocese to attend the lectures of Professor Hirsher, at Fribourg, a man of real Christian devotion and piety, and who is, consequently, a thorn in the side of the ultramontane party.

The subject of *mixed marriages* offers a large field of activity to the Romish clergy. In most countries of Germany it is ordered by law, either that all the children follow the religion of the father, or that the boys follow that of the father, and the girls that of the mother. It is also decreed by law, that before a certain age the young men cannot, on their own choice, secede to any other denomination. In this way abuses are prevented. But it is moreover decreed, in several countries of Germany, that these laws cease to have any effect, in case the bridal pair, before the nuptials or immediately after them, have made a special contract about the education of their children. These laws have occasioned a great number of Popish aggressions against Protestantism; for the clergymen often refused the benediction to these mixed marriages, unless the couple undertook to promise, by such a contract as I have mentioned, that all their children should be educated in the Popish religion. By what measures those contracts are sometimes obtained, may be learned from an account which the Pastor Nees, of Esenbeck, at Boppard, published in 1845, and which is confirmed by the signatures of all the parishioners who were interested in it. Besides, this pastor being an acquaintance of mine, I can affirm that he is a very mild character, far from all bigotry; and if he has a fault, it is that of too greatly admiring the magnificent organisation of the Romish hierarchy. This man was installed as pastor of the little congregation of Protestants at Boppard, between Bingen and Bonn, in Prussia, on the 10th July 1845. Before he went there, a Protestant had married a Papist woman, and the priest had persuaded the man to promise that he would educate all his children in the Popish religion, though even in Prussia such

agreements are illegal. When the pair were married, and a boy and some girls were born, and the father did not consider himself obliged to perform the promise with regard to the boy, the priest induced the wife to leave her husband, and to keep all their children with her; otherwise she would obtain no honourable burial after her death. The man brought an action against his wife, and the judge decided that the boy belonged to the father. But as the father was leading home the son by the hand from the courthouse, a mass of people crowded upon him, snatched the boy away, and hid him in some secret place or other. The next night, six masked fellows entered the dwelling of the father by force, came to his bed, seized him by the throat, and constrained him immediately to sign a paper, wherein he assented to the Popish education of all his children. But his advocate declared the document thus extorted to be invalid. Now, when the woman bore another boy, the man took it to the Protestant place of worship to be baptized, without previously informing his wife; but she, hearing of it, left her bed, in spite of the state of her health, appeared suddenly in the place of worship, just as the baptism was about to be performed, and the sacred office was interrupted by a scene which defies every attempt to describe it.

This circumstance, as well as a similar occurrence at Erpel, took place under a Protestant Government! What could we expect if the bars were taken away by which Popery now is held in abeyance? *Nevertheless, all the attacks of Popery are not nearly so dangerous to the Protestant Churches in Germany as the discord, apostasy, indifference, and deadness, within her own house.* Indeed, in the Popish Church also, infidelity and rottenness are spreading throughout; but there is this important difference—that while this Church can very well exist in spite of such a state, because there is no enmity between a people who seek their own and a clergy who do the same, and because the fabric of the hierarchy will stand even without a spiritual foundation; on the contrary, our evangelical Church must go to wreck and ruin as soon as her basis is undermined, which is the Spirit, the faith and the life in Christ. In our time, in the evangelical countries in Germany, the mass of the people is yet restrained within the Church by the system of union between Church and State; but if another convulsion, like that of the year 1848, were to destroy the present state of the laws and institutions, nothing

would remain of the whole Established Church but a little company of believers, a small number of oppressed communities, given up to a twofold sifting persecution, *because then infidelity, as well as superstition, would exert its power against the body of Christ.* "They shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them ; for he is King of kings, and Lord of lords." Amen.

## ON THE STATE OF THE SABBATH QUESTION IN GERMANY.

BY THE REV. THEODORE PLITT, OF BONN.

THE increase of Sabbath desecration in Germany had its origin in those times when infidelity was spread by the universities amongst the clergy, and by the clergy amongst the people. Of old, the Reformed Church specially maintained a strict Sabbath celebration, in accordance with the law of God. Also in the Lutheran Church, such Sabbath desecration as became general in later times was quite unknown. The more infidelity and indifferentism increased, the more the old custom and virtue were forgotten. The manner in which the Sabbath was kept was such as to pain all true Christians. Persons of high rank set a very bad example, and the people followed it willingly. The officers of the Government were seen very seldom at public worship. During the morning, you found them generally in their offices; in the afternoon, on some pleasure party; and, in the evening, at the theatre. It was thought a special merit in their subordinates if they came to the office on Sunday morning; and, what is more, there are examples of some being severely rebuked because they did not, on Sunday morning, come to the offices to work. Public sales were often held on the Lord's Day, and labourers had often to work on buildings which Government caused to be erected. Manufacturers often paid their labourers on Sunday morning, and the labourers hurried then into the gin-shops with their money. Tailors and shoemakers generally worked with their journeymen until Sunday noon, spending the afternoon at the inns.

We cannot say that there is a great difference between the different countries of the German nation, but it is quite natural that in countries removed from great commerce, especially amongst the peasants, the good old customs were retained more than in the towns. But I believe there is also a difference between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant countries of Germany. It seems to me that, in Protestant countries, public Sabbath desecration never proceeded to so great a length as in Catholic districts. The

greatest and most open Sabbath desecration will, I think, be found in that part of Germany which the emperor Maximilian used to call "my great priests' row;" that is, in the territories of the former spiritual electors, the bishoprics of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne. It is now a year and a half since I was elected pastor of the evangelical congregation of Bonn, on the Rhine, once the residence of the Elector and Archbishop of Cologne; and I must confess, though I had formerly my residence in Carlsruhe, in the Grand Duchy of Baden, where the Sabbath was not observed by any means as it ought to be, I was astonished to see the Sabbath desecration in my new dwelling-place. The festival day of every Catholic church—that is, properly, the anniversary of the consecration of the church—always begins with a solemn high mass; but ends regularly by dancing and music in the inns, by intemperance, and sin. I never heard a Roman priest bearing witness against such Sabbath desecration; but the Roman clergy seem to like such things, in order that the flesh and the old Adam may be satisfied also on the ecclesiastical festivals. I do not know one Catholic district in Germany where you can find a proper Sabbath celebration, or even an attempt made towards it.

This is the general aspect, and a fearful one it is. But now, you may ask, were there no faithful souls at all in Germany, striving against that iniquity, and bearing witness for that which God commands in his holy law? To be sure, there were always faithful souls in our country; and if any one should have said, with the prophet Elijah, "I, even I only, am left," the Lord would have answered to him, "Yet I have left me seven thousand in Israel, all the knees which have not bowed unto Baal, and every mouth which has not kissed him." Faithful Christians, in their small circles, ever observed the Sabbath commandment; faithful working men never did work on Sabbath-day; faithful merchants never sold anything on Sabbath-day; and a good number of Christian periodicals bear witness that faithful people did know very well the affliction of Joseph, and how ardently they desired its removal. But the number of those faithful souls was a small one, and their voice expired in the vast desert. And if it was heard in any place, a hundred voices cried out about melancholic Christianity, about Jewish and legal justice, and about Pharisaism.

But now, all of a sudden, not unexpected, indeed, by diligent Bible readers, and announced by many faithful preachers of the gospel, came the storm of 1848.

It surprised the most those it struck first, because they could not imagine that there are also, now-a-days, judgments of God. Those who had spread infidelity amongst the people, and those who had favoured its increase, instead of preventing it, saw with horror what fruits infidelity produces, if people begin to apply practically its doctrine. Those who had sown the wind, must now see how evil it is to harvest the whirlwind. I do not speak about the political side of the movements of 1848 and 1849, though in this free kingdom, where absolutism and Christianity are no longer thought to be the same, I would be understood as saying, that not all the claims of the people were unjust, and that a rude reaction would be no other than the sowing of a new evil. But I speak only of the Antichristian side of the movement just mentioned. Antichristianism coming forward quite uncovered, struck with fear those also who did not repose decidedly on Christianity—awakening them from their security. Anxiously they asked, What remedy can help us? Where is any salvation to be found for us? That by soldiers and bayonets people would not be improved—that was understood.

At that time, faithful people recovered courage, beginning a new activity. The call, "Home Mission!" was heard throughout the whole of our country. From Great Britain, the Prize Essays of the labourers about Sabbath celebration came over. *The Pearl of Days* was translated ten times, and many thousand copies were sold. The second Free Church Conference at Wittenberg, the city of Luther, and the third at Stuttgart, in southern Germany, were engaged very earnestly with the Sabbath question. No Christian conference was held without speaking about the Sabbath question. We may say that the movement for the renewal of a Christian Sabbath celebration always appears in the foreground. Three years since, the question began to be placed and viewed in altogether a new light. At present we see only the beginning, and very few fruits, but we are sure that this is the Lord's beginning, and that He who gave the beginning will give also a blessed increase and a blessed end.

Allow me now to tell you, in a very few words, what has been done in Germany for the improvement of Sabbath observance, during the last few years, as related in a periodical conducted by the Rev. Dr Wichern. Let me tell you what has been done by ecclesiastical and civil authorities, by Chambers of Deputies, by clergymen and laymen, by free societies, and conferences in dif-



ferent parts of my country,—though my report will not be complete, because, after a journey to Palestine and Syria, the time was too short to collect all the different facts. I must crave, therefore, your forbearance and indulgence. The Stuttgard Conference, already mentioned, was held in September 1850, and not less than two thousand clergymen and laymen from the different parts of Germany were present. In its first session, it resolved that an address should be published, to remind the German nation of the importance of a Christian Sabbath observance. The Conference resolved, secondly, that the Committee should send a letter to all the German governments, begging them to perform, in respect of Sabbath celebration, the duty and the right of a Christian government. Both addresses are published.

The address to the people contains so many excellent passages, that I beg leave to communicate a few sentences out of it. It begins by shewing that the chief reason of exterior miseries is the ruin of religious and moral life, contempt of Divine laws, and especially of the Sabbath commandment. One of the first lawyers of England (Blackstone) says, in his *Commentaries on the English Laws*, that nothing is more useful for the State than the celebration of the Lord's Day. The Lord Chief-Justice Hale wrote in his old age to a grandson, that he never had success in any worldly business done on a Sunday, but that all his affairs succeeded very happily when he had truly fulfilled his duties on the Sabbath-day. Then the address tells of the Prize Essays of the labourers in England, and continues:—"The greatest statesmen, the first speakers, the richest manufacturers and bankers, nay, all the true friends of the people in England, insist upon a strict celebration of the Sabbath for themselves and their dependants. Impartial men are convinced, that the political education by which the lower classes of the English nation surpass other nations—that the extraordinary wealth of England, and its supreme maritime power, is a clear proof of the blessing of God, bestowed upon this nation for its distinguished Sabbath observance. Those who behold the enormous commerce of England, in the harbours, the railways, the manufactories, &c., cannot see without astonishment the quiet of the Sabbath-day. All rest on Sunday; silence reigns in the most frequented streets; all running and hurrying, riding and driving, hammering and rattling, grows dumb by the highest law; millions of wheels in different manufactories stand still; and in the whole of public life, the honour that is due to the Lord of

glory is given to him. Only at the time of assembling for the numerous services are the streets crowded. Every one goes devoutly to the house of the Lord, the majority not only once, but twice or thrice. In the afternoon, more than two millions of children are instructed and edified in the Sunday-schools by clergymen, by schoolmasters, pious merchants, and labourers, and also by ladies. The evening is spent in the peaceable circle of the family, and nothing is heard of the noise of inns and gin-shops. How many evils are hindered by such a Sabbath celebration! how many evils we are not able to master! Travellers tell us, in no other country do they find so many well-educated, polite, pious, and happy children as in England." The address then goes on to shew by what means Sabbath desecration became so general in Germany. It says: "Our so-called polished and enlightened people learned this practice from the lectures and books of infidel philosophers, and still more from the innumerable writings of frivolous poets, novelists, deriders of religion, and from a deluge of bad pamphlets and newspapers." The address furthermore shews the terrible consequences of Sabbath desecration, and the great blessings of Sabbath celebration to both body and soul. "The labourer is able to do more work in six days, if he rests one day, than in seven if he has no rest at all. The celebration of the Lord's Day promotes cleanliness, and is important, therefore, for the health. Much greater are the blessings of Sabbath celebration for the life of the family, and for the acquisition of the highest kind of knowledge—that relating to spiritual things. But the greatest blessings of Sabbath celebration have their direct result in relation to Christian piety and morality. Of course, according as we celebrate the Lord's Day, a blessing or a curse will be imparted to us for time and eternity. Should we not be wise, and gain the blessing? Every true patriot, every one who loves his family and his nation, must wish anxiously that we might have a better observance of the Sabbath, and that all the wounds inflicted upon our people by a cold rationalism, a sterile morality, an overpowering infidelity, and a dissolute frivolity, might be healed."

The address concludes by mentioning the following practical points, which are to be observed:—"1<sup>st</sup>, All should be prepared on Saturday, that it may not be necessary to do any labour in the household on Sunday. 2<sup>d</sup>, Every one should dine very plainly on the Lord's Day, that the servants may have time to attend the services of God, and also for rest. 3<sup>d</sup>, Every one should be regu-

larly present at public worship, and at domestic devotion. *4th*, All the labour done on week-days must be omitted ; chiefly, the payment of the labourers, the delivering of finished, or the bespeaking of new orders, and generally all business and trade. *5th*, Children and servants should be looked after most conscientiously in respect of their employment of the Sunday. But, above all, every one should pray often and ardently to the Lord our God, that the Sabbath celebration may be restored amongst his people, and that all Governments and Chambers of Deputies may understand how pernicious it is for the people, if Sabbath celebration is more and more disregarded by the example of persons high in station, by working in the Government offices, by military reviews, by meetings of the public and of societies during the hours of Divine worship, by noisy or immoral public feasts, and by a lax legislature. Therefore, we entreat you, German fellow-Christians, return to the fidelity, to the modesty, to the obedience to God, which were the virtues of your fathers, and in which they were blessed. Retain God in your hearts, in your houses, in your communities, and, above all, give Him honour on His own day,—then His blessing will also return to you.”

This address, brethren, may shew you that the Stuttgart Conference, where about two thousand Christians of all the countries of Germany were assembled, was alive to the importance of the Sabbath question ; and, as I shall proceed to report, the address was not fruitless. I have mentioned already, that the same Conference resolved that the Committee should send another address to all the German governments. This address was delivered a few days before the opening of the Stuttgart Conference ; another Conference, of some hundred clergymen and laymen, at Barmen, near Elberfeld, resolved to send a petition to the Prussian Government on the same subject. It was not our intention to induce the Government to enforce a good Sabbath celebration by the secular arm, but only to request, as far as it concerned Government, that they would not disturb Sabbath observance, or make it impossible for any of its subjects. Therefore, we petitioned that no military review might be held on Sunday, that the officers of the post and the railways might not be occupied during the whole of that day, &c. The petition of the Committee of the Stuttgart Conference was more detailed, expressing not only the points already mentioned in the Barmen petition, but also shewing how often the right of the Sabbath rest is violated, by unjust oppression, in the

private relations of life. In the country, the poor workman is obliged to work six days for his master; and then, on Sunday, he cultivates his own small garden. In the towns, there are many tradesmen who will receive into their houses only those journeymen who promise to work on Sunday. In many manufactories, also, the labourers must promise to work seven days in the week, the cessation of the machinery being expensive. Similar petitions were sent to the Prussian Government, in the beginning of this year, by the Society for Sabbath Celebration in the Prussian Province of Saxony, and by some conferences of clergymen and laymen in the province of Brandenburg. In one of these petitions, it is said, "In the premature exhaustion of our labouring classes—in the pale faces we see in our workshops—in the increasing impoverishment in towns and in the country—we see the consequences of increasing Sabbath desecration, by worldly labours and dissolute amusements. We take away from the people the strength by which they may be preserved from heartlessness and desperation, in misfortune and misery, if we allow them to be deprived of the Lord's Day."

After the presentation of these petitions, the Prussian General Post-office, in the month of February of this year, ordered that all post-offices in Prussia should be shut during the Sunday, from nine to twelve A.M., and from one to five P.M. Also the Government has expressed its desire to stop the running of the railways; but, as we might have expected, the loudest protest was raised by mercantile boards. The Prussian Ministry for Commerce and Trade and Public Works, published, on the 27th May, a decree, shewing that the ministry well understands its duty to promote Sabbath celebration, especially as to the working-classes. It is said in this decree, "The attainment of the object referred to is not to be expected by orders of Government, but only by the efficacy of the church, the school, and good example, because by these only can the interior feelings of men be improved. But Government is willing to promote Sabbath celebration, by taking away the exterior hindrances and impediments."

In the kingdom of Saxony, also, the Government took some measures for promoting Sabbath celebration. This was as much required in Saxony as in Prussia. From Leipsic, for instance, it was reported, not only that working and hammering in the public squares during Sunday is quite common, but also that the police sell, for sixpence, tickets licensing to work in public during the

Lord's Day. A pamphlet, printed in Dresden, in 1850, entitled, *The Carnal State of the Capital! a Call in Distress, by the Evangelical Church of Saxony*, speaks of the indifference of the congregations in respect to public services, specifying the deficiency of churches and clergymen in the capital, which has only ten churches and twenty clergymen for 90,000 inhabitants. The pamphlet I have just referred to tells us, in respect to Sabbath desecration in Dresden, that the gin-shops are opened in the morning, and during service; that public dancing and music are permitted on the Lord's Day (the same being the case in the most parts of Germany), and that a so-called Tivoli theatre is allowed to be open on the Sabbath. In consequence of the petition of a clergyman, both the Chambers of Deputies in Saxony resolved unanimously, "That the strict enforcement of the law of 1811, with respect to the celebration of the Lord's Day, should be recommended to the Government." In the First Chamber of Deputies, the Minister said that Government was quite willing to publish an ordinance to promote the Sabbath celebration.

The Government of the Duchy of Brunswick commanded, by an ordinance of the 31st of December 1850, that all civil officers should promote diligently the observance of the new law respecting the celebration of the Sabbath.

In the kingdom of Hanover, also, the Government has given orders for a better observance of the Sunday; and in some towns, as, for instance, in Osnabruck, a better observance of the Lord's Day has been enforced by the mayor since the month of January last.

I am especially glad to mention in this place, that in the kingdom of Bavaria the Roman bishop begged the Government to protect Sabbath celebration, and that Government, in consequence of this petition, republished all the laws upon Sabbath celebration and public morality, which were never abolished, but had long been forgotten, and that those republished laws were distributed to all the civic boards and parishes.

Mournful news, on the contrary, have I to report respecting the Grand Duchy of Hesse. That Sabbath observance was in a very low state in that country, and also that the Ecclesiastical Board did not very much to promote it, we see by a rescript of the Consistory of the year 1843, in which we read,—“As often as the weather, or other circumstances, makes it necessary to continue agricultural labour on Sundays, after the morning service the bur-

gomaster of the village may give permission for it." But even in the Grand Duchy of Hesse a voice was heard advocating Sabbath observance. The deputy Ploch moved, in the Second Chamber, "That all public dancing parties, and all worldly amusements in public places, should be forbidden by law during the Sunday." In the session of the 24th March, the Committee reported respecting this motion, that it should be rejected. The report of the Committee is, indeed, an interesting one. It proves from Plato, "that the gayest men are also the best;" and from the great philosopher Kant, "that social amusements dispose men more and more to virtue. The aim which some persons wished to attain by Sabbath celebration must be attained by societies for promoting civilisation and knowledge amongst the people; by singing societies, and societies for gymnastic exercises." The discussion on the report was a very long one. Lessing, Luther, and even the old Bishop Paphnutius, were quoted as authorities. The deputy Sartorius, speaking in favour of the movement, loudly accused the higher classes of having taken away the Sunday from the people, by the bad example they gave. He accused the infidel preachers of turning the people from church by their tedious moral sermons, so that labour was made a pretext in order not to be obliged to go thither. At last, the motion in favour of the Sabbath was rejected, by forty-two votes against two. In the same way, a motion of Sartorius was rejected—"That a stricter law upon Sabbath celebration be passed; that the theatres be shut on Sunday; and that public dancing parties, at least, be restricted." The ministers declared themselves against the motion. The First Chamber of Deputies only resolved, "That public dancing parties and music be closed on Saturday at midnight, and begin on Sunday only after the service."

Having reported what has been done by Governments and Chambers of Deputies for promoting Sabbath celebration, I wish to add a few words respecting the proceedings of voluntary Christian societies for the same great purpose. To these I referred when speaking of the addresses of the Stuttgart Conference, which, without any doubt, exerted an influence on the resolutions of Government. If we return to Prussia, we must mention the complaints brought before the General Committee for Home Missions in Germany, respecting the increased Sabbath desecration in the eastern provinces. Complaints especially were uttered about the great misery of the poor farmers of eastern Prussia, who are almost

all obliged to cultivate their small fields or gardens during the Sunday, and are thus kept more and more from the church. In consequence of this, the General Committee for Home Missions in Germany will inquire into the facts, and collect on the spot materials, as complete as possible, respecting this grievance, that remedies may be adopted. And it is to be hoped that this measure may exert a good influence on the Government, the noblemen, the clergy, the committees, and all the societies for better Sabbath observance. Before all, it will be necessary that those persons who employ others, such as noblemen and manufacturers, make some sacrifices for the people; which, indeed, are sacrifices in appearance only. I am glad to report that fifty-two great proprietors and noblemen, of the provinces of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Pomerania, a short time ago published an *Address to Noblemen and Great Farmers, in favour of Sabbath Observance*, seriously calling on them to sanctify the Lord's Day. It is said, in this address, that those who employ others generally set a very bad example in breaking the fourth commandment. A large number of them break the Sabbath themselves, and rarely visit church. A greater number still neglect the sacred duty of the superior to admonish his inferiors on all that is good. Inferiors, very often, are even forced by their masters to work on the Lord's Day. Such bad trees must produce, necessarily, bad fruits—fruits, the bitterness of which we, the superiors, will be the first to taste, because we are the most guilty. A servant who is obliged to work every day, and can never sanctify the Sabbath, loses at length all reverence, not only for this one commandment, but also for all other Divine and human laws. His body and his soul perish, and we ourselves convert a faithful servant into an irritated enemy, and a servant of the revolution.

Not less gratifying is the *Letter to the Manufacturers*, written by the sugar manufacturer C. F. Schultze, of Calbe, on the river Saale, in the name of the Society for Sabbath Observance in the Province of Saxony, in the month of October, last year. Mr Schultze says:—"I direct my feeble words to you, my fellow-manufacturers, praying you to give back, in your businesses, the due honour to the Sabbath-day—to stop all the labours on this day in your manufactories, and to give back to the labourers a day they are deprived of so cruelly. It is a great responsibility, indeed, if we do not consider this, because all the thousands of our labourers are men quite as well as we, and not a hair's-breadth worse than

we. Liberty is the watchword at present. Why is it not thought of here, where it should be? That man only is free who can worship his God on the Lord's Day. And he who hinders him from so doing, has he any right to complain, if he has rebels for subjects, sluggards for labourers, even if he has thieves and scoundrels amongst his dependants? Can he reproach them without reproaching himself much more? No, indeed; because one law is as holy as the other; and one transgression is as much a sin as another. If we claim the right to desecrate the Lord's Day, others will take the right to say that property is theft. We have already heard that cry from afar, and woe to us, if the fact follows the commination!"

This letter was sent to all the manufacturers of the province, and we know that since last winter a number of sugar manufacturers have not worked on the Sabbath-day.

With respect to Rhenish Prussia we have to report similar beginnings and gatherings. Some synods of this province—for instance, those of Elberfeld and Lenep—issued addresses about Sabbath celebration in many thousands of copies; tracts were printed upon the same subject, and the prize essays of Oschwald and Liebetruets, and the *Pearl of Days*, are spread over the whole of our province. At Dusseldorf, on the Rhine, some merchants announced in the newspapers that from henceforth their shops would be closed during the whole of the Sabbath-day, and the same was done by some merchants of Crefeld.

And now I beg leave to report some facts, shewing that it is wished to restore to the Sabbath its proper place and observance, and not only to stop its desecration. In the first place, evening services are celebrated more and more generally. We hear from Bremen, from Stettin, and Berlin, that those services were held during the winter, manifestly with the Divine blessing resting on them, and that the gospel was there preached to very many who never used to attend church. We also, in my congregation at Bonn, commenced an evening service, and found that many of the poorest classes were regularly present. In Hamburg, the church was often found too small to hold all that came to these services, and working men, especially, formed a large portion of these congregations. In a valley of the mountains of Silesia, called the Schobergrund, a great blessing has attended the evening services. Amongst a large number of the most immoral persons, a better state of things seems to have commenced; the desire for ordinances



is again felt; in many houses the Bible is eagerly sought after. We heard a linen manufacturer of that country say, that he had now much more reason to be satisfied with the work of the weavers of that valley than formerly. In former times, those weavers were in great discredit for their bad work, and because they used to steal the yarn. Now they are collecting money for a bell to call them to the prayer-meetings in the school-house.

Still further, let me speak of the children services, which were commenced in Berlin and Erlangen in Bavaria, and are celebrated in many towns of Germany. In Hamburg, one of the city missionaries assembles more than a hundred children, and finds a new door to the houses and the hearts of the parents opened by these children. The societies of young working men are also increasing in the towns and villages; and because the members generally meet on Sunday evenings, they are preserved from those temptations and sins which assail working men, especially on the evening of the Lord's Day. In Dantzic, a knitting-school for beggars' children was established in the month of January of this year, and the intention is not only to occupy the poor children in a useful way, but to impart to them the gospel—the true Sabbath-day gift. In Heidelberg, some students, assisted by some faithful professors, have opened a Sunday-school for poor boys; at the commencement no more than thirty boys came, but during the last winter the school was visited by almost two hundred pupils.

I could mention a much greater number of examples of such efforts. I could mention a nobleman in the Prussian province of Saxony, who assembles his tenantry every Sunday evening, to prevent their frequenting inns and tippling-houses, and reads to them a chapter of the Bible and other good books, and sings hymns with them. I could mention another friend in the Grand Duchy of Hesse, who spends his Sabbath-days in going from sick-bed to sick-bed, and observes, that he feels that truly the Sunday is the resurrection day of our Lord. But I think enough has been mentioned, and will add only one thing more. In the Stuttgart Conference of last year, the Rev. S. C. Kapff moved, and the Conference resolved, "That the third Sabbath-day of every month should be a day for common prayer with all the evangelical Christians of Germany, especially on behalf of home missions and Sabbath observance." We know that this resolution did not remain without consequences—that new prayer-meetings were established; and we trust, if the number of Christians

increase who pray for Sabbath celebration, that the Lord will also send us an abundant answer in a better observance of His holy day.

Considering all these circumstances, we must exclaim, "Praise be to the Lord!" And if all is but a drop of salvation in the midst of the deluge of misery, it is yet a drop. A new beginning is made, and He who gave the beginning will also give the end. We are very thankful that Government is willing to abolish public Sabbath desecration, as a short time ago I read in a Christian newspaper of Berlin, that on Sunday, May 11th, in the morning, at eight o'clock, the public fair was abolished by the constables, and that now all public fairs are forbidden on Sabbath-days. But we do not trust in what Government and police regulations may do. We know that a true Sabbath observance must grow up from faith in Jesus Christ and love to the brethren. We know that human laws cannot support the Divine law, but that all human laws must be supported by the eternal law of God.

And now, in concluding, I wish to give you a short *résumé* of my report, and to lay before you my opinion about the state of the Sabbath question in Germany. I first mentioned the time when Sabbath desecration was much more general than it is now, and when scarcely one voice was heard against it. I then reported how, by the resolution of 1848, and by the Sabbath movement of Great Britain, a new interest was excited amongst German Christians. I further told you what has been done, during the past year, by the Stuttgart Conference, by some Governments and Chambers of Deputies, by Christian societies, and by individual Christians.

In conclusion, though we have great cause to rejoice in the altered aspect of affairs, yet there are a few things which loudly call for improvement.

First, you find very few merchants who shut their shops and warehouses during the Sabbath; and I am quite convinced that a true and Christian Sabbath celebration is impossible, as long as the shops are allowed to be open. What is to be done? If Government forbid the shops to be opened, there are a thousand ways to evade the law. It would be best if nobody would buy on the Sabbath-day; then tradesmen would no longer open their shops. But are there any means to persuade so many thousand people no longer to buy on the Sabbath?—to persuade, especially, the great number of peasants coming to church in the town, not

to take with them, out of the shops, what they require during the week?

In the second place, it is a great pity that in all Germany, for aught I know, there is not one town where the theatres are closed on the Sabbath. Much has already been written and spoken on this subject, but without any result until now. The greater number of our German theatres are supported by Government, especially those in our small capitals; and, as long as those Government theatres play on Sabbath-day, the others will do so likewise. I again ask, what is to be done in respect of these theatres? Again I answer—the best way would be, if we could, to persuade people not to visit any theatre on the Lord's Day. But how will that be possible?

The third point I wish to mention, is the state of the working people, and that of the labourers in the manufacturing districts. I told you that some attempts were made to persuade the manufacturers to give one day of rest to their labourers, but the results are, until this day, very small. The labourers can do but very little in this matter, because poverty obliges them to do what their masters command; and if there is a labourer who is strong enough in faith not to work on the Lord's Day, there are a hundred others to take his place with pleasure.

Fourthly, among Christian people there are bad habits which should be extinguished. I mean this: Many Christians in our country do not deem it wrong to make pleasure parties on the Sabbath-day, when the afternoon service is finished. You may find them riding and driving, without thinking that they offend against the law of God. Generally speaking, you find a laxness in Sabbath observance over all Germany; and I fear it will be quite impossible to remove the great and public Sabbath desecrations, without first removing the private desecration you find among Christians themselves.

Reviewing these four points, it seems to me that all these things have one common and deep origin. When I ask, what can we do to persuade people to shut shops and theatres?—when I reflect what we might do for the amelioration of the state of the working people, and what for removing those abuses amongst Christians,—I find only one answer. It is this:—We must repeat, and ever repeat, that the Sabbath-day is not a human but a Divine institution.

You know that an opinion prevails in our country, that there is

no real connexion between the Christian Sunday and the command of God, "Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy;" but that the Sunday celebration is a human institution, which must be left to Christian liberty, because it is good, and because it is enjoined by the Church. This view, in different gradations, you find too general in Germany; and I am quite convinced you agree with me in believing that a truly Christian Sabbath observance is only possible if we hold that the law given to Adam, and repeated on Mount Sinai, "Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy," has an eternal obligation. And consequently it will be our duty to repeat, ever and ever, that it is the law of the eternal God to keep the Sabbath-day. Then, if God give his blessing, public opinion will change on this subject, and perhaps also in Roman Catholic countries, such as the one where I now reside, a better celebration of the Lord's Day will be possible. Brethren, pray for us!

## THE INNER MISSION OF GERMANY.

BY THE REV. DR WICHERN,

DIRECTOR OF THE RAUH-HAUS, HORN, NEAR HAMBURG.

[THE Rev. Dr Wichern, of Horn, near Hamburg, had been requested to prepare a paper on the origin, the nature, and the operations of the Inner Mission. This he was unable to accomplish, and, indeed, entertained little hope, almost up to the last moment, that it would even be in his power to attend the Conference. He arrived after the meetings had commenced, and was so much occupied while in London in visiting our city missions, ragged schools, and other philanthropic and reformatory institutions, that he could devote but a small portion of his time to its proceedings. Once only he addressed the Conference, and once the public meeting in Exeter Hall. In these speeches he gave such information respecting the Inner Mission as was at the time in his recollection. It was necessarily imperfect and undigested, and consisted rather of particular facts and incidents than of a comprehensive and systematic view of its various operations, or of an exposition of the circumstances under which it originated, and which have led to its being received with so much concurrent sympathy and favour all over Germany. It is not the province of the Editor, in giving this volume to the public, to supply a history of this extraordinary and valuable movement among the Protestant Churches of that country, certainly one of the most hopeful indications of reviving spiritual life which they present to the observation of the present times. All that he can do is to gather the most salient points from Dr Wichern's speeches, of which accurate reports are lying before him, and present them in a somewhat more succinct and methodised form.—EDITOR.]

DR WICHERN began by remarking that, notwithstanding the almost universal prevalence of infidelity for so long a time in Germany, the truth had not been suffered to become altogether extinct. It was preserved especially by the Moravian Brethren; and while the Church had fallen into a low and distracted state, the true faith of the gospel continued to live among individuals, and works of Christian love were wrought secretly in many congregations. As an illustration, he mentioned that English Sabbath-schools had, even in the last century, been imitated in Germany.

Christian life was not only preserved, it is spreading. In a large province, containing three hundred clergymen, evangelical doctrine was not preached twenty-five years ago by two of them. But it was cherished by a few laymen, and these were chiefly among the nobility. They collected the peasants, the work-people, and the poor, in their castles, to the extent of two, three, and four hundred, and even of a thousand at a time, and preached the gospel to them. They had no wish to dissolve the flocks or to become separatists, but they were living witnesses to the truth. Where faith exists, there also will be found that love which looks after the lost. In that same province there are now two hundred believing faithful clergymen. In short, the seed of life has sprung up. Living and practical Christianity is exemplified. While theology is engaged in disputes, and philosophy is searching after truth, the people of God have eternal life, and shine in His light and glory.

A mistaken idea prevails to some extent in England respecting Germany. It is regarded as a heathen country. This he had heard, and he had read statements to this effect in English books. If nations are to assist one another, truth is the first condition of the mutual service. Germany, then, is a Christian country. It contains a great and Christian nation. They are a people who do not forget that the cradle of the Reformation once stood among them, which brought back to all nations the Word of the living God. The Lord has not removed the candlestick of his own light out of Germany. He has kept for himself a testimony there in the depths of science and the arts, and in Christian activity. Germany contains twelve universities, and there is scarcely a professor of divinity in one of them at this time, who does not teach the Word of God. The consequence must be, a large increase in the number of those who faithfully preach the gospel.

After life had been gradually dying away for centuries, it was at the close of the last century that pious believing Christians began again to pray, and to work for the regeneration of their country. One great man unknown in England, deserves especially to be mentioned. Ulsperger conceived the hope of recalling his countrymen to the faith of Christ. He visited England, under the impression that it would aid his design, but he found none to help him. On his return home, he formed a secret communion of praying believers, which spread all through Germany, a portion of which exists still. One of the fruits of this praying faith is the mission-house at Basle, so well known in this country. It is

impossible to say what love and pity have been manifested in Germany for many years past, in order to bring the poor, and especially the young, under the influence of religion. In the small kingdom of Wurtemberg, twenty-two Houses of Refuge have been formed for destitute and lost children, and they have been principally maintained by the poor. No doubt, Germany had sunk deep, but so had other nations, so had England also. But though spiritual life had well nigh departed, it had not become totally extinct.

Thus matters stood till about the year 1848. Then the Revolution swept over Europe, and spread universal terror. Believers in all parts of Germany were awakened by it, and, in a spirit of true repentance, confessed to one another, that they had sinned against their countrymen, and that the Christian Church had not answered the end for which it was planted among them. The Reformation was remembered. Wittenberg, Worms, Hapsburg, were the bright lights which shone into the hearts of evangelical Christians. They became increasingly convinced that the Christian Church is called upon to be the saviour of the people. The great questions of the present times, especially the social questions, are not to be solved by cannons and bayonets, but by the Word of God. When the living Christ comes among his people and calls around them his army of workmen (thus, he said, we speak in our fatherland), we hear his voice, and obey the call of the Lord. And these are they who work in the Inner Mission. This is an institution which at that time had not been begun, but which has been since so widely and heartily taken up, that it has become a national work.

By the Inner Mission is meant, not what in England is understood by a Home Mission. It is not a mission to neologians, nor to Roman Catholics, nor to any who are not included in the Protestant Church, but a mission designed to awaken those who are professedly within her pale. Not that others are absolutely excluded from its field of action, but that they are not primarily contemplated as lying within it. And it seeks to engage all living Christians in its works of usefulness, for it proceeds upon the principle upon which also the Protestant Church is itself founded, of the universal priesthood of Christians. If this principle be true, the Inner Mission aims to embody and to exemplify it, and calls, therefore, upon every Christian individually to shew himself to be a priest.

It is impossible to describe the entire circumference of this great German undertaking. Such aspects of it only as are likely most to interest an English audience can be presented.

Those who commenced it did not wish to go far away, but to begin as near home as possible. They asked themselves, Who stands nearest to me? And the answer was—I, myself, and my own family. What has filled our eyes with tears, and still excites in us the deepest alarm, is the ruin in our families. There are countries in Germany in which half the children are illegitimate. If the reason of this be sought after, and of pauperism, so greatly increasing, it is found in the fact, that the Bible has disappeared from the household. Accordingly, one of the first works of the Inner Mission has been, to recall families to family worship, for there are large districts in which, where it once obtained, it has altogether passed away. Ministers from the pulpit have exhorted parents to this important duty, and societies have been formed to promote its observance; and, happily, not without effect. An instance may be mentioned. A nobleman, attending a meeting, in which its obligation was insisted upon, came and confessed his own neglect of it, and returned to his home, which was far distant, repenting of his sin, and forsaking it. We say of the head of a family who thus gathers his children and subordinates around him, his man-servants and his maid-servants, at family prayer, that he is engaged in the work of the Inner Mission. In relation to family order and family worship, England has especially been held forth by us as an example, and our countrymen have been pointed to what the Lord has done for England, as a nation, as the result mainly of what He has done in its families, where so extensively his Word and his worship are held in reverence. The restoration of the Christian family is impossible without the restitution of family devotion.

A second work of the Inner Mission is, to look after miserable and lost children. Vast numbers of such are given over to sin and crime. I, myself (said Dr Wichern), live in a house into which, for several years past, I have gathered continually about a hundred of these wretched outcasts, incendiaries, thieves, sinners. These are they who fill our prisons. We have prisons in Germany, which, twenty years ago, contained only some 300 criminals, that now are crowded with thousands. To stop this fearful tide of crime, we must endeavour to reclaim the young transgressor. The houses into which we receive them are called Houses of Refuge.



They are built in the country ; and the children are occupied principally in agricultural labour. We place over them Christian heads of families, and we experience more and more the blessing with which God attends them. During the last twenty-five years, about one hundred and fifty such institutions have been formed. They are founded and maintained, not by the Government, but by individual and voluntary benevolence. It is commonly held, also, as a principle among them, not to accumulate capital. Our capital is living faith. It lies in the hearts of believers. Each of these institutions has its roots, with a thousand threads, in the bosoms of God's people, who assist them with the property which the Lord has placed at their disposal. Fifty have been founded since the revolutionary year of 1848, when everything seemed threatened with destruction. These houses receive both vicious children placed in them by their parents or guardians, and juvenile criminals sent by the magistrates. But only on condition that they are forgiven. When parents bring their children with complaints, and tales of many grievances, and when they are sent by magistrates, the first word they hear is this : " All that you have done till now is pardoned : the past is completely forgotten, and you shall never be reminded of it any more." These children are to be taught, by this manifestation of human Christian love, the higher and greater love of God.

Akin to the work carried on among these juvenile sinners is the visitation of the prisons. It seemed important to us that Christian love should concern itself with the condition of prisoners. And when we looked about for examples of such living love, again our eye rested on England. Two honoured names presented themselves to our admiration. In thousands of works, the pious labours of Elizabeth Fry are made known to the German people. I could mention many cities in which her name has stirred up the inhabitants to deeds of Christian charity, and an imitation of her example. The second name which is thus beloved by Germans, is that of Sarah Martin. In the cottages of the poor, and in large meetings of oftentimes a hundred criminals, male and female, the history of Sarah Martin is read, and their spirits are refreshed by learning what the Lord has done by an English maiden. It was on one occasion told of her, that she had wrought so much the more for five days in the week, in order to gain a second Sabbath on the Monday. A celebrated professor of natural philosophy in a German university heard this, and he resolved from that time, and is

now carrying out his resolution, to act in a similar manner, that he might devote the more time to the same work of Christian love. Thus the flame kindled in England, in this case, again spreads through Germany.

Another object of the Inner Mission is, to mitigate, and, as far as may be, to annihilate pauperism. German countries have been reduced almost to despair by increasing poverty. An immense gulf has arisen between the rich and the poor. The poor are filled with envy, the rich with fear. The question is asked, How is this gulf to be filled up? No stream of gold can fill it. It can be filled only by the love which is born of God. This alone can unite those divided grades of society. The great mistake has been committed in Germany, of supposing that the care of the poor should devolve on Government, and that pauperism can be cured by poorhouses. But another British name has instructed us here—the name of Chalmers has cast a new light upon Germany. The Inner Mission, addressing itself to this work, has endeavoured to enforce the principle, that each congregation should take care of its own poor; and that those who are not in poverty themselves, should provide for their fellow-worshippers who are. What we should give to the poor is not so much money, or food, or clothing, but ourselves. This, however, is only then possible when faith has become a living thing in the heart; for a man cannot give himself to another, unless he has first given himself to Christ. In most parts of Germany are now to be found traces of the commencement of this work of love. It is assumed that the pastors are the beginners; and that they collect the believers in their congregations around them, to whom this ministry is confided, giving them with the bread that perisheth the bread of life, and with the outward garments the garment of the righteousness of Christ, which he has procured for us by his death.

The Inner Mission is reviving the Bible Societies. Germany is indebted to English Christians for their original institution; but they have been suffered to fall into decay. Nothing can be done without the Word of God. I cannot state the number of Bible colporteurs in Germany; it varies from month to month; and there are six or seven Bible Societies. In a large city of northern Germany, the Bible was carried by the Inner Mission from house to house. In this manner it was offered to six thousand persons. Almost half of them refused it, declaring that they no longer believed in it, and by some it was torn to pieces in the very presence

of the colporteurs. But there were more than a thousand who thanked God that his Word was again offered to them.

But it is not enough that a person possesses the Word of God, or even that he reads it—it is necessary that he should understand it. Hence Bible lectures have been commenced, in which the Holy Scriptures are both read and explained. In our small circle, fifty such lectures have been instituted, and fifteen in one of our cities during the last winter.

These several works of Christian usefulness are carried on in different localities, and over a wide extent of country; and it was always felt as a painful circumstance, that they were not connected among themselves by any common link. An interchange of experiences, from which mutual improvement and encouragement might have been expected, was thus prevented. It was this want which led to the formation of the Central Committee at the meetings at Wittemberg and Stuttgart. And now that has been formed, many works have been undertaken by it which could not so well have been engaged in by local zeal. The following may be especially mentioned.

Railroads are in course of construction throughout Germany. On one of them seven thousand labourers were employed for four years. They were compelled to work on Sabbath-days as well as through the week. To them the Word of God was carried. And among the four thousand engaged on another line, an ordained minister and colporteurs are employed.

Only one other work may be mentioned, and it is, that which the Central Committee has undertaken, among Germans who have left their fatherland and are scattered over the world. Germans, like Israelites, are found everywhere, and, for the most part, they are in a wretched condition. In Constantinople, for instance, they intermarry with Turks, Armenians, Roman Catholics, Greeks; and a large proportion fall into neology and Antichristianism. There the Inner Mission has instituted a school and sent a schoolmaster, and a Protestant clergyman is also employed among them. The same wretchedness exists in Naples, and a person will shortly be sent there to take care of the orphans. But the greatest work among expatriated Germans is to be done in Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, and other places in France, and also in French Switzerland. Amongst them it is that those miserable men have been brought up, who, returning to Germany, declare it to be their mission to make of men personal enemies to God.

In conclusion, Dr Wichern remarked, that in the further development of the Inner Mission, the conviction was growing in the minds of its friends, that it must be an international work, in which England, France, Germany, and Switzerland, must become one people, one great congregation of the Lord. We have already learned much from you—from your Bible Societies, your Tract Societies, your Sunday-schools, your zeal for the observance of the Sabbath, which also has become one of the tasks of the Inner Mission. We have learned from you also the plan of a city mission and of itinerant preaching. This is the beginning of a new era in the history of the world, in which we shall stand together as a generation of brethren giving to each other the hand of friendship. Then will come the time when the Lord will appear as King in heaven and on earth, and the different Christian nations shall stand as a band of priests, to adore and praise Him as the God of the whole earth. We pray you, as dear brethren, to come over to our meeting at Elberfeld, and be convinced that thousands are waiting to stretch out to you a brother's hand, that we may be one in that faith of which it is written, "This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith."\*

\* For further particulars of the Inner Mission, and of the meetings at Wittenberg, Stuttgart, and Elberfeld, see *Evangelical Christendom*, vol. ii. pp. 345, 373; vol. iii. pp. 215, 332; vol. iv. pp. 342, 343; vol. v. pp. 112, 174, 203, 234; vol. vi. pp. 111, 139, 174.

# SWITZERLAND.

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# SWITZERLAND.

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## INFIDELITY IN FRENCH SWITZERLAND.

BY THE REV. L. BURNIER,  
OF MORGES, CANTON DE VAUD.

THE subject fallen to my lot, and which I have, perhaps, accepted without sufficiently considering my ability, is so painful to review, that we could wish there was no necessity for it. This, sirs, was my first impression. Who does not know, I said, that the heart of man is naturally unbelieving; that wherever true faith in Jesus Christ is wanting, there is infidelity; and that in every country the majority are strangers to true faith? It is true that infidelity does not always appear in the same form, in a philosophical and ethnological point of view, and this is not to be overlooked; but, I said again, when the apostles preached the gospel, we see that they paid little regard to the various forms of idolatry by which Satan deceived the multitude, or of the divers kinds of philosophy with which he amused the superior classes. They addressed all as poor, lost sinners, and proclaimed to them the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

I was not less struck, sirs, with the difficulty of the subject than with its apparent inutility; and that difficulty is such that, after long reflection, I am not sure that I have fully estimated it. Understanding by infidelity, *a distinct rejection of the Christian faith* (see the *Churchman's Theological Dictionary*), I was led to inquire,—must we put in the rank of infidels those who, although they receive the gospel as a whole, yet reject some of its doctrines reckoned as vital by the generality of living, orthodox Christians? And here our thoughts turn on all the different shades of rationalism, from the followers of Arius to those of Strauss and Pius.

When this point is settled, it will be necessary to classify and number the infidels. But it would be easier to classify and number the trees of a forest, where the different kinds are mixed with the greatest confusion. Even in winter the tree is known by its bark and figure. This is not the case with infidelity. A statistical view, properly so called, of infidelity, is not only difficult but impossible; nor do I think this is required of me. What, then, is desired? Simply, such facts and observations as may serve to give a general view of the kind of infidelity which prevails in French Switzerland, and the influence it exercises over the State, the Church, our laws, and our morals. Viewed in this light, the question may receive an answer, although it is still left very complex.

DEFINITION OF THE COUNTRY, AND GENERAL VIEW OF THE  
RELIGIOUS STATE OF ITS INHABITANTS.

Suisse Romande, the field of our observations, is a very small country, but abounding in contrasts. It forms a kind of triangle, of which the three extremities are Geneva, Sion, and Porentrui, presenting a surface of 2400 English miles. On this limited territory, which comprises, however, almost the whole of Swiss Jura, and some of the High Alps to the south-east, is found a population of about 500,000 souls, having scarcely anything in common, except their language and the same political bond of confederation. Leaving out the Jews, who are very few in number, two religious parties divide Suisse Romande. The cantons essentially Protestant are De Vaud and Neuchâtel; the Bas Valais is entirely Roman Catholic. The French part of the canton of Fribourg is Roman Catholic also, with the exception of a Protestant district. In the cantons of Geneva and Jura Bernois there is a mixture. Taken in the whole, more than three-fourths are Protestants.

The people, also, are very different in their history. Near the ancient Swiss of the canton of Fribourg are those who but yesterday were French or Savoyards; others, who were for a long time only allies of the Swiss, or subjects of one of their cantons, or even of a German prince. There are found the opulent cities of Geneva and Neuchâtel; the modest town of Lausanne; populous burghs, far advanced in civilisation, as La Chaux de Fond and Locle; a number of villages and hamlets, and even little towns, concealed by their orchards in the bottom of the valleys, far removed from the sight and society of mankind; works of industry rivalling those



of the greatest nations; rural and pastoral manners almost in their primitive state; an intellectual culture which, all things considered, is not surpassed, which makes Suisse Romande one of the principal markets for French literature, especially of its periodicals. We, however, have also vast numbers who read only an almanac, or, from time to time, some political paper relating to their own locality.

I do not think that any one can flatter himself that he possesses a perfect knowledge of Suisse Romande; nor should I have allowed myself to undertake the task which I have the honour now to present to you, had I not hoped to receive, from friends of the cantons of Geneva and Neufchâtel, Berne, and even Vaud, such information as I required, to add to the very imperfect personal knowledge which thirty-five years of an active life has given me of the country in which I was born.

On the first aspect, there is no place which has more the air of appearing to belong entirely to Jesus Christ. I shall not speak of the number of churches and chapels that cover our soil, nor of the still greater number of ecclesiastics that supply them; of the sums contributed to the treasury of the cantons for the support of religious worship; of the important place which religion occupies in our constitution and laws (the idea of a *Christian State* having been realised among us in the highest sense). Go into the first house you come to, you will, if I am not greatly mistaken, find there a Bible; the husband and wife will tell you the day of their union was blessed at the church, and that, too, even in the cantons of Vaud and Geneva, where marriages before the civil authorities are legalised. All the children will have been baptized (unless you happen to have met, which is a very rare case, with some Baptist), although, in these two cantons also, baptism is not enforced by legal obligation. The children, in their turn, will tell you that they all go to school; and you will find them learning their catechism. If they are fifteen years of age, you will find them at the parsonage, where they go to receive their pastor's catechetical instruction; and if they are upwards of sixteen, you will find that they have all been admitted to the Lord's Supper, and congratulate themselves on it.

On leaving this house, apparently so Christian, follow me to one of those beautiful pieces of water, the ornament of our villages and cities, and where our females of the lower classes are occupied after the fashion of Nausicaa. Ask them if they believe in Jesus

Christ, they will unhesitatingly answer in the affirmative; if Protestants, they will add that they receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper four times a year; if Roman Catholics, that they go regularly to confession. Be not afraid to ask the men whom you meet on the highway; they will doubtless shew more hesitation, but you will find few who will acknowledge themselves infidels; and I know not that you will find, in the country parts, one who does not attend public worship, at least once a year—if a Roman Catholic, at Easter; if a Protestant, on the fast-day.

Then repair to a bookseller; inquire for infidel publications in French Switzerland. He will tell you that they have, properly speaking, no organ of infidelity; if there have been any original publications hostile to the faith, they were sent forth by German Socialists, and when they translated them, or even quoted passages from them in the daily papers, they excited the public indignation. He will tell you that certain abettors of infidelity wished to have Strauss translated into French, but the person to whom they applied, though an infidel himself, refused to undertake it, because such works would not find circulation among us. He will tell you, that even journals which hold the highest revolutionary views, and satirical publications, abstain from direct attacks on Christianity, because this would shock the general feeling.

Present yourself as a "friend and brother," and ask for an introduction to a club of atheist or infidel propagandists, such as are elsewhere found. You will be told that nothing of this kind is known amongst us. There are, doubtless, men who hardly know how to meet without expressing the infidel thoughts that rankle in their bosom; several who take a horrible pleasure in propagating their opinions; but organised societies to overturn Christianity, is what no one has ventured to establish in Suisse Romande.

Yet, sirs, a country which speaks the language of Diderot, D'Alembert, Helvetius, Dupuis, and Volney—which gave birth to Jean Jacques Rousseau, and afforded him an asylum—which was for twenty years the favourite residence of Voltaire; a country in which, when France herself blushed at the fact, the obscene poems of Piron, of Jean Baptiste Rousseau, and of the Seigneur de Fernez, were printed by a typographical society, in which one of the chief magistrates of the country was concerned—a country which was the rendezvous of revolutionary writers, such as Mercier, who there published his *Picture of Paris*—Raynall his *Philo-*

*sophical History of the Two Indies*—Mirabeau some small works—and where, in the year 1780, the entire works of Voltaire were published by subscription, in the list of which figure the names of several ministers of the gospel, a professor of theology, and at its head the king of Prussia and the prince of Neufchâtel—a country that was ravaged by revolutionary tempests long before France, and which, since the French revolution, has not ceased, so to speak, to be in a state of revolution—a country which has served as a refuge to French emigrants, for the most part the sad wreck of the reign of the odious Louis XV., and which has seen its territory occupied by armies, who the more easily sowed the seeds of impiety and bad morals, because they were received as friends—a country, where from the beginning of the last century arose, in the body of its pastors, that ecclesiastical but dogmatical latitudinarianism which is the virtual denial of all positive faith, and where, since then, unity has been made to consist in the toleration of errors the most serious, in receiving a salary from the same fund, and in this new Popery, which allows all kinds of divergences, provided the directing authority be recognised—a country where, more than anywhere else, at least in the greater part of it, the Government has so interfered in the management of church affairs, that the people can hardly see in their ministers anything but functionaries of the State, and in religion itself only an instrument by which to govern—a country, over a part of which the Jesuits, for the last thirty years, have had an undivided sway—in a word, a country where the religious instruction of all classes consists almost only in reciting a meagre catechism, and where *The Mysteries of the People*, by Eugene Sue, finds now eight thousand subscribers—is it possible, sirs, that such a country should have escaped the torrent of infidelity?

Those amongst us, now enlightened by the gospel, and made capable of appreciating things, recollect the state of religion in these countries at the beginning of this century; and those who also have been able to gather information concerning the close of the last century, acknowledge that all true piety at that epoch had disappeared from Suisse Romande. There were, here and there, however, we charitably hope, a few souls, who having escaped the general desolation, thought seriously of eternity, and put their trust in Jesus Christ. We know, also, that in some corners of the country, especially among the mountains, certain religious habits, remnants of better days, were carefully preserved; but under

these forms there was a profound torpor, if not much hypocrisy. In one place, a Socinian clergy was preaching only a cold morality; in another, were ministers proverbial only for drunkenness, avarice, and idleness; elsewhere there was more decorum, but not more life—the greater part so irreverently mixed up texts of Holy Scripture with their trifling conversation, that we can only see in them real infidels; in the bosom of their flocks were a few Moravians, but much decayed; a few followers of Madame Guyon, more worldly than any, mistaking the flashes of mysticism for light. As to the remainder, all were asleep—that is, infidelity everywhere prevailed, an infidelity which in the multitude had no consciousness of its own existence, but which was avowed and made to appear by persons of the higher classes of society. The universal opinion is this, that infidelity amongst us, as elsewhere, has had its rise in the higher classes of society.

With the peace of 1815, by the grace of “our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ,” a revival of religion took place in Suisse Romande—the revival which has been the means of procuring the honour of having representatives to this assembly. This revival, though, after all, but weak, produced a great sensation, as a slight noise sounds like thunder through the caverns of a deep and silent grot. It was also for our people the revival of infidelity. The pastors and magistrates were all ready, and, pushed on by them, the multitude was happy to persecute the gospel in the name of religion and of the country. It was said that Methodism (the name given to this religious movement) had made a multitude of infidels. It is unnecessary, in an assembly like this, to expose the error of this judgment, but it shews the truth of those words of Holy Scripture, “that which maketh manifest is light;” for by means of that revival of religion—which, thank God, still continues in Suisse Romande, and goes on apparently with greater energy—infidelity is made more apparent, and indeed more active than formerly; although, as I have already remarked, this country remains one of those that has most preserved the appearance of a Christian country.

However, the reality does not correspond with the appearances. To enter into detail, and begin with that portion of Suisse Romande which, whilst it is less known to the narrator, occupies also a less considerable part in the question—I mean, the Roman Catholics.

## I. INFIDELITY AMONG ROMAN CATHOLICS.

In the canton of Geneva there are from twenty to twenty-five thousand Roman Catholics, in a population of about seventy thousand. Since the last revolution, the Protestant interests having been sacrificed, even by Protestants themselves, to those of radicalism, there has arisen a Popish party which exercises a preponderating influence on the affairs of state. Since then, the number of Romanists who attend to the practices of their worship is much greater than before. We believe, however, that there are not above a thousand Romish devotees who entirely satisfy their priests, in the manner in which they acquit themselves of their duty to the Church. And if we consider that amongst a thousand devotees there will be found those who have only the exterior of devotion, we shall be convinced that infidelity is almost universal amongst the Roman Catholics of Geneva. There are, however, few who dissolve their relationship with their spiritual head, for this would be to separate themselves from their party. But there is no reason to believe that the infidelity which prevails amongst the Roman Catholics in Geneva is in anything different from that which is found amongst the Protestants.

The Bas Valais, more under priestly dominion, is not altogether as the priests would wish. This arises in part from the fact, that many of the people are better believers, and more moral, than their spiritual guides. Besides, it is in this portion of the Bas Valais that persons are found advanced in politics and civilisation, in consequence of their frequent intercourse with that portion of the Canton de Vaud which lies next to them, and which is one of those where modern opinions have made most progress. The chiefs in the Bas Valais are pretty much, if not quite, open infidels; and that, too, of the school of Voltaire. Full of contempt for the superstitions of Romanism, they yet fear much more the influence of the pure gospel, such as they see it amongst their neighbours in the Canton de Vaud. The divers attempts that have been made to carry the light of the gospel to this poor people have met with the most insurmountable opposition; politicians joining, in this, with priests whom they detest. There, then, infidelity is intolerant, and would easily become persecuting; whilst in Geneva it professes the greatest toleration. What will it become if the day should ever arrive when the Papists shall find themselves a majority?

The French part of the canton of Fribourg, containing three-fifths of the entire population, of which five-sixths are Papists, offers an interesting spectacle. It is that corner of the country which has best preserved what the Latin poet calls "*prisca fides*," a pagan expression, which does not mean the true faith. There, also, if we are rightly informed, there exists a desire for religion, and a respect for sacred things, more evident than elsewhere; and there is, even in the look of the Roman Catholic Fribourgiens, something of I know not what, which indicates their aspirations towards heaven; we find them also somewhat easy of access in the attempts that have been made to carry them the Bible. With the greater number, their religious zeal spends itself in vain superstitions, and does not prevent, as it does elsewhere, the prevalence of much infidelity. Among the greater part of the men in towns, and especially among the chief political leaders, infidelity is notorious. Perhaps it did not prevail less in their predecessors, but it did not manifest itself. To secure order, or rather their own domination, they conducted themselves in perfect accordance with the Jesuits. The people were better believers; and whilst we deplore the errors of these poor Fribourgiens, we admire the confidence of those who, in the war of the *Sunderbund*, firmly believed that the Virgin Mary would defend herself by a miracle, and that amulets, blessed by their priests, would protect them against the bullets of the Protestants. Alas! it is the sad lot of Popery to vacillate unceasingly between impiety and superstition, and the result of both is the same. Because we see more of religious fear among the Papists than among Protestants, some have regretted the want of Popery as a more efficacious means of influencing the masses. But, without speaking of essentials, I would say of Romanism, as a means of salvation, is there more morality in a superstitious Papist, than even in an infidel Protestant? And the infidelity which is the reaction of ultramontaniam, is it less vulgar, deep, and disorderly, than the reaction against what Protestants are pleased to call Methodism? And that double question the towns of the canton of Fribourg—a Popish land by excellency—will answer in the negative; and everything leads us to believe that most horrible impiety is making the most rapid strides in the country parts.

It is the same with Jura. The majority of the people are ultramontane Papists, and remain attached to their belief. The priests, generally men of little note, yet exercise a strong influence

over the multitude. There are, however, amongst the Roman Catholics of Jura some excellent persons, of sincere, though not enlightened piety; but the religion of the greater part consists only in hatred of Protestants, and a few outward ceremonies of devotion. Besides this, there is in all the villages a minority, avowedly infidel; and in the towns of Delemont and Porentrui, where are persons too well instructed to adopt Romish superstitions, are found profane atheists, who have fallen into the deepest degradation. There is also a total absence of moral conduct amongst professed believers, as well as amongst infidels.

On the whole, known and declared infidelity appears to have more adherents in Jura than in the canton of Fribourg, in the canton of Fribourg than in the Bas Valais, and in the Bas Valais than at Geneva; ultramontanism having the same progressive decrease. We need not say that political radicalism reckons in its ranks the greater part, if not the whole, of the Roman Catholic infidels in Suisse Romande; but it is at Geneva only that it has the support of the generality of Romanists, whether infidels or devotees. Perhaps, also, this red communist radicalism is found only amongst the infidels of Jura, where ultramontanism prevails.

To complete this picture, or rather sketch, we should speak of the Catholics scattered in the Protestant cantons of Vaud and Neuchâtel; these amount, perhaps, to five or six thousand in a population of 270,000; but if there is anything particular to remark, it is that they are more zealous for their religion, without being less infidel than in other places. Their zeal is the result of their position. Being most of them strangers in Switzerland, they have little political influence. In the mixed communes, they vote with conservatives; quite the reverse of the Catholics of Geneva. Popery, as such, has no political origin—it is just what you please, provided it reigns.

## II. INFIDELITY AMONG PROTESTANTS.

From the Roman Catholics let us turn to the Protestants. They form, as we have already said, three-fourths of the population; and, more clustered together than the Catholics, they present, perhaps, from canton to canton, less real diversity in reference to the point now under examination. I say from canton to canton, for there is a remarkable difference between the country and the towns, the plain and the mountains; between those who inhabit

the cultivated valleys, and those who lead a pastoral life. These four distinct classes—the inhabitants of the town, the cultivator, the shepherd, and the artisan or mechanic—may, however, be reduced to two. Till of late, the shepherd of our Alps was honourably distinguished from the agriculturist, and especially from the cultivator of the vine; but now all have sunk to the same level of infidelity; and the inhabitants of our towns no longer differ from the villagers of St Croix, and still more from one of La Chaux de Fonds; without taking into the account that the useful arts form the principal occupation of the most important of our cities—you understand that I speak of Geneva.

What characterises the inhabitants of the country is their ignorance; not that they are more ignorant than persons of the same description of other countries: everywhere there are schools, which children (except in the canton of Geneva) are required to attend, from the age of seven to sixteen. The good done by these schools is not very evident, for they have not yet succeeded in spreading a taste for instruction. An agriculturist or vine-dresser having a little library is a thing unknown. A Bible thrown on a chest of drawers, here and there some odd volumes, coming from no one knows where, and treating on no one knows what, then an almanac—this ends the list, and the least instructive are preferred. In their ignorance the country people hold many ancient heathen superstitions; and, as is always the case, these, by the hopes and fears which they excite, exercise a destructive influence over religion. Ignorant and earthly, the labour of the field and the care of cattle are, in their estimation, the sole ends of existence. If a man has laboured hard during his life, this is all God requires of him. And if he has brought up a numerous family, and placed them in a condition to earn their bread, this is the highest point of virtue. The thoughts of the majority of our country people, I am sure, never rise higher than the clods of their furrows, the shoots of their vines, or the branches of their walnut-trees, and ceaselessly turn in the narrow circle of crops to sell, interest to pay, and culture to be done. For some time past, our country people have improved on the former routine of agriculture, which has partly expanded their knowledge; politics have also given a sort of development to their ideas; but still, under one form or another, the earth and its interests occupy their whole attention.

The country people of Suisse Romande are, in general, very distrustful. This is a fruit of ignorance; but, we may also add, of



their own want of good faith in their own transactions. They distrust especially persons well informed. If two individuals should attempt to give them advice, the one truly enlightened, the other a little above the common grade of ignorance, they would listen to the latter in preference to the former, especially if he flattered their tastes and habits. The low pot-house orator is sooner believed than the pastor; and in what village are not such orators found? Sometimes a retired or dismissed schoolmaster, in declaiming against religion, compensates himself for the time during which his duties compelled him to appear religious. Sometimes an attorney or notary's clerk, who has lived in the chief place, sung the songs of Béranger, and familiarised himself, by reading newspapers, with the spirit of the times, sets forth amongst his companions his contempt of sacred things, and the stereotype jests which, from the times of Voltaire, have been the amusement of the enemies of the gospel. Sometimes it is a fellow-countryman, returned from foreign countries, and who has acquired in his own village the influence of a man who has seen the world; who, however, has seen or observed only what could tend to corrupt him.

Add to this, the rude manners of country people, the habit of swearing, frequenting taverns as a place for making bargains, like the Exchange at Paris or London; drunkenness, which, after all efforts to diminish it, is still very general; the too early and free intercourse of the sexes, which leads to improprieties, so that in our country places there are but few respectable marriages; the progressive relaxation of paternal authority, the defective training of children, the continual profanation of the Sabbath, and the total neglect of family worship—and you will have no difficulty in conceiving that the country people, notwithstanding their profession of Christianity, bringing their children to baptism and the Lord's Supper when of age, and partaking of this holy ordinance sometimes themselves, are, nevertheless, plunged in deep infidelity.

I do not say that in all cases they shew themselves inaccessible to religious emotions. There are few who will reject good counsel on certain occasions, or who do not wish for the prayers of their pastor, if they believe themselves on their death-bed. Were it not for those who lead them astray, we might, I think, without much trouble, bring them back to something better. Those men who in the Canton de Vaud, especially on two occasions, shewed themselves so hostile to religion, would never have thought of rising up against assemblies for Christian edification, if they had not

been urged to it; for their first movement is rather favourable to whatever bears the name of religion. It is not less true, that in many of our parishes, we know not of a single soul converted, and that if our country parts, taken together, do not present many open, acknowledged infidels, yet sincere and avowed professors of evangelical religion are still fewer. One of the most favourite opinions of the country people is, that when we die all is dead; man lives again in his children, and there is no other resurrection; all the dead are declared happy, but it is evident that by happiness they mean only silence and annihilation. A father or mother will rejoice in going to rejoin the children they have lost; that is, going where there is no more suffering, because there is no more consciousness. According to our country people, the Bible is the book of the ministers—they only have an interest in circulating it; nay, more, that it is their own production. It is only black on white; and paper bears whatever you please. To go to church on the Sabbath, and attend to the concerns of the soul, is very well for the rich, who have nothing better to do. To labour is to pray; it is better than prayer. And, lastly, they say, the Bible will not give us our bread. Some say the sun is God, and there is no other. And since nothing is more common than to hear them say, when speaking of their ordinary affairs, "If it please God," or, "with God's help," it is as when the pagans said, "*Si qua fata sinunt.*"

The lowest materialism, with its inevitable consequence, fatalism, is the peculiar character of the infidelity of our country people. This explains, amongst other things, their perfect calmness, generally speaking, under the ills of life (provided these evils are evidently not of human agency) and the resignation with which they wait their end, fearing only the extreme sufferings of that hour, and preferring, above all things, a sudden and unexpected death.

But what is it, sirs, that I am doing? I tell you nothing but what you have seen around you, for where is the country in which materialism does not exist? Does it not lie at the foundation of all infidelity? And when the apostle lays down the distinguishing mark of believers from the men of the world, does he not say, "We look not at the things which are seen, for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal"? Only, I think, there are few Protestant countries in which materialism harmonises, as it does in ours, with those appearances of Christianity which I have already mentioned. For a materialist,

the most spiritual worship is material. Bring forth crosses, images, religious pomps—the materialist readily receives them, understanding that all his religion lies in the water of baptism, the elements of the Lord's Supper, hearing a sermon, or in the walls of a building, the tower of which overlooks the houses of the village. These things are with him the only realities. But as for the baptism of the Holy Ghost, fellowship with Christ, the spiritual food of the Word of God, the efficacy of prayer, the Church the mystical body of the Lord—all this, if he ever thinks of it, appears only chimera. The visible, the material, the tangible—what nourishes the body and satisfies the animal appetites—this only is real;—as for the invisible and eternal world, no one has ever returned from it to tell us what it is. In thus speaking, our self-called Christians deny Jesus Christ, who came from the Father to teach us things which He himself had seen and heard.

If, then, sirs, we should regard as infidels only professed deists or atheists, renouncing for themselves and theirs all connexion with or relation to Christian faith and practice, I should then say there are few, exceedingly few infidels in the country parts of Suisse Romande—no more than in Roman Catholic countries; but if it is granted that formality and a certain religious demeanour, as a thin covering—which, however, cannot hide their odious irreligion—is infidelity, then I repeat it, that infidelity is general; and the most unvarying form under which it appears is that of materialism.

The case is still worse amongst artisans or mechanics, if we may consider an evil to be worse for shewing itself openly.

The portions of French Switzerland where the mechanical arts are most cultivated are Geneva, almost the whole of High Jura, Vaud, Neufchâtel, and Berne. Here, properly, are the most extensive workshops; but we may also add to these a good part of the population of our towns. There are some chiefly agricultural, but there also arts and trades are carried on, and there is no great difference between the infidelity of the manufacturer of goods and the artisan. Here, too, all have their children baptized, and, after several months of catechetical instruction by the pastor, all the young people are admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. But a great number of these never enter the church after their first communion; and, even amongst those who remain more faithful for a time, open infidelity soon reaps a new harvest; so that a great majority of our artisans and manufacturers end in throwing

off all regard for Divine worship. Their infidelity is open, avowed, reasoned, or rather nibbling at arguments (I speak in a general manner); hence it follows that it is more varied than amongst the country people. At one time it is the confession of faith of the Savoyard Vicar—at another it is the cynical mockery of Voltairianism; but, amongst persons who are upwards of forty years of age, infidelity is the pure and full representation of the irreligious and revolutionary movement of the eighteenth century—an infidelity entirely French, that of Volney and of Dupuis, whose works are often found in our workshops; but, amongst those of a new generation, it is the pantheistic mysticism of Lamennais or of Pierre Leroux, and the Socialist materialism which its skilful advocates cover over with a kind of Gallo-Germanism.

The same kind of ignorance does not prevail amongst the artisans as amongst the country people; yet, for all this, their intellect is not more elevated, nor their conscience less dumb.

That man-machine who never leaves his cabin, where he is employed from morning to night, except to give himself up to the vulgar pleasures of the coffee-shop, is, after all, in a condition for improving his knowledge vastly inferior to him who passes his life amidst the various labours of the field, where he may continually see the hand of God. The opportunities of indulgence in pleasure, when things go well, are, every day, much fewer for the countryman than for the skilful workman; he has not within his reach the theatre, the gaming-table, and places of excess and refinement in living. He does not read so much, I acknowledge; but then the reading of the artisan, such as the romances of the day, Socialist papers, and, amongst other things, *The Mysteries of the People*, is only another evil added to all the rest. And what takes place? In this population of workmen and artisans, the wives surpass their husbands in infidelity and immorality; the children tread in the footsteps of their parents. The gangrene of infidelity has here made greater ravages than in the country; conscience appears to have lost all power, and the greater part are inaccessible to every serious thought; they are trifling and profane beyond what can be conceived. If the countryman lives only to labour and earn money, the artisan works only to gain wherewith to enjoy his pleasures; and if the former sometimes looks to Him who maketh one rich and another poor, the latter has no other god than his own abilities, and, like the Chaldean, “burns incense to his own

net." In the former case, there is still some religion, if not Christianity; in the latter, there is no religion of any sort.

These observations, as just now remarked, are only outlines and simple remarks, which, by their vagueness, do not give much information, but I still believe that a more exact statistical view was impossible. You shall judge of this.

#### STATISTICAL VIEW.

Not being able to obtain information on every part of Suisse Romande, I was anxious to have the best I could concerning those places, at least, where the greatest population is found, such as Neufchâtel, Lausanne, La Chaux de Fonds, and Geneva. I ought also to add Sion and Fribourg, but here means have failed me; but the state of these two Roman Catholic towns may be easily gathered from the general information already brought forward relative to Popish Suisse Romande. I have therefore confined myself to the principal centres of Protestant population, much the most considerable, and which, after all, constitute French Switzerland. I made applications to persons very likely to give me the information I wanted, but I could obtain only *figures*, of the correctness of which we may justly doubt, for they were given to me with evident distrust.

To begin with Neufchâtel, a city by itself, a monarchical city, faithful to ancient customs, and which at present ought to retain its religious habits all the better because the republican party is believed to hold religion cheap. In a population of French Protestants of about 5000 souls, which we may reduce to 3800 by not reckoning children under fourteen years of age, there are seventy communicants in two dissenting churches; above 300 persons in the National Church, who make a decided profession of Christianity; 600 who attend public worship, and who may be regarded as possessing a certain degree of doctrinal knowledge; 700 who attend from custom, without any decided religious convictions. There remain 2130 persons, of whom by far the greater number, if not the whole, partake, with more or less regularity, of the Lord's Supper. So that there will remain scarcely any of the inhabitants of Neufchâtel who have separated themselves entirely from Christian worship. But what is the faith of those 2130, who go to a place of worship only to receive the Lord's Supper, and of those 700, who go at other times only from custom, and, properly speaking, without religious conviction?

At Lausanne, the seat of government, which supports with all its might a church which it has arbitrarily ruled for the last five years—a city formerly celebrated for its devotions to the Virgin Mary, and which from that time has preserved, in a high degree, its sacerdotal character—where we still recollect the puritanical aspect of its streets, in days of religious solemnities—in a French Protestant population of about 14,500 souls, which I also reduce to 10,900, exclusive of children, we may reckon 1000 persons making a profession of religion, and belonging to the churches not recognised by the State ; 1000 who attend pretty regularly on the national religious worship, but the greater number of whom do it from mere form, if not policy ; besides these, 4000, perhaps, who more or less regularly receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, but whose profession is yet less decided than the former. There remain, then, 4900 persons who live without attending or being connected personally with any public worship, and some, perhaps, attend no place of worship, because they like neither the National Church nor Dissenters ; but this exception need hardly be mentioned, for to such the words of our Lord apply, "They that are not for us are against us." Besides, at Lausanne, as at Neuchâtel, there are many who have neither the conscience nor courage of their infidelity.

At La Chaux de Fonds, inhabited only by artisans and manufacturers, the population of which increases annually from 500 to 600, and where there are about 2000 Germans and as many Roman Catholics ; in a population of 10,000 Protestants speaking the French language, which we reduce, as above, to 7500, there are 130 persons out of the National Church making a profession of Christianity ; 200 in the bosom of that Church, making the same profession ; 700 who attend, more or less regularly, a place of worship ; and 200 more, who also communicate, but do scarcely anything else. There remain, then, 6270, who, by their abstinence from all kinds of religious worship, may be regarded as professed infidels.

Finally, at Geneva, the city of Calvin, and which could not erect statues except to the author of the *Social Contract* and *Letters from the Mountain*, in a French Protestant population of about 19,000, children deducted, 500 out of the National Church make a distinct profession ; 500 members of the National Church may be looked upon as professing Christianity ; 1500 attend public worship, but without any clear conviction ; 2500 now and

then attend public worship, and receive the Lord's Supper pretty regularly. There remain, then, 14,000 who live in almost complete infidelity, and who, without eagerly seeking to propagate it, because they feel they are in the majority, are far from dissembling or concealing it.

These statistics, though imperfect, may, however, assist in forming an estimate of the state of Protestant Suisse Romande, taken as a whole. Neuchâtel and Lausanne united, represent pretty well the religious state of the agriculturists, and the artisans and mechanics have their type in the religious state of Geneva and La Chaux de Fonds.

We remark, moreover, that neither at Geneva, nor in the three other localities of which we have just attempted to give the statistics, have we reckoned Germans, who have a worship of their own, and the total number of whom may be about 5000. But, far from this party being able by their influence and example to raise the tone of religion, it is rather the reverse; for here, pantheistic Socialism and Christianity carry on a daily war, whenever there are enough of Christians to keep the field.

To finish this view, I ought, perhaps, still to speak of certain Protestants, scattered here and there in the Popish parts of Suisse Romande, to the number of a thousand at least; for in my thoughts I have taken in the Protestants of the Fribourg district, and of that of De Morat, with other Protestants. But a single word will suffice; for, in general, these Protestants are less attached to their religious worship than the Roman Catholics who live among Protestants are; and infidelity, properly so called, surely does not less prevail amongst them than elsewhere.

#### CONCLUDING SUGGESTIONS.

Thus, sirs, the wound is immense, and I fear that my weak and trembling hand has not probed it to the bottom. However, without wishing to make those comparisons which works analogous to this often give rise to, I may observe—the evil is not greater in French Switzerland than in German Switzerland; nor in this than in Germany; nor in Germany than in France or elsewhere. There was a day, when what was called the Church of Jesus Christ, awaking from its sleep, found itself Arian. Some ages after, again awaking, it found itself prostrate before the Pope and gods of his creation; will it not, in our day, similarly find itself infidel—a new form of Antichrist? I know we have a formidable

enemy in Romanism, but infidelity is still more formidable. It is the nursing-mother of Popery, for it is much nearer to superstition than to the true faith.

This appears to me worthy of the attention of this Assembly. It depends not on us to destroy infidelity; this can only be done by Him who can change the heart; but, to the external and ecclesiastical causes of infidelity, the churches may offer some external remedy. In my opinion, there are three sources of infidelity which we have in our power to remove—the official bonds which still unite the greater part of our Protestant churches to the State, and which, moreover, make religion, to say the least, an affair of civil legislation, consequently of constraint; the absence of doctrinal formularies in many churches, and, in others, their absolute unchangeableness; and, finally, the imperfection, or, so to speak, the nullity, of the religious instruction given to our youth.

To this paper, already too long, does not belong the development which might be given to these ideas; but it appears to me, that religious instruction, such as is generally given in our churches, bears no proportion to the importance of the subject.

It is not by means of a catechism, however excellent we may suppose it to be—nor by a collection of passages of Scripture, however well chosen—that the youth of the Church is to be fortified against the subtle theories of modern infidelity; nor is it by setting apart for their Christian instruction a portion of time less than is employed in teaching them the simplest secular sciences. Knowledge, doubtless, is not faith—but ignorance is much less so; and you will agree with me, that infidelity becomes impossible with the serious study of the Word of God in the Bible—the whole Bible; besides, what shall we oppose to Satan speaking in modern infidel books, but the Spirit of the Lord speaking in the Holy Scriptures?

This supposes, sirs, that the Church has full confidence in the Scriptures, as the only efficacious means to overturn the fortresses of the enemy, and that she is not afraid of what it is attempted to decry, under the name of *Biblicism*. If such is the Church's faith, she ought boldly to confess it, and shew that from this book—which she declares to be, in every page, the sure depôt of the infallible truth of God—she holds and proclaims, before all men, things new and old, by which the unbelief of the world is condemned. We should, more than ever, make an open confession. The Papists were wont formerly to ask our fathers, "What do



you believe?" And we know how our fathers answered. The world now seems to say, "Do you believe?" And the Church owes to it also an answer.

But that this may be the case, the Church should be a true church—a church in reality; for as long as she treats in the same way believers and unbelievers, regarding both as equally members of the body of Jesus Christ, it is impossible that the infidel world should see in her anything but a fiction, and in the gospel a chimera. It is in the Church, the body of Christ, that religious truth is embodied; but that the Church confess this truth, she must be a true church, existing in reality. But she has no existence in reality, when her members are considered such, *volentes volentes*—when she is one with the infidel world, and derives her support—shall I say her subsistence?—from it, and by a just punishment is governed by its laws, instead of having for her only head the Lord Jesus Christ.

Thus, then, Voluntaryism, Confession, Biblicism, are three words which comprehend the whole of my views. They cannot be misunderstood nor unwelcome in an assembly like this. Would to God that they may soon become the word of command for all the evangelical Christians in French Switzerland and the whole world! For if we are but careful to oppose to Infidelity, Voluntaryism, Confession, and Biblicism, this is to oppose to it, FAITH. And that which gives us the victory over the world, saith St John, is our faith.

## POPERY IN SWITZERLAND.

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR VULLIEMIN, OF LAUSANNE.

THE social movement which in the Middle Ages raised the Commons of England to be a governing power in the State, produced, on the sides of the Alps, thirteen republics, the unfolding of as many communal centres, whose union formed the Swiss Confederation.

In the course of its history, Switzerland presents itself under two different aspects. It is at once a focus of action and a focus of resistance in Europe; while the country at the foot of its mountains participated in the movement of the European world, its Alps remained immovable. It has been, if not the cradle, at least the point of departure for the revolutions which in these days have changed the face of society. It has also offered the most obstinate resistance to these changes. In the sixteenth century, Zuingli, a contemporary of Luther and Calvin, made Geneva a sort of Protestant Rome. In the eighteenth century, the principles of the French Revolution were tried in Basle, and proclaimed on the banks of the Lemane Lake, long before appearing on a greater theatre, and long before Clavier and Dumont became—thanks to the experience which they had acquired at home—the guides of Mirabeau. In our own time, it is from this region the avalanche has been detached, which, spreading at first over the Swiss cantons, has been precipitated on the rest of Europe, and has overturned thrones in its course.

But Switzerland is no less a theatre of immobility, a refuge and a support to old ideas as well as to new. When the Reformation took possession of the plains, Rome made a rampart of the Alps, and of the many narrow valleys which, from the lofty summits of St Gothard, slope towards the Rhine and the Rhone. The inhabitants of these quiet valleys attached themselves to the policy of Rome and of Spain, while the low lands joined England, Holland, and the Protestant States of Germany. We can understand Switzerland only by taking into account this internal antagonism; the opposition which it contains, between two modes of life—that

of the mountaineers, in the peacefulness of pastoral habits; that of an agricultural and industrial population, in contact with the civilisation of the great nations around them.

This opposition appears throughout the history of the confederate States, but it has been especially manifest since the Reformation. The Swiss had at that epoch made themselves known by their martial exploits at Morat and at Grandson. After these victories, they had thrown themselves wildly into the perilous enterprises of war, and the military life had corrupted their morals, ruined the labours of peace, and raised military chiefs to the head of the Government. In these circumstances, two classes of persons received the preaching of the Reformers. Those who lived by their industry, and those who felt their need of a Saviour—pious persons, and the peaceful labourers. The victory gained by the Reformation was both religious and political. It was not only the triumph of the gospel over the corruptions of the Church, but that of the laborious peasants over the leaders of military bands, who had hitherto ruled the country. The Reformation prevailed in the commercial cities of Zurich and of Basle, in Berne and in Geneva, thanks to the support of that middle class which prospers best beyond the sound of arms. It penetrated with greater difficulty into the High Alps, and was soon repressed among those who had no other industry than that of mercenary service. We must add, in order to explain clearly the present condition of Switzerland, that in the cantons where the Reformation prevailed, it did so imperfectly. There was both Reformation and Revolution; and these two questions had been so confounded, that it was difficult to distinguish between them. The same means had been used to obtain freedom of conscience as free government; and these were, main force. The minority were compelled to receive the law from the majority. There is, I know, something respectable in the desire shewn by a nation to drink at the same sources of religious faith, and to seek a support for their civil life in their common convictions. One condition is, however, necessary—that these convictions be sincere; that faith be more than a name, and that the heart bows with the body. The only unity which deserves the name, is unity in liberty, without which, bonds of union are galling chains. On this point, the governments of the Reformed cantons failed from the beginning. Dogma was made law; power exacted submission; the yoke once imposed produced its natural effects—the life of the Reformation, so expansive at

first, was crippled and enfeebled. The gospel allied to force, is not the gospel. It penetrated into the High Alps, gained ground in the cantons of Schwitz, Lucerne, and Soleure, and made way in the Valais; but it took the sword of power in hand—the salt lost its savour—its progress was arrested—further openings were shut; and, from that day to this, two parties have stood in each other's presence, whose limits have remained nearly the same. That of the Reformation comprises the large cantons lying at the foot of the Alps; and the other extends into the Alps, and to those countries of the plain most remote from the centres of reform and civilisation—two parties, the one containing the leaven of the Reformation, and the other fighting generally in the ranks of absolutism and under the standard of the Papacy.

The rupture was not, however, so great between these two parties as to prevent that cordiality which is a distinctive characteristic of a free people, appearing in their daily intercourse. In some parts, the same temple served alternately for the different forms of worship; in other parts, when the armies of the two confessions were arrayed against each other, the outposts mingled with each other; the soldiers, not affected by the passions of their leaders, brought bread or milk, that they might take their meals together; the tone of ancient friendship was preserved; only the spoon repelled with pleasantry the spoon which pursued the bread beyond the frontier, which they supposed to be the middle of the dish.

These pacific relations were terminated by the command of a priest. Archbishop Borromée was the boast of the Romish Church. He revived order, and had raised Pius V. to the papedom, when he resolved to use his influence with the population of the Alps. That prelate, whose activity governed the Roman world, neglected not the humblest duties of the ministry—he climbed their mountain paths—the simple peasants of the Alps thought him an angel from heaven. He repressed the disorders of the priests, restored the pomp of public worship, shed tears over the relics of the saints, and revived the respect of the people for the objects of their ancient adoration. Charmed, he says himself, with the good disposition and candour of the people, he felt a wonderful affection towards them. They only needed instruction; and to secure this, he adopted three measures—

1st, To found a Swiss college at Milan, and to open to the Swiss the German college at Rome. These two institutions have

been, for more than three centuries, the school of Swiss Catholics. One of them, the German college, still subsists, and the Swiss pupils are more numerous than those of any other branch of the German race. In 1846, the numbers were, 21 Hanoverians, 25 Prussians, 40 Bavarians, and 48 Swiss. The other was suppressed by the French Revolution, but has been the object of earnest reclamations by the Swiss Catholics; and though they have been hitherto refused, they may now meet with a more favourable reception.

2d, The second means was to send the Jesuits to Switzerland. These fathers laboured there in that revolution of opinions which resulted in the thirty years' war; a revolution accomplished with so little noise that it had left no trace in history, and has been fully made known to us by the recent publication of the *Annual Reports of the Venetian Ambassadors to the Senate of the Republic*. The Jesuits established themselves at Lucerne and at Fribourg. A short time sufficed to change the aspect of these cities more than, half a century earlier, the aspect of the cities reformed by Zuingle and Calvin. Missions, processions, and fasts took the place of amusements and robust exercises; corruption was covered with a thick veil. A little before, the priests asked of the magistrates a law to prohibit the people from ridiculing pilgrimages, and soon every one hastened to take the pilgrim's staff; a new generation learned at school to disregard the love of country, and to lend a docile ear to the voice of Rome. The same changes took place in the High Alps as at the same epoch in France and Germany.

3d, The third means which Borromée set at work was to send a permanent envoy among them as a representative of Rome. Till then, the Popes had sent temporary legates to the confederated states; but now, a nuncio fixed his residence and court at Lucerne. It was his study to make himself better acquainted with the nation, to govern it better, and under his hand to *direct its proceedings* by Italian policy. From that moment, the language of Rome became more precise and imperious. The nuncio governed; re-established order in the monasteries, brought back to the Church the collation of benefices, called in the Capuchins to second the Jesuits; at his command, bishops ceased to allow mixed marriages; wherever he appeared, disputes arose. Pius V. had published the bull, *In Cœnâ Domini*, which forbade the Catholics all intercourse with heretics. The nuncio made this language

familiar to men's minds. The students of the cantons of the Alps were no more allowed to visit Zurich or Basle; no more of those friendly relations formed in youth, which formerly united the persons in the two camps. In fine, growing bolder, the nuncio convoked a diet of the Catholic cantons, and proposed to them the terms of a convention, by which they devoted themselves and their children to the Romish See. The people assembled—their chiefs raised their voices to heaven—"We swear," they said, "to live and die in the Roman faith. If the great apostacy has penetrated to our thresholds, God has permitted it for our sins. He allows the children of the devil to form alliances with each other, and, divided on every other point, to unite in their endeavours to overthrow our faith. Well, we who have remained faithful will choose our dear confederates from among ourselves. We reject all sectarian support; we swear to uphold each other in our faith to the last. No previous alliance shall prevent us from fulfilling this engagement. So be it, in the name of the Holy Queen of Heaven, for our consolation, and that of our country."

Thus was gained to the Holy See the proud and free country of primitive Switzerland, its nationality sacrificed, the gates of the Alps opened to the powerful house of Spain. The arm, which in a republic had not been placed in the hands of a Ravallac, was turned against the Alliance, the bond of the confederation.

Succeeding nuncios pursued the work thus begun. The instructions they received from Rome exhibit a policy more adroit than that of any other power. They were recommended to salute every one, because in a republic every citizen, however humble, is not to be despised; to give every one all his titles; to overlook impertinences when they had need of the Swiss, and to make them buy their pardon dearly at another time; never to allow a long time to elapse without visiting the cantons, in order to keep up reverence among the people; not to do like the ambassadors of France, who promised what they could not perform; and especially to avoid wounding the feelings of a people proud of their rights;—experience having taught Rome the necessity of leaving to the Swiss both their usages and abuses.

Conformably to these instructions, the nuncios exhibited a rare patience; they listened to long and wearisome harangues; they used all means to gain men in power; they gave frequent entertainments, prolonged till midnight—during which, the Swiss, like the ancient Germans, liked to talk of public affairs. They pro-

fessed a great admiration for the exploits of the nation. They knew the right time to offer the ring, the necklace, or the spurs of a Roman knight. Accommodating themselves to the diversity of circumstances, they did not act in the same way towards the rural cantons as in their relations with the senates of the towns. By that policy, Rome has contrived for two hundred years to keep the Swiss divided, and to foster an irritation which has made them take up arms against each other, after the torches of fanaticism had been extinguished in all other places.

The eighteenth century calmed their minds without uniting their hearts. The Catholic cantons continued to maintain with the Protestants no relations but those which were purely political. They admitted no Protestants to the rights of citizenship. If a young Catholic was led by the reading of the Bible to adopt evangelical views, the crime was punished by strangulation; the body of the offender and his house were given to the flames, his widow and children were sent into exile.

A striking contrast to this was presented by populations previously similar in features, costume, and manners, *e. g.* those of Berne, Lucerne, Fribourg, and the Pays de Vaud. Religion occasioned this difference; the traveller might perceive, at the first glance, the difference between the Catholic and the Protestant canton. In the latter, the ground was cultivated with a more industrious hand, order reigned out and in doors. The dress, of a simple and severe colour, was distinguished for its neatness. In the other reigned confusion, carelessness, gaiety, and slattern habits at the fireside, and the dress marked by lively and striking colours. But let us add—for truth requires it—whilst in the Catholic countries the temple was decked with magnificence, it was allowed to fall into ruins in more than one of the Protestant cantons. The parsonage, it is true, was kept up with care; the pastor lived in it at his ease, and in security. Goethe maintains, that at that period the poetry of the south took refuge in the country cures; this might be said especially of the cures of Switzerland, nearly all placed in picturesque situations, with a garden, a vineyard, and an inner yard adjoining. The pastor was treated as the ally of the State, an easy road led from his house to the chateau in which the magistrate resided. The Romish curate was in nearly the same position as the Protestant pastor. If the men of God had not the virtue of olden times, they taught at least the danger of vice. Idlers contrived to combine Jesus Christ with

Horace and Rabelais. They marked with a slack hand the boundaries between the city of God and the city of the world. The ancient formulas were maintained, but with the reservation of interpreting these testimonies of the faith of their ancestors according to the sense of a new age; it was by this spirit, much more than in that of a real charity, that the disputes of a former age were extinguished.

Some progress marked the first years of the nineteenth century. While the Pope was prisoner in France, and the voice of the nuncio was enfeebled, the authority of the bishops rose. That of Constance, with whom a great part of Switzerland is connected, endeavoured to diffuse a spirit of piety, apart from mechanical forms. Study, preaching, confession, attention to the sick and the poor, all assumed under his influence a new tendency. Catholics and Protestants approached each other; a common day of feasting and thanksgiving was adopted by the two communions. One important result followed: several new cantons took their places in the confederation, and some of these cantons were mixed; their population was composed of Catholics and Protestants in nearly equal numbers, and the governments of these new states understood from the beginning the necessity of keeping the balance even between the two communions. Still this peace between the different confessions bore, as in the preceding century, less the character of life than of sleep. The soul had little consciousness of its immortal rights. As the historian of that epoch has said, "Men were born and grew up equally in the Church and in the State." The rite of baptism served for inscription in the civil register; they learned in the public schools, with the same docility, the catechism and the rules of arithmetic; the first communion was connected with the beginning of military service; they bore the title of Christian as well as that of citizen, without complaint and without any results. All kinds of liberty had to be learned—the most excellent, that of the soul, as much as any other; men had not got beyond the rudiments.

The year 1815 was the beginning of a new period. I happened to be in Paris a few years after the restoration, and heard two persons, who have since become distinguished statesmen, ask what would be the character of the age on which we were entering. M. Guizot, seeing in the course of history that the development of the interior life constantly follows great internal agitations, and a religious age always succeeds a political one, drew the conclusion



that the nineteenth century would bear a religious character. M. Thiers was of a different opinion. Religion, according to his way of viewing things then, was destined to form the education of nations in their infancy; but at the age of maturity they have other cares; the nineteenth century belonged to industry. You might have replied, that industry satisfies only material and transient wants—not the deepest desires of the human soul; that intelligence and the arts, when they depart from God, lead mankind to an abyss. The foresight of these extraordinary men began to be realised in this sense, that after the wars of the French revolution a great industrial and a great religious movement manifested themselves, at the same time, in the different countries of Europe. They have made way in Switzerland as elsewhere. The revival has shewn itself both among Catholics and Protestants, and in each party according to the spirit of their peculiar tenets.

The nuncio came out of the obscurity in which he had kept himself concealed. His language did not differ from that which Rome had held in preceding ages. The system which he represented was always, at bottom, that of Gregory VII., which makes the Pope a king of kings, the bishops his servants, the monks his militia, and assigns for their end the conquest of the world. Three facts signalised the re-appearance of the Pope in Switzerland:—The inscription in a new federal pact, of an article consecrating the inviolability of the property of the convents;—the organisation of the episcopal circumspections in the Roman interests;—and the return of the Jesuits, after the order had been suppressed since 1783. Each of these facts deserves a moment's examination. In Catholic Switzerland, the number of convents, belonging to different orders, amounted to 116. They contained 1500 monks and 1000 nuns—altogether, 2500 persons; a number equal to the secular ecclesiastics of the country, one ecclesiastic for 180 inhabitants. The most considerable convent is that of Einsiedlen, which contains seventy-four fathers, brethren and lay brethren. The single canton of Tessin has twenty-two convents. The most part of these monasteries depend upon the general of their order at Rome. Some, as Einsiedlen, Engelberg, and St Maurice, hold immediately of the Holy See. Nowhere, that I know of, is there a larger proportion, unless, perhaps, in Belgium and in Italy. Still, that number was more considerable before the revolution, which abolished some monasteries, and compromised the existence of many others.

The property of the monasteries amounted to nearly 30,000,000 francs (£1,200,000). This capital, added to that which served for the support of the colleges of prebendaries and of the secular clergy, forms a total of 80,000,000 frs. (£3,200,000), a sum much superior to the capital of the State in the Catholic cantons.

Possessed of so considerable a fortune, what services did the monasteries render? Some engaged in education; the monks of Mouri passed for good breeders of cattle; Einsiedlen, in the desert, was visited annually by 150,000 pilgrims and curious persons; St Bernard exercised a generous hospitality. The most part served as asylums to the younger members of families; but were far from being the asylums of piety, science, and labour. The most part were the abodes of slumber, and of a religion of servile observances; all were objects of envy to the poor people, of jealousy to each other, and, above all, to the secular clergy. But the little service rendered to the public did not appear at Rome a motive sufficient to renounce their defence. The nuncio contrived to obtain in their favour the votes of three Protestant cantons; and by their aid was inserted in the pact of 1815, the article which placed the property of convents under the guarantee of the whole confederations—the twelfth article, which was, a quarter of a century afterwards, to separate the confederates anew into two hostile camps.

The re-organisation of the episcopal dioceses was a long and difficult work. Catholic Switzerland belonged to seven bishoprics. That of Constance, whose titular was at the same time metropolitan of Ratisbon, and whose diocese comprised nearly the whole of eastern Switzerland; that of Aar, extending to the Rhine; those of Basle and Fribourg in western Switzerland; that of Sion, in the Valais; that of Coire, in the Grisons; and those of Corne and Mitun, to which the Tessin belongs. Of these dignitaries, the Bishop of Constance, whose authority extended over ten cantons, exercised the highest influence, and that influence has been, as we have said, liberal and beneficent. Rome judged that authority too extensive, and that influence dangerous, and resolved to reduce the limits of a too large diocese. Her policy was to divide Switzerland into bishoprics of limited extent, on which the influence of the nuncios might be exercised more easily. To attain her end, her representative caressed the national feelings of the Swiss, and gained them by the thought of their dioceses being withdrawn from foreign action, and confined within the boundaries of the con-

federation; and he contrived, by this consideration, to detach their hearts from a see which had diffused over the cantons a breath of life, and gain to his cause magistrates little disposed to side with Rome. As soon as he believed the minds of the people sufficiently prepared for his purpose, he proclaimed the separation of Switzerland from the ancient bishopric. He acted so abruptly as to offend the governments immediately interested, but he hastened to appease them by the promise, that under the new order of things there should be no change in the ancient relations of the Church to the State.

After the work of destruction, he betook himself to the task of reconstructing. The first result of that situation was a provisional arrangement, favourable to the nuncio's influence. Negotiations were kept up; but how, in a country of independent states, and in the complication of clashing interests, settle new territorial limits? Was the whole of Switzerland to compose one diocese? The Romish policy was opposed to it. The nuncio tried to unite the eastern cantons under one bishopric, which was to bear the name of Coire and St Gall. He hoped to add to the importance of the prelate, by securing to him the resources of the ancient monastery of St Gall, suppressed in the course of the Helvetic revolution; but the bull which constituted the new diocese could not obtain the sanction of the governments.

New negotiations, new concordats, were always rejected, as invading the rights of the State. More than thirty years have elapsed, and they are scarcely out of their provisional state. The cantons have finally grouped around new centres. Rome has allowed the bishopric of Coire to subsist, with which are connected the small neighbouring cantons. A new diocese has been composed of the ancient bishopric of Basle, and of the greater part of the ancient diocese of Constance. The canton of St Gall has been formed into a new diocese. Fourteen years have been required to constitute the diocese of Basle; thirty-three for that of St Gall. The bull is of the 27th of June 1827. The bull, *Inter Precipua*, of 7th of May 1828. Bull, *Instabilis Humanarum Rerum*, of the year 1847. The bishopric of Basle comprehends nine colleges, 380 cures, 365,000 souls. The revenue of the bishopric is 15,000 florins. The bishopric of St Gall comprises ninety-nine cures, and 100,000 souls. The revenue is 4000 florins. But to this hour many points of dispute exist between the parties to the concordat.

In western Switzerland, the bishopric of Fribourg had under its jurisdiction 113,000 Catholics, spread over the cantons of Fribourg, Neuchâtel, Vaud, and Geneva. It had received, in the environs of Geneva, an increase of population. These new-comers inhabited a territory belonging to Savoy, which Geneva had obtained at the Congress of Vienna, in exchange for some villages distant from her walls. As for a great part of the country contained in the official diocese, the bishop was *in partibus infidelium*, and the tie which attached him to the metropolitan of Besançon became entirely dependent on the nuncio.

The Bishop of Sion had lost, in the revolution of 1798, the title and the rights of Sovereign Prince of the Valais; he received, as indemnity, the right of sitting in the representation of the country with quadruple votes.

Three Alpine valleys excepted, which were allotted to the Archbishop of Milan, the canton of Tessin was under the Bishop of Coire. The bishop, who drew from it an annual revenue of from 15,000 to 20,000 francs, supported neither suffragan nor seminary. Placed in burdensome dependence on a foreign jurisdiction, the Tessinians hoped, when the Swiss part of the diocese of Constance was detached from Germany, that they would come under the direction of a national bishop; they insisted on having it; but what was conformable to the plans of the Romish policy elsewhere was not so on the frontiers, so that their requests have been invariably refused. Such is the diocesan organisation of Switzerland. The extent of the dioceses is very unequal; their mode of administration no less so. The Pope elects the Bishop of Fribourg, on a triple presentation of the State. At Soleure, the actual residence of the Bishop of Basle, the episcopal senate makes the election. At St Gall, it proceeds from the College of Prebends. At Coire, the chapter names, and the State confirms. At Sion, the chapter is united with the deputies of the districts. There are as many different rules as there are dioceses.

The same thing occurs in the parishes. The mode of election varies to such a degree, that all the modes of election known in Christendom may be found in Switzerland. The salary varies as well, from 700 to 5000 francs, but pretty generally nearer the former figure than the latter, and agrees with the simplicity of Swiss manners.

The third event which followed the reappearance of the nuncio was the return of the Jesuits, re-established by the bull, *Solicitude*

*Omnium*, of 7th of August 1814. After the suppression of their Society, the Jesuits continued to reside individually in Switzerland. After the arrival at Lucerne of the order which secularised them, they retired for a few days into private houses, and there changing their dress, re-entered their beautiful college, no longer as Jesuits, but as professors. Fribourg had likewise suppressed the Jesuits, and yet retained them. The colleges of Brig and of Sion were the last which the Society left, and the first in which they reappeared. At the beginning of the century, the Jesuits had slipped into the Valais, and kept themselves in concealment at the foot of the Simplon, in the village of Brig; but in 1815 they shewed themselves openly. The Valaise government confided the learned education of youth, and ceded to them for that purpose the buildings which had belonged to the old Society of Jesus. The government wished to attach some conditions to their gift, but the delegate of the fathers replied, "Let them be as they are, or let them not be."

Three years afterwards, the Jesuits were reinstated in Fribourg, after remarkable debates in the Grand Council; they re-entered their college of St Michael, and recovered an old endowment of one million and a half francs of capital. Fribourg possessed then, in the person of a Franciscan, a model of religion, one of the men of the age who understood best what was education in its evangelical sense; but the work of Father Gidard was overturned, and soon arose in Fribourg that celebrated house, and the number of those in the college and on pay was fifty-seven priests, and fifteen professors. Of the priests, twenty-one were Belgians, eighteen Swiss, nine French, five Germans, and four of different countries. Forty-seven novices were preparing at Estavayer for entering the order. The pupils, whose numbers soon rose to 400, were, as well as the masters, in a great part foreigners. The House of the Jesuits ruled the city and country. All was characteristic about the House. The mixture of magnificence and simplicity, the combination of the theatre and the chapel, of the world and of religion, discipline always indulgent, instruction faithful to the interests of the order and to that of Rome. So mild was the rule exercised by the master over his disciples, that I have seen them weep on returning to their own homes; and when the fathers established at the foot of the Simplon have been latterly constrained to go into exile, their pupils have rebelled against the wishes of their own families, and have followed them to Charlestown, across the Atlantic.

These young people had been captivated, and had learned to love obedience, but they had not received the education which respects the whole man. Their scientific and literary culture was straitened, as well as their moral culture; and, without their suspecting it, many carried with them the germs of a fanaticism hostile to the holiest liberties of men.

Eighteen years after they had been received in Fribourg, they were admitted into the canton of Schwitz. In the middle of the eighteenth century, a rich citizen named Riding had offered his fortune to the canton, on the condition that it should serve for the establishment of the Society of Jesus; but an enlightened Capuchin had caused the proposition to be rejected. "Wherever the Jesuits are established," he said, "ere long, farms, meadows, hill pastures, and fine houses fall into their hands. They open in mortmain an abyss, in which is soon engulfed the wealth of the country." The people, taking up the sentiment, had prohibited under severe penalties the renewal of the proposition to receive the Jesuits. But, in 1836, the people of Schwitz, believing themselves more enlightened than their fathers, authorised, by a large majority, the Society of Jesus to found a church and college in the capital of their country. Still the Jesuits had in Switzerland only a few houses, and an inconsiderable staff. But, as soon as they appeared, the other orders, rivals of each other, might be observed all agreeing to accept them as directors, the secular clergy to receive a similar impulse, and all concurred in placing their forces at the disposal of that devoted militia—may I call it, the Janizaries of Rome? This was soon made evident. A new breath passed over Catholic Switzerland, and revived in all places the seeds which had been lying in the soil. One would think the voice of the Archbishop Borromée was heard anew. Of the schools of theology in Switzerland, that of Lucerne much surpassed the others. Its professors were men of original talent, whose instructions had diffused liberal principles, when they were countenanced by the Bishop of Constance; they were the first who had to bend their heads to the blast. Those who would not bend had to leave. Troxter, who sought in the knowledge of man the foundations of truth, and in democracy the fences to oppose absolutism, was constrained in his turn to abandon Lucerne. After he had published, in a German translation, the book of Milton, entitled, *The Defence of the People of England*, Charles Louis, of Ataller, a convert to Catholicism, through fear of anarchy, wrote the

*Theory of Restoration.* The bishops interdicted, under severe penalties, the reading of the Bible, and no longer allowed mixed marriages. Associations were formed which filled Switzerland with ultramontane publications, with accounts of miracles, and exhortations to pilgrimages. The Propaganda at Lyons published at Einsiedlen 15,000 copies of a German translation of their *Annals*. A popular paper, *The Pilgrim*, issued from the same press. The weekly journal of Zug became the organ of the new contest, in which other papers were not long in taking a part.

The same spirit spread, at the same time, in German and in French Switzerland. In mixed villages, where the children of the two confessions grew up in daily communication, the Catholics received orders to avoid intercourse with the Protestants. The relatives received the same injunction. There was one spot for the game of nine pins for Protestants, another for Catholics. The same temple served before for the two communions. Considerable sums, collected in Rome, France, and Belgium, supplied the means of raising, near the mixed temples, rich churches destined to the Romish worship alone, and that without the Catholics renouncing their rights to the buildings which they had left. Romish churches were at the same time constructed in most of the cities of the Canton de Vaud. Their zeal was all-sufficient. There was the same ardour in Geneva. The curé of that city assumed, in his relations with the magistrate, the language of domination. In making the exchange, Geneva had not foreseen that the Romish population of the canton would be increased more than the Protestant—that the activity of the Protestants led them to emigrate, while the others remained at home, and would thus, in no long time, establish their ascendancy in the city of Calvin. In 1837, the canton of Geneva contained 37,000 Protestants and 22,000 Catholics. Now the number of Catholics has risen to 30,000, and that of the Protestants come down to 34,000. Let the movement go on in the same progression, and in a very few years Geneva will cease to be counted among the Protestant cantons of Switzerland.

Later events have made the public acquainted with an association of priests in western Switzerland, formed with the view, according to their own expression, “of overthrowing Carthage, and building up Rome.” The correspondence of these priests having fallen into indiscreet hands, has been published. The

title of the pamphlet is, *The Spirit of the Roman Catholic Clergy of French Switzerland, in a Religious and Political Point of View, according to Authentic Documents*. It is a strange mixture of religion and politics—of Catholicism and journalism. It is a continual appeal to the discipline by which the army triumphs with its chief; a continual substitution of priestly power for religion; an exaltation of the priest, at whose voice heaven opens, that Jesus Christ may descend; of the priest proclaimed one with Jesus Christ. It was nothing surprising that the emperor Constantine, at the Council of Nice, took the lowest place; that he did not sit down till after all the priests, and till he had obtained their permission. "Were I to meet a priest and an angel," says one of the interlocutors, "I would bow the knee to the priest first, and to the angel afterwards." According to their principles, the authors of that correspondence regard exterior education as more necessary to the clergyman than that which develops the inner man. They lay down as a principle, the duty of a priest not to keep himself apart from the discussion of temporal affairs. The style of these letters is not less curious than the matter. Levity is mingled with seriousness—pleasantry with cursing. The ministers of the gospel, designated under the name of "Misters" and other like titles, are the objects of buffoonery, as are also those assemblies in which the Holy Spirit breathes as many oracles as there are members.

To understand the attitude taken by the Catholic party, it is necessary to shew it in presence of its adversaries. The principal strength of Rome came from the danger with which the latter threatened society. The hardihood of its affirmations were nourished by the hardihood of a negative which undermines the basis of morality. It has been said, "Let the figure of Voltaire appear on the horizon, that of Loyola will soon appear on the opposite side. Let governments lay down as principle, the absorption of the Church in the State; let them proclaim, as they have done in Switzerland, religious opinion to be a matter of administration, as well as penances or war; let them declare it subject to the flux and reflux of majorities, and the absolutism of the State is soon opposed by the absolutism of the Church, especially of that Church which reckons her discipline and unity the only means capable of combating the insurrection of individual wills. Sands are in nature near the seas, and spiritual tyranny is, in history, near the tyranny of the sword."



Next, the struggle in Switzerland was between the two extreme tendencies, and both parties sought the justification of their crimes in the conduct of their opponents. There was, assuredly, tyranny in the confidence of the men who repelled each other. There was among the Protestants, and yet they were accused of making common cause with ultramontaniam. There was among the Catholics, but they were accused in their turn of making common cause with infidelity. The voice of liberty was drowned in the fury of the coming storm, as the sounds of music are unheard amid the roar of the hurricane.

Still, of the two parties, the Protestant appeared far superior in strength. The population of Switzerland is nearly the same as that of London; and out of 2,400,000 inhabitants, one million and a half are Reformed, and less than one million Catholic. Independently of this numerical inferiority, the cantons of the Romish faith are poorer than the Protestants, the population more scattered, and they were so at the time of which we speak, because they wanted a capital city as a centre to rally them. Lucerne, situated in the heart of Switzerland, seemed to be called to that office; but Lucerne, although the chief town of a Catholic canton, and of considerable size, did not belong to the ultramontane cause. In all the Catholic states, and that was a new cause of weakness, there were two classes,—one adhering to, the other opposing, Rome; one submissive to the Holy See, the other more decidedly hostile than Protestants themselves; and as these Catholic liberals, or radicals, governed the canton of Lucerne, Romish Switzerland was deprived of its natural head.

But the defensive, in the state of things then existing, soon assumed the character of aggression; and in a country such as Switzerland, where there are so many races and interests, where politics are always intermingled with religion, where democracy drags all questions into the arena of public debate, where the people are always in movement, and parties always arrayed against each other, in elections, in civil and religious fetes, in the city and in the camp, parties cannot be long in descending from the struggle of minds to the struggle of deeds.

The revolution of 1830, in France, precipitated the crisis. The moral effect of that revolution was, in Switzerland, to increase the influence and energy of the liberal party, and to place power in its hands, in the greater part of the cantons. The Romish party, on its side, closed its ranks, and confronted its adversaries. Threatened

by that movement, the liberal government of Lucerne sought support in the other governments, Catholic or mixed, and requested a conference at Baden.

There the deputy, a man of energy, reminded them that the Swiss never could have been free if they had not resisted the clergy in parliaments, as well as armies of the foe in the field of battle. He retraced the old struggles in which they had repelled the pretensions of the Holy See, and had constrained it to respect their rights. He proposed to the dignitaries a concordat, of which the following is an outline :—

“ We will seek to re-attach the Swiss dioceses to a metropolitan, and to get the bishopric of Basle erected into an archbishopric, on which all the Catholics of Switzerland shall depend. We will watch over the holding of synods, but they shall be held under the eyes of representatives of the State. We will maintain the well recognised rights of the bishops. We will maintain, with no less firmness, the rights of the laity ; among others, the placets of their governments. We will enforce the rights of the State in matters of the collation of benefices. We will superintend seminaries, and we will ascertain, by examination, the capacity of those who leave them. The convents shall be restored to episcopal superintendence ; a part of their revenue shall be appropriated to objects of public utility. Finally, we reserve to ourselves the right of exacting from the clergy, in case of need, an oath of fidelity to the State.” Seven cantons adopted these resolutions.

In the principles thus adopted, there was nothing which the Court of Rome had not long ago acceded to states—such as Austria and France. But France and Austria are not democracies of small extent, ready to fall into the snares of diplomacy ; and though Rome had made concessions to great nations, she did not the less condemn the articles of Baden. That was a first cause of disfavour with the Catholic population. The strong terms used respecting the clergy was the second. But the greatest injury which the abettors of the concordat did their cause, was that of not having clearly presented their principles as those of Old Switzerland, and to be maintained as an inheritance bequeathed to them. They expressed themselves in general abstract terms, which bore the character of innovation, and had not regarded the essentially conservative spirit of the people in Catholic Switzerland. They might have held that language to the cantons of the plain, but it was imprudent to use it to the Romish populations of

the Alps, attached to their old traditions. Uneasiness had thus been diffused. It increased, when concurring cantons proceeded to execute the articles of Baden, caused an account to be rendered of the revenues of the convents, imposed contributions, and regulated the conditions of the noviciate. The states which took these measures were those in which the Catholic and Protestant populations approached, more or less, to an equality in numbers, but in which the progressive element prevailed. These ruined states had, in former ages, been the theatre of civil wars, for which religion had served as a pretext. Their fertile soil, nourished by the alluvia of the Aar, the Rheuss, and the Thur, was covered with rich and numerous monasteries, on which the governments, composed in greater part of Protestants, had long cast an envious eye. Seeing these governments proceed as they did to the execution of the concordat of Baden, the Roman Catholic population feared lest the property of their monasteries should fall into profane hands. The alarm extended even to the Catholics hitherto attached to the liberal cause, and they abandoned it from that moment.

The first effect of the movement was to displace the majority in more than one canton. In that of St Gall, the people opposed by their veto the application of the concordat. Insurrection broke out. The Governor of Argovia, having seized the pretext of one of these risings to secularise all the convents in the canton, and to pour into the coffers of the state a sum of ten millions of francs, and to violate by that act the articles which placed the convents under the guarantee of the federal pact, he completely threw the Roman Catholic population into the same camp, and united them against the revolutionary cause.

I will not retrace the well-known consequences of that act. You know how, in Catholic Switzerland, all men attached to ancient piety and to traditional faith, believing the religion of their fathers seriously threatened, threw themselves into the party of reaction; how that movement in Lucerne carried an ultramontane government to the head of affairs; and how that government, opposing anger and provocation to what had provoked them, called the Jesuits into their city. This was to challenge Protestant Switzerland, as Argovia had challenged Romish Switzerland. A whole nation hastened to rise.

Lucerne was then one of the three cantons charged with alternately representing Switzerland before Europe, and of arranging its general interests. Lucerne placed itself under the tutelage of

an order which recognised no nationality. Indignation at this fact spread like a flame from city to city, from village to village. Meetings succeeded each other, increasing in number and violence. Men, interested in not allowing the fire to burn out, presided in the popular assemblies. Soon, from one extremity of Switzerland, the cry was heard, "No Jesuits in the heart of the confederation!" The ardour of men's minds increased, when the states threatened by their agitation, formed in the *Sunderbund* a particular alliance, and pledged a mutual assistance. It is well known that the tempest, increasing in its course, overthrew all the governments which sought to moderate its violence, and that the war resulted in the victory of the Swiss radicals over the Roman Catholics.

It is not so generally known what have been the consequences of this defeat to the Romish Church, and what the new situation which has resulted from it. A change in her situation has been the fruit of recent events in Switzerland. A confederation of states has been transformed into a confederate state. In the confederation of states, the representatives of the cantons sat with equal powers, and the voice of a canton of 20,000 souls was of equal weight with that of a canton of 400,000. But the confederate State is regulated, like the United States of America, by two Chambers, one of which represents the States, the other the Nation; one the historical element, the other the numerical element, or that of the population represented in equal proportions. In other words, an order of things which allowed the Catholic minority to balance the Protestant majority, has given place to an order of things in which the number which is Protestant in Switzerland has acquired a new preponderance.

Already Switzerland, thus re-organised, has been able to take measures which she could never have put in execution under the former state of things; such as that of banishing the Jesuits, with all their affiliations, from the entire confederation—that which secures to every Swiss a free establishment in every canton, guarantees to all everywhere the same rights and the same liberty of worship—and that which places mixed marriages under the guarantee of the confederacy.

A second consequence has been the overthrow in the Catholic cantons of the ultramontane governments, and the substitution in several of new, who, though Romanists, are the most decided opponents of Romish policy. Raised to power by the influence of events, these new governments representing, it is true, the

minority, and not the majority of their fellow-citizens, their strength is not in themselves, it is in the support of the Protestant cantons, but they shew themselves only the most hostile to the pretensions of the Romish Church. They are not satisfied with sustaining the articles proclaimed at the conference of Baden, and which the Catholic populations of Switzerland had rejected; they have given to those articles a new extension. They have not been satisfied with setting limits to the immunities of the clergy, with enforcing the rights of the State in the matters of collation and of public instruction, they have brought the Church into a closer dependence on the civil power. Several, transforming a Catholic church into a National church, have re-united the ecclesiastical property with the State property, and have undertaken to provide, according to their views, for the religious wants of the country. They have not only, as had been done in Baden, obliged the convents to contribute to the public expense, but have, for the most part, suppressed them. Charging the monks with the crime of the war, which imposed on the vanquished the burden of a considerable debt, they have laid the expenses on the property of the monasteries. Lucerne, to discharge a debt of 2,200,000 francs, laid hands on the monastery of St Urban, and levied three millions. Fribourg, to rid themselves of the expenses of the war, which were 600,000 francs, secularised Steine, Port Dieu, and some houses more. Thurgovia has added between five and six millions of francs to the public property, by announcing the intention to apply the interest of that sum to the wants of the Catholic Church, of public instruction, and of the poor. Tessin has secularised three convents, and declared the possession of the rest public property, while devolving the duty of instruction on the monks, but under the surveillance of the State, which will give a part for the education of the poor. The Valais, after long disputes, laid the expense of the war upon the townships, or communes, after a large part of the sum of 1,800,000 francs, to which the debt amounted, had been paid by the monasteries. At the present moment, the number of monasteries suppressed is twenty-seven; the number of monks secularised is seven hundred. The monks receive a pension for life, which varies from five hundred to eighteen hundred francs. The admission of novices in the convents not suppressed had been limited or prohibited by the governments.

The regular clergy have offered no resistance to these measures;

but it has not been so with those measures which have concerned themselves. That resistance has been especially displayed in western Switzerland, and particularly in the canton of Fribourg. The more feeble the minority at Fribourg which possessed the government, the more they believed themselves called upon to shew violence. They thus encountered more opposition. It is, besides, natural that mere strangers to the faith of the church to which they make a profession of belonging, desire to see it submissive, and reduced to the condition of a servant, similar to that of the army or the police. Two absolute powers thus find themselves arrayed against each other, and the Government of Fribourg, employing force, has done in Romish Switzerland what, a few years before, that of Lucerne had done, in a similar case, in central Switzerland. Like Lucerne, it has invoked the assistance of the cantons interested in its cause—the difference of the two cases consisting in this, that Fribourg called to unite with it states which, though containing a Catholic minority, were not the less essentially Protestant. Romish Switzerland had also its conference, similar to that of Baden. Deputies of the five cantons comprised in the diocese of Baden—viz., Fribourg, Berne, Neuchâtel, Vaud, and Geneva—agreed in adopting resolutions which, better, perhaps, than any other act, exhibit the present situation of the Romish Church in the confederation.

The five contracting cantons engage to protect and maintain entire their sovereignty, at the same time declaring that they will not touch the dogmas of the Romish Church. They require every publication of the bishop and of the Holy See to be submitted to the ratification of the State; and that, in general, the ecclesiastical constitutions be placed in agreement with the civil institutions. If the bishop refuses, they reserve to themselves the right of withdrawing the permission to exercise his functions. In case of a vacancy in the see, the nomination of a new bishop belongs to them. They will provide for the election of a college of deputies, in which the cantons are represented in proportion to the Catholic population residing within the diocese. Fribourg to name four deputies, Geneva two, Vaud, Berne, and Neuchâtel, each one. The bishop elect shall give his oath to observe the laws of the State and of the diocese. Latter articles secure the share of the governments in the collation of benefices, in the election of deans, and in the nomination of candidates for the priesthood.

You know, gentlemen, that the bishop, having refused to sub-

mit to these resolutions, has been arrested by the Government of the Canton de Vaud, detained some time in the Castle of Chillon, and that, banished from his diocese, he has fixed his residence in the Castle of Divonne, on the French frontier.

Such is the situation which late events have produced in Roman Catholic Switzerland—a situation similar to that of a wrestler who has been thrown down, but, though overcome, is not subdued, and who expects better success next time. Full of hope in the new breeze which blows over Europe, and which is throwing feeble minds in great numbers into the arms of Rome, and delivering them to a religion of shows, indulgences, and authority, the Roman Catholic party defend, foot to foot, every inch of ground against its adversaries. The suppression of the convents has been for it, truly, the lopping off of a dead branch, by which the living plant has full play. Already, even Rome has regained ground in some cantons—in those, for example, of St Gall and of Lucerne. In the Grisons, the bishop has opposed to the School of Superior Instruction and the Radicals, a Catholic school. In Geneva, there can be no doubt, the Romish party makes progress every year. Three parties are arrayed in Geneva against each other. The Conservative and Protestant, the Romish, and the Radical. The last is the dominant party, and to such a degree, that the Conservative Protestant party has not, at present, a single representative in the national councils; but it has triumphed in the elections only by the support of the Romish party—a support which it has purchased, every new struggle, by new concessions, until the days shall come when Rome prevails in Geneva over the Protestants, who will then begin to rally when it is too late.

We have traversed lately many of the cantons of Catholic Switzerland, and everywhere we have found the dispositions of the people as we have described them. Everywhere reigns a mixture of impatience and resignation, and everywhere confidence in the triumph which the future has in reserve for the Romish cause. A *fête* lately brought together the whole population of a district in Fribourg, on the confines of the Canton de Vaud. Suddenly a man steps forward, with proud and confident looks, and, with a glass in hand, announces that he is going to propose a toast which, without exception, will make all hearts beat. “To the seven cantons of the Sunderbund!” said he, and the multitude, lately divided into two parties, Radical and Romish, answered to his voice by an immense and unanimous applause.

It would remain for me to mention some conclusions, if I had not passed the limits which can be granted to me. Allow me, then, to leave to yourselves to deduce from this exposition the conclusions to which it points. I will specify one. When Rome is unfurling again to the whole world the old standard of Gregory VII. and Pius V.—when she is rallying her forces and bringing her armies everywhere into the field—the sons of the Reformation cannot remain dispersed. Let us unite, then, but let our union be in God. Let us form an alliance, but let it be in the only name of Jesus Christ. Let us oppose to the unity of Rome, the unity of spirit; to the language of authority, the language of liberty; to the Catholicism which seeks its centre and support on earth, the Catholicism which seeks its centre and support in heaven. Rome has its policy; let us also have ours. Ours consists, as Luther has well said, in having none; in opposing cunning by the force of truth; worldly policy, by the knowledge of our misery; violence, by faith. But the hour is come when the shout of combat rises; strengthen ourselves in our union, in the truth, in the consciousness of our misery, in our common faith in God and in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. The hour is come to fall on our knees, that we rise up in the strength of God. Let us seek no other strength. Let us shun all other alliance than that by which we are united in Him. The Reformed Churches have become corrupted (we have paid too little attention to the fact), as the Church had been from the beginning of the middle ages, by their alliances with human policy. They have wandered far from the paths of the first Reformers—and whenever a Church departs from the sources of her life, she is sure to suffer. But the chastisements with which God visits his Church are the chastisements which a father inflicts on his children. They are corrections, not punishments. Instructed by the experience of the Church, let us return to our Father and our God.



## PRESENT STATE OF EVANGELICAL RELIGION IN FRENCH SWITZERLAND.

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR BAUP, OF LAUSANNE.

THE religious revival, which assumed a tangible form in our country towards the close of the first quarter of the present century, was everywhere met with opposition from the majority of the clergy and people, who were impatient at being driven from their old track, and disturbed in their false security. With a few exceptions, however, it was only in the Canton de Vaud that persecution adopted a violent character, where it brought about the formation of independent churches, at first numerically very insignificant, but which insensibly increased and gathered strength. Churches were also formed at Geneva and Neufchâtel, where the Government was not called upon to interfere so directly; the administration of the ecclesiastical affairs of those two cantons being in the hands of the Company of Pastors. It was different at Lausanne, where the civil power directed the Church, and nominated and dismissed the pastors. This explains the law, unhappily too famous, of May 20, 1824, and, generally, all the religious troubles which followed, the last and most important phase of which may be dated from 1845. It was then that a revolution broke out, which brought into power a government, whose arbitrary measures, and whose encroachments on the rights of conscience, forced 155 pastors and ministers to retire, and thus contributed towards the formation of a Free Evangelical Church, which was constituted in March 1847. Such a result was to be looked for in those places where the absolute power of the State, in matters of religion, was most distinctly insisted on, and most rigorously practised. It would seem that this ought to have induced those governments which had been produced by the revolutions of Geneva and Neufchâtel, not to meddle with Church matters, or, at least, to pronounce the separation of the Church from the State; but then, on the other hand, it answered their purpose to introduce democracy into the Church, and to humiliate the

clergy. The National Churches of these two cantons received, consequently, new constitutions. Thus, at Geneva, a fresh motive was given for forming an Evangelical Church, independent of the State; and it is not improbable that, in the course of events, something similar may take place at Neuchâtel, sooner or later. The Bernese Church, too, has just received, though under more favourable circumstances, a mixed synodical organisation, of which it is to make trial for some time before it is definitely adopted. All these changes have occurred in the space of less than five years. You see that we occupy a shifting position; everything around us bearing the impress of a period of transition, the more marked from the fact, that old dissent has itself undergone various modifications; so that the picture which we draw to-day may possibly be considerably changed to-morrow. I must beg you to bear this fact in mind, and not to require from me a definite judgment on the institutions of yesterday, which we have not had time to know by their fruits. One thing, however, appears to us certain, and it is this: that if the powers of evil are exerting themselves to attain their end, the Lord is stronger than they. The wind of the Almighty has blown, and many dried bones have risen from their dust. May God grant to us grace to prophesy to the Spirit whilst we are together, and we shall doubtless see the army increase, and march more unitedly under the orders of their chief.

#### NATIONAL CHURCHES.

##### I. CHURCH OF THE CANTON DE VAUD.

In the rapid glance which we are about to take of the position of the churches, the national churches justly claim priority, and we will commence with the one which has existed for the greatest number of years in its present state—the Church of the Canton de Vaud, which received its present constitution on the 14th of December 1839. This constitution differed from the former, chiefly in the abolition of the Helvetic Confession of Faith, the sole guarantee that the Church possessed for its spiritual independence. On all other points, it only confirmed the supremacy which the State had previously enjoyed. Here, whilst instituting a clerical synod, which the Council of State might convene when it thought proper, the civil power reserved to itself the decision in all questions of doctrine, the deliberations of the synod having no weight beyond that of a mere consultation.—(Art. 87.) It is easy to

understand that such a position does not tend to increase the prosperity of the Church. The ecclesiastical life, which was beginning to manifest itself in it before 1845, through the medium of general and particular conferences, was independent of legal organisation; and now that the Free Church has diminished it so much, it is with difficulty that it can provide for the exigencies of its position. After having reckoned the number of its clergy at 149 pastors, 19 suffragan pastors, and 47 suffragans (in all, 215 working ministers and pastors), without counting some ministers engaged in tuition or fulfilling pastoral duties abroad, it has now only 136 pastors and ministers, many of whom are advanced in years, and who, being required to keep the civil registers, to afford the assistance granted by law to the poor, and, in the majority of instances, to inspect the schools, must, with their extended parishes, have some trouble to perform their duties. There are amongst them active men, devoted to their ministry; but it is they who feel most keenly the difficulties of a position, in which they remain, out of love for their parish, and for the purpose of preventing a greater number of foreigners coming to occupy the national pulpits. Should the number of serviceable men increase, their task will become less onerous. But there is little chance of any considerable augmentation in this direction, for, between the years 1846 and 1850, only seven candidates have been ordained, and this year there will probably be but one. In the year 1850-51, the academy had only twelve students of theology, two *externes*, and two students of philosophy, who were allowed to attend the lectures without an examination. In 1844, when the need of the Church was much less, the theological lecture-room was attended by forty-four students. Legally, the parishes have no voice in the choice of their pastors; they are given to them by the State; but many are now demanding a more democratical government of the Church. The Vaudois clergy are generally orthodox; but it is not yet possible to estimate the influence that the general circumstances of the Church, and the appointment of foreign pastors, may exercise in this respect. It is said that the religious services are for the most part thinly attended, excepting on the days of the festivals of the Church, when the number of communicants greatly surpasses that of the regular attendants. If there are any pastors who hold meetings besides those fixed by the regulations for the discharge of their office, their number must be very small, as the law forbids them.

## II. NATIONAL CHURCH OF GENEVA.

The National Church of the Canton of Geneva is placed, by the constitution of 1847, under the direction of a consistory, composed of six ecclesiastical and twenty-five lay members, nominated, for four years, by a single college, composed of all the Protestants of the canton who accept the *forms* according to which this Church is organised.—(*Constit.* secs. 114-128.) The powers of the consistory extend to the censuring and deposing of pastors. Each parish nominates its own pastor, subject to the approval of the consistory. There are thirty pastors, fourteen in town and sixteen in the country, united with nine retired pastors and five professors of theology; they form the Company of Pastors, whose functions are merely spiritual. They examine and ordain candidates for the ministry, and nominate the professors of theology, independently of the Council of State and of the consistory. They elect a president every year, under the name of Moderator. The decline of orthodox doctrine in this Company (which previous to 1847 had the government of the Church) is so well known, that we need only refer to it. Everybody is aware that the Catechism and the Confession of Faith were gradually modified and set aside; and that in May 1847, the Company required all young ministers who presented themselves for ordination to engage to abstain from preaching, “First, on the manner in which the Divine nature is united to the person of Jesus Christ: Second, on original sin: Third, on the way in which grace operates; or, on saving grace: Fourth, on predestination.” Now all opinions are entirely free, and every shade of religious belief, orthodox or rationalistic, may have its representative in the bosom of this Church. Anomalous as this position is, it may, nevertheless, when compared to the preceding state of things, be regarded as an advance, inasmuch as a door is opened for evangelical doctrines, which, for a while, were systematically excluded, so that they found in the Company only isolated representatives. Now their number may increase, if the parishes, discerning their true interest, choose pastors animated by the spirit of their vocation. Again, the Company and the consistory see that they have to contend against principles subversive of all social order, against an invading Catholicism, and dissent—which is continually acquiring more stability and life—and understand that they must display fresh activity, as is manifest from the *account* just rendered (May 1851), at the expiration of its term of four years. The Report

begins by passing under review the different improvements and innovations made either by the Company, or by the Company and consistory united. They are:—Sermons and publications for the especial purpose of calling upon the Church to celebrate and keep holy the Lord's Day; the establishment of five deaconries in the town, to aid the pastors in their labours; evening service in two quarters of the town; pastoral visits in the parishes of the country, &c. &c. The consistory has also bestowed great attention on the religious instruction of the young; and this it has done with peculiar zeal, in consequence of an ancient society, the Society of Catechumens, having been suppressed by a very disputable interpretation of a law relating to foundations, and whose duties, it considers, have devolved upon it. Instead of large classes of catechumens, instructed by young ministers paid expressly for this object, it has rendered it obligatory on every pastor to give religious instruction to the young people of his parish, and prepare them for the Lord's Supper—without, however, interfering with the liberty of those parents who may have more confidence in some other pastor. We must not forget to mention, that for the last ten years, the Rev. Messieurs Barde and Coulin, aided by some friends, have established meetings for edification on Sunday evenings, in a building capable of holding three hundred persons. These meetings are well attended, and supply a great want.

### III. NATIONAL CHURCH OF NEUFCHATEL.

At Neuchâtel, the Church is making trial, not without some apprehensions, of the regulations imposed upon it, January 1, 1849. Here, more than elsewhere, the pastors naturally think of the past; for, of all the Swiss churches, none was better placed to shew what may be expected from an ecclesiastical institution for the moral and religious development of a country. The Company, composed of all the pastors doing duty, was completely independent of the civil power, with which it never came into conflict, and from which it received every support. It exercised discipline over its members, admitted to the ministry such men as it judged fit, assigned to each one his post, determined every matter concerning the liturgy and ritual, and administered the funds, which, with the dues of the communes, were sufficient for the maintenance of the pastors. The Church had preserved the custom, long since abandoned elsewhere, of a discipline, at once religious and civil, in the organisation of the consistories, of which *elders* formed

a part, and the pastors generally were more respected than in the neighbouring cantons. It belongs not to us to pronounce upon the use they made of this favourable position; we shall confine ourselves to the statement that their intercourse with theological Germany has not led them to abandon the profession of orthodox doctrine; they have borrowed from that country the best it has to offer in this respect. More life in their preaching would be desirable; but even here there is a visible progress, to which the position in which the Church is at present placed, is, perhaps, destined to give a fresh impulse, from a sense of the danger of doctrine becoming relaxed, and life enfeebled, in a church which has neither discipline nor articles.

The management of the Church is now confided to a Synod, consisting of thirty-two members, nineteen of whom are laymen, and thirteen ministers; eighteen of the laymen are nominated directly by the parishes, and one by the Government, which also nominates one clerical member; the twelve other ministers are nominated by the six *colloques*, which are composed in each district of all the pastors doing duty, and as many laymen, chosen by the parishes. Each parish elects its pastor, who is subject to a re-election every six years. The pastor is paid by the State, which, by appropriating, as at Geneva, the funds of the Church, has given ample proof of its intention of maintaining "the rights of superintendence and supremacy guaranteed to it by the constitution." Evangelical doctrines are advancing among the forty-eight pastors and officiating ministers (two of whom are Germans, one for Neuchâtel, and one for La Chaux de Fonds et le Lode). In addition to sermons in the churches, several pastors, schoolmasters, and other laymen, hold regular meetings on Sunday evenings, and sometimes on week-days. At Neuchâtel, for instance, there is a meeting for edification, in the Oratoire des Berceles, attended, on Wednesdays, by about five hundred persons. At La Chaux de Fonds, the religious meeting reckons from three hundred to three hundred and fifty auditors; that at Baudry, from sixty to eighty; at Ponts, about one hundred and fifty. In twenty other villages there are similar meetings, where, generally speaking, missions and the work of evangelisation are discussed once a month.

#### IV. NATIONAL CHURCH OF THE CANTON OF BERNE— FRENCH PART.

In the canton of Berne (Jura district) there are nineteen French

parishes, with nineteen pastors and one deacon, who form up to the present time a *class*, which meets regularly once a year at Bienne; a dean, chosen for three years, being president. The Protestant population of this district amounts to about twenty-five or thirty thousand souls. There is, besides, a French pastor at Porrentrui (a Roman Catholic town), at the head of a small Protestant congregation, and a German pastor at Délémont. Nearly all these pastors are orthodox; some of them announce the gospel with power, and hold religious meetings, besides the church services, which enjoy entire liberty. A few minds are awakened, but the agitation caused by political radicalism has greatly impeded the progress of the kingdom of God, especially in the manufacturing district of Courtelery, where a mass of artisans from Geneva, France, Germany, and Neufchâtel have settled, and pursue the trade of making watches—a population not very accessible to the gospel. Evangelical truth does not appear to have made progress since the political disturbances to which this canton, in common with others, has been exposed. There is, likewise, in the town of Berne, a French Protestant parish with two pastors, one of whom is among the oldest and most faithful representatives of the revival in this canton. Generally speaking, the new project of ecclesiastical law which has lately been provisionally voted by the Grand Council, is well received by the evangelical pastors, who hope that it will enable them to associate with themselves pious laymen, fitted to promote the well-being of the churches. But the circumstance of the parish being confounded with the commune, appears to render the realisation of any hopes that may have been conceived in this matter problematical.

#### V. NATIONAL PROTESTANT CHURCH IN THE CANTON OF FRIBOURG.

In the canton of Fribourg, where the French and German population amounts only to 12,133 souls, a fourth part of whom (3003) are scattered in various parts of the canton, and the rest collected in the five Protestant parishes of the Lake and district of Morat, there are two pastors for the French portion at Meyriez, and at Motier en Valley. But, in 1836, a Protestant church was founded at Fribourg, which now reckons 1250 souls in the town and suburbs—three times the number that it had at the period of its foundation. It is divided into a German part, which is by far the largest, and a French part. This church, which is under the

charge of a zealous and active pastor, has, together with two schools of one hundred and two children, been hitherto maintained by the contributions of the members and the Protestant governments of Switzerland; but as the greater part of the latter have refused to continue their subsidies, it would find itself greatly embarrassed in 1852, had not the Protestant Aid Societies of Bâle and Berne, who have always taken great interest in it, promised to come to its assistance. The wants of the other scattered Protestants are partly supplied by the Bernese and Vaudois pastors residing on the frontiers, and particularly by monthly services at Bulle and at Romont, performed by ministers of the Free Church of the Canton de Vaud. Four German schools have been founded by the societies we have just mentioned, which furnish instruction to two hundred and ninety-four children. One French school, established at Romont, is supported by the Free Vaudois Church. It contains fifteen children.

#### VI. THE MORAVIANS—GERMAN AND ENGLISH SERVICES.

We will mention, as forming a transition between the National and Independent Churches, which, as we have seen, labour harmoniously in the canton of Fribourg, the Moravian Brethren, who, whilst uniting with the one or the other, according to their peculiar sympathies, have a *diaspora* of two to three hundred members in the cantons of Vaud and Neuchâtel, (particularly at St Croix, Locle, Fleurier, and Bulle). They have founded, at Montmirail and Lausanne, educational establishments enjoying a high reputation, the former for young ladies, the latter for boys. Two agents are employed in visiting their friends and holding meetings.

There is a German service recognised by the State at Geneva, Lausanne (where the pastor is regarded as a member of the national clergy), Vevey, and Neuchâtel. The Free Vaudois Church also evangelises the Germans in the northern part of the canton; whilst a Lutheran pastor, supported by some Christians, carries on a similar work at Baudry and Cernier, in the canton of Neuchâtel, among the Germans scattered about this locality. An English service is celebrated at Geneva, Lausanne, and Vevey, by chaplains supported by their own congregations.

#### CHURCHES INDEPENDENT OF THE STATE.

Dissent from the National Church has attained a much more considerable degree of development in French than in German



Switzerland. It is the fruit of the revival. In the commencement it did not contemplate the formation of churches; persecution forced it into this course. In time, it felt what it really was, and settled principles which must render a reunion with the national churches impossible, so long as those vices exist against which it has been thought right to protest.

For instance, in one place, a protest has been made against the abandonment of sound doctrine (the Church du Témoignage and the Oratoire at Geneva); in another, against the absence of discipline in the administration of the Lord's Supper (the Independent Congregational Churches of Geneva, Vaud, and Neuchâtel); then, against all kinds of ecclesiastical organisation (Plymouth Brethren); finally, against the interference of the State in spiritual matters, and against confounding civil society with religious society (Free Vaudois Church, &c.) Dissent thus assumed various characteristics, according to the circumstances and the necessities of the moment. As in all movements of this nature, it has not been always exempt from a sectarian spirit—and some individuals have even suffered themselves to be led astray. We will quote, as an example, Sardonism, one of the distinctive features of which was a servile imitation of certain actions in the lives of the apostles and of the primitive Church; as if piety consisted in allowing the beard to grow, or in renouncing the convenience of the post because the apostles sent their letters by messengers chosen by themselves, &c. &c. Irvingism found also some adherents, and even penetrated into the Theological School of Geneva, which was obliged, on that occasion, to part with one of the professors in 1837. But, whilst recording these eccentricities, practised only by an imperceptible minority, we are bound to acknowledge that those Christians, who from conscientious motives assumed an independent position, have made themselves respected by their lives and doctrines; and that amongst them are men whom the most faithful churches would be proud to reckon among their members. By the mercy of God, they are all agreed on the fundamental truths of the gospel, and differ only on questions of form, or on shades of doctrine, relative to points which by universal consent are of secondary importance. Nothing, therefore, hinders them from holding out to each other the right hand of fellowship, and from labouring in common for the advancement of the kingdom of God, of which we might adduce many proofs.

## I. ANCIENT DISSENT AND ITS MODIFICATIONS.

The most ancient manifestation of dissent endeavouring to apply the doctrines of the revival to a church, occurred at Geneva when the Company of Pastors drew up their Socinian tenets in 1817. It was at that time that Robert Haldane assembled around him some students of theology, whom he introduced to the knowledge of evangelical doctrines. The first meetings, which were very small, were held in a room at Bourg de Four, and continued to be held there until the Church de la Pelisserie was built (1840). They seem to have commenced a short time previous to the period when the Rev. C. Malan, who had been deprived of his appointment at the college, and prohibited from exercising his ministry in the National Church, on account of his doctrines, returned from Glasgow, and began in 1820 to preach the Gospel in the Church du Témoignage. From that time Christians formed groups, more or less numerous, in the Canton de Vaud, and organised themselves into independent churches (since the law of May 20, 1824) at Vevey, Rolle, Nyon, Lausanne, Yverdon, and several other places, from which they have extended to Neuchâtel. These churches generally adopted a very strict discipline in the administration of the Lord's Supper, and strongly insisted on the doctrine of justification by faith alone—a doctrine which had been more or less infringed upon, in the system of legal preaching that had found its way into the orthodox Church during a period of lukewarmness. The reproach of antinomianism, which this has brought upon them, appears to us to be totally unfounded; for, whilst bringing prominently forward the tenet which had been left in obscurity, the first representatives of the revival never advocated a relaxed morality; on the contrary, they rather presented the Christian life under an austere aspect, and, at times, gave a legal character to the obligations of believers. It is difficult to state with precision the number of persons belonging to these churches, especially as they were subject to many fluctuations. We think, however, that we shall not err greatly from the truth in fixing their amount at between 2000 and 3000 in French Switzerland. Concerning the phases which this first dissent has undergone, we will remark that some have remained firm in their views—as, for example, Auguste Rochat, and the pastors of the Church of Bourg de Four. Some adopted for a time the peculiar views of the Wesleyans; others, who formed the great majority,

have been led to take up the notions of Mr Darby and the Plymouth Brethren. Since 1840, when this last movement commenced, it has continually increased in the dissenting churches, and has drawn away some members of the national churches. It is still, perhaps, on the ascendant. There is reason, however, to conjecture, that it is approaching a period when it must undergo some modification, either by renouncing its exclusive principles, or by falling into some one of those exaggerations by which a system condemns itself.

None of these phases, though they may here and there have occasioned pain, have been without their use, as may be seen in men who, after having passed through them all, have not only remained firm on the only foundation which can be laid—namely, Jesus Christ—but have gained in experience, in brotherly love, in gentleness, in holiness. We believe that, generally speaking, the religious revival, amid some periods of feverish agitation or of languor, has every time acquired fresh elements of life that have tended to perfect it. The Plymouth Brethren, in particular, with their doctrine of the apostasy of the present economy, which would sweep away all existing institutions, have obliged us to examine more closely the questions relating to the organisation of a church, and have led to a deeper study of the Word of God. It is to be regretted, that the falseness of their principle has made them assume a hostile attitude towards all other ecclesiastical bodies, and all Christian societies, which, on more than one occasion, has been detrimental to the development of the work of God, and must necessarily have had an injurious effect on the individual piety of those who are under the dominion of a sectarian spirit. The number of adherents to this system must be nearly the same as that of the old dissent, the place of which, with a few exceptions, it has taken, though it cannot be asserted that all who are present at their meetings for worship participate in the opinions of the foremost leaders. Their most numerous assemblages are at Geneva, Lausanne, Vevey, L'Etivaz, Yverdon, Oron, Les Granges, near Payerne. In the canton of Neuchâtel, where they reckon about 350 communicants, they meet in five different places. The number of their stations in the whole of Switzerland is, if we are rightly informed, between forty and fifty.

The number of the old Dissenters who remain faithful to the Congregational principles cannot be determined with any certainty, as, in many places, they attend the meetings of the Plymouth

Brethren, without adopting their views. Those who keep distinct are but few in the Canton de Vaud; at Neuchâtel there may be from 150 to 200 communicants. We shall presently see that at Geneva, in order to form an evangelical church, they have united with other brethren, chiefly of the Church of the Oratoire, which, after having been for some years merely a place for orthodox preaching in connexion with the Evangelical Society of Geneva, assumed, in 1835, the privileges of a church (the celebration of the sacraments), without its organisation.

As for the Wesleyan Methodists, a member of their society, speaking of the present position of that body in our country, expresses himself thus:—"On the one hand the persecutions occasioned by the Revolution of 1845, and on the other the establishment of the Free Church of the Canton de Vaud, have considerably restricted the sphere of labour occupied by the society of Wesleyan Methodists in the Canton de Vaud. Two pastors are stationed there, one at Lausanne, the other at Aigle. The number of communicants is about seventy-five; but they do not confine their labours to them. In consequence of the invitations they have received, they co-operate with other brethren of the Free Church, or old Dissenters. With this object they make periodical visits to Rolle, Cossonay, Eclépens, and other localities in the Canton de Vaud, as well as to the valley of la Sagne, in the canton of Neuchâtel. The Wesleyan Society has also been engaged in the formation of Sunday-schools. They have four in the Canton de Vaud—namely, at Lausanne, Aigle, St Triphon, and Ollon. In the last-named place, the Wesleyans are associated in this work with the members of the Free Church. More than 300 children attend these schools, in which thirty male and female monitors are engaged in teaching."

## II. FREE EVANGELICAL CHURCH OF THE CANTON DE VAUD.

The Free Evangelical Church of the Canton de Vaud, which, as you know, has arisen out of religious persecution and the arbitrary intervention of the State in matters concerning the ministry of the gospel, was constituted, in 1847, by the adoption of a Presbyterian constitution, which, whilst it left to particular churches a large measure of liberty, with regard to forms of worship and discipline, gave them a centre of unity sufficiently strong for them to be considered as forming one ecclesiastical body, whose object is "to maintain the claims of Jesus Christ on his Church, the purity of

the ministry of the gospel, religious liberty, and sound doctrine." With regard to the latter point, the doctrines professed are those expressed by common consent in the books of articles of the Reformed Churches of the sixteenth century; and the Free Church desires, resting on the foundation of the truth as it is in Christ, to extend the right hand of fellowship to every church living by the same spiritual life, and professing the same faith. It is governed by constituted bodies, which, for each church, are:—*General Assemblies*, composed of men of twenty-one years of age and upwards, who are members of this Church, and who formally adhere to its doctrines and institutions: *Church Councils*, consisting of the pastor or pastors, and a certain number of elders, varying according to the wants of the Church: a *Synod*, nominated for two years, has to provide for the general interests of the Church. Each particular church sends to the Synod one pastor and two elders; churches reckoning more than 300 members send twice as many representatives; those that number more than 600, three times as many. The Synod provides, by means of commissions, the various branches of administration. These commissions are five in number:—1. The *Synodal Commission*, on which devolves more especially the superintendence of the churches already constituted, and which keeps up an intercourse with churches in other countries. 2. The *Evangelisation Commission*, which labours to advance the kingdom of God at home and abroad, and endeavours to excite in the Church missionary activity, and an interest in the missions to the Jews and heathen nations. 3. The *Commission of Study*, whose duty it is to direct the Theological College, and to exercise a surveillance over the schools which the churches may found. 4. The *Commission of Finance*. 5. The *Commission of Discipline*, nominated to meet the case of any pastor or elder being guilty of negligence in the execution of his duties, or whose conduct should be inconsistent with his office, &c. In the matter of discipline, with regard to their members, each church acts within its own province, following the course which it considers as marked out by the Word of God. But it is generally admitted, that discipline ought rather to affect membership of the Church than participation in the Lord's Supper, which is regarded as a sign of communion with the universal Church, and which each individual approaches on his own responsibility before God. The Synod determines the publication of books intended for worship or reli-

gious instruction; it recommends them to the churches, but does not impose them.

The particular Churches that have adopted this constitution are forty in number, and have forty-four pastors and 170 elders, named by the General Assembly of each Church. The whole number of members registered amounted, in October 1850, to 3100. Since then, the number has increased, but I cannot state exactly by how much. There are, besides, from 1500 to 2000 persons who attend the services. In addition to the working pastors, the Free Church also reckons, as having adhered to its doctrines and constitution, sixty-seven ministers of the Word, twenty-one of whom are exercising pastoral duties in different countries—in France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, German Switzerland, and even in America; whilst the rest, who have remained in this country, are occupied in giving private or public instruction, or else have placed themselves at the disposal of the Evangelisation Commission. A few, either on account of age, or health, or peculiar circumstances, do no regular duty. Since the time of its formation, the Church has ordained, by the laying on of hands, fifteen candidates for the ministry; three of whom studied in the Theological School of Geneva, and the others obtained their diplomas of licentiates either at the Academy of Lausanne or at the Theological College of the Free Church. This college has four professors, and, at present, seventeen regular students, and one who attends the lectures. The instruction given there is in conformity with the doctrines of the Church. The library of the students, which was founded in 1847, contains 717 volumes. In addition to a *home mission* of considerable extent, directed by the Evangelisation Commission, which employs for this purpose from five to eight evangelists, the Church is carrying on some works abroad. It supports a school at Romont, and another at Martigny, in Valais (which has just been forbidden). It provides for the edification of Protestants domiciliated in neighbouring countries, as, for example, at Pontarlier, in France; at Martigny, at Sion, and at Bienne, where it labours in concert with the Independent Church of Neuchâtel and the Evangelical Society of Berne. It also sends evangelists to the Baths of Lavey and Lonèche, for the edification of the persons who come there to bathe. The expenses of the Church, which, in 1850, amounted to about 73,800 French francs, are defrayed by voluntary contributions, hitherto supplied by the Church itself; but its members do not on that account

cease to take an interest in the works carried on by the Evangelical Societies of France, Geneva, and Belgium, in the missions of Paris, of Bâle, and the Evangelical Church of Lyons, &c. The income of the pastors, which is fixed at 1200 francs (£48), is paid from a central fund, which provides for the general expenses of the Church, and, amongst others, for those of the Theological College, where the students receive gratuitous instruction. The Evangelisation Commission has a separate fund. The sum of 8000 francs is placed at the disposal of the Synodal Commission, for the benefit of those pastors whose fixed stipend is not sufficient. The reports presented by the inspectors, sent by the Synodal Commission, of the state of the churches in 1850, are generally satisfactory. They are becoming settled, and increase in spiritual life. Some of them have been able to open fixed places of worship, and, wherever this has been done, the congregations have increased, which gives us reason to hope that if religious freedom is once granted to the Canton de Vaud, the Free Church will see the field of its activity extended. One of the means which the Lord has blessed, are meetings in the open air, in some spot selected by neighbour churches as a rallying point. These fraternal assemblies, which contribute to strengthen the churches, afford an occasion of preaching to many who are not members of churches, and become a precious opportunity for drawing together the children of God of different denominations. They are held in the spirit of the Evangelical Alliance.

### III. EVANGELICAL CHURCH OF GENEVA.

Whilst external circumstances were impelling in new directions those members of the National Vaudois Church who were most alive to the defects of its organisation, and led men, until then little accustomed to occupy themselves with ecclesiastical questions, to found, amid the storm of persecution, a Free Church,—some evangelical Christians of Geneva, whose names are known throughout Christendom, discussed quietly, and without haste, the basis of an organisation, which should be adapted to collect in one single body those Christians who had taken up a position independent of the State, and those whom the latitudinarianism of the National Church could not satisfy. From these fraternal conferences arose the constitution of the Evangelical Church of Geneva, which was joined by the members of the Churches of La Pelisserie and the Oratoire, by some of the members of the Church of

Le Témoignage, and a considerable number of orthodox Christians, who had until then formed part of the National Church. The fusion, as we have already stated, took place in 1849.

The constitution of this Church is Presbyterian. The presbytery, who have the care of the direction and management of the Church, is composed of an indefinite number of elders, chosen by the congregation—at the present moment, their number is eighteen—who are instituted to their office by the imposition of hands. The poor are attended to by nine deacons, who have divided the canton into four districts. Any one is allowed to become a member of the Church, “who, acknowledging himself to be a sinner condemned by his works, professes with the Church one hope in Jesus Christ, God manifested in the flesh, the only refuge of the sinner, and who does not belie his profession by his life; the judgment of consciences being left to God, who alone knows them that are his.” This profession is made before two elders. The elders, ministers, and deacons make a more explicit declaration of faith, drawn up in seventeen articles, which set forth the fundamental points of evangelical doctrine, such as they have been declared in the Reformed Evangelical Confession. The fourth article determines, that the holy communion is the table of the Lord, and not that of a particular church, and that all the members of God’s family are welcomed to it. Thus, independently of the members of the Church, who exceed 600 adults, admission to the Lord’s Supper has been granted to more than 400 orthodox Christians, still forming part of the National Church, who have signified, in the presence of two elders, that they subscribe to the profession of faith above mentioned. The Church is supported by voluntary donations, each one fixing his own quota. Worship is celebrated in the two chapels of L’Oratoire and La Pelissierie, two ministers performing the service; but, in order to meet the wishes of all, the forms of worship anciently used in both chapels have been retained. Thus, in the chapel of L’Oratoire, the manner in which worship is performed is nearly similar to that of the National Church, except a greater freedom in the use of the liturgy, &c.; whilst at La Pelissierie the service is one of mutual edification, presided over by the elders in turns, in which every member of the Church is permitted to speak, pray, &c. In the Oratoire, the Lord’s Supper is administered on the first Sunday of each month; in La Pelissierie, on every alternate Sunday. The expenses amount annually to about 13,000 francs.



In the constitution of the two sister churches of which we have just spoken, two features strike us as being remarkable:—1. A just application, so far as regards internal organisation, of the principle of variety in unity. Care has been taken not to diminish Christian liberty on any of those points which are not expressly decided by the Word of God. (For instance, concerning the form of worship, the more or less frequent participation of the Lord's Supper, the use of a liturgy.) These churches have, therefore, among their members, both Baptists and Pædobaptists, the difference of views entertained by them not being considered sufficient to cause division. 2. The desire felt to extend the hand of fellowship to all the faithful portions of the universal Church of Christ. The spirit of the Evangelical Alliance may be said to animate these institutions in their conduct towards members of other communions. It seems to us, that they have well defined what it is which constitutes a particular church as a portion of the Church of Christ.

The details we have furnished lead us to conclude that there are few countries in the world where, in proportion to their extent, evangelical truth is so amply preached as in French Switzerland; and the late events, whether political or religious, of which these cantons have been the theatre, at the same time that they have disclosed fearful evils, have been the means of rendering this preaching more earnest, more simple, and more direct, and have augmented, rather than diminished, the number of labourers. This is especially the case in the Canton de Vaud, where the shock was the greatest. Never have places of worship and the means of grace been more multiplied than since the persecution. We may reckon, that in a Protestant population of 192,225 souls there is at least one pastor or evangelist for every 900 or 1000 inhabitants. At Neuchâtel (Protestant population, 64,952) there is one pastor for 1200; at Geneva (Protestant population, 34,212), one for about 700 or 800.

With regard to the subsidiary means of advancing the kingdom of God, they are also greatly multiplied.

#### BIBLÉ SOCIETIES.

*Bible Societies.*—Every facility is afforded in our country for printing and diffusing the Bible; many Bible Societies are engaged in this work, and have established, in every place of importance, a depôt for Bibles and New Testaments. In several districts,

every family has been visited, to ascertain that they possessed the sacred Scriptures. For many years, the pastors have taken care that each of their catechumens should have a Bible; and, according to a rule which, I believe, is still in force, no marriage is celebrated unless the husband has procured the sacred volume. We do not wish, notwithstanding this, to affirm that every family of the Reformed communion has a Bible; but those that have not must be very rare exceptions. Unhappily, it is not everywhere read as it should be.

The first Bible Society was founded, in 1811, in the Canton de Vaud, by the efforts of Professor Levade, the translator of Paley's *Evidences of Christianity* and *Horæ Paulinæ*. It has published two editions of Ostervald's Bible, revised by the professors of Lausanne; but as it confined itself to selling its own editions, to which the Apocrypha was at first added, another society was formed in 1826, called the General Auxiliary Bible Society of the Canton de Vaud, which distributes merely the canonical books, without note or commentary. From the period of its foundation to the 15th of May 1850, it has circulated 47,692 copies of the Scriptures—26,510 of which were complete Bibles; and the rest of the copies disposed of contain about three-fourths of the New Testament, and one-fourth of the Psalms.

In Geneva, the Bible Society, founded in 1816 or 1817, is under the direction of a general committee of twenty-five members, clergymen and laymen, amongst whom members of different churches are admitted. It has published a revised edition, which is not orthodox in every point; but this edition, we are told, is now lying unbound in the central dépôt. This society, which receives the assistance of the auxiliary committee, has distributed since its origin, 14,196 Bibles, and 55,278 New Testaments. We believe it was at Geneva that the practice commenced of placing in every room of all the hotels in the town a copy of the sacred books. A special commission superintends the work of colportage in France. It supports six or eight colporteurs in the department of Isère.

At Neuchâtel, the Cantonal Bible Society has circulated, between the years 1817 and 1850, 19,016 copies of the Holy Scriptures. In the district of the Jura, and in the canton of Fribourg, the sacred books are supplied by the dépôts at Neuchâtel, Bâle, Berne, and Vaud.

Attempts at colportage have been made in the French parts of

the Catholic cantons of Fribourg and Valais, with various success, by private Christians, and by some societies. One single colporteur has distributed there, during the last four years, from 1200 to 1500 copies of the New Testament chiefly, Bibles forming only about one-twentieth part of this number. The sale appears to increase from year to year, and the need of them to be more and more felt.

Besides rendering very efficient aid to the Bible Societies of the country, the British and Foreign Bible Society has dépôts of its own in various localities, under the direction of its agent, Captain Graydon, who, if we are rightly informed, has disseminated in French Switzerland, during the last year, nearly 6000 copies of the Scriptures.

#### TRACT AND RELIGIOUS BOOK SOCIETIES.

Since the year 1830, there has been formed in the canton of Neuchâtel, in conjunction with the Bible Society, a Religious Book Society, the committee of which is composed of members of the National Church, and also of the Independent Evangelical Church. It has distributed, from its thirty-eight or forty dépôts, by means of colporteurs, more than 12,600 copies of the Holy Scriptures, without reckoning those sold by Mr J. P. Michaud (who deals only in religious books), on his own account, since 1844, amounting to about 3500 copies. Other booksellers also sell a considerable number of Bibles. But the Religious Book Society is more particularly concerned in the sale and distribution of religious tracts. During the twenty-eight years of its existence, it has circulated about 217,000. It has formed, besides, twenty-eight circulating libraries, established in different towns and villages, and ten collections of religious tracts.

At Geneva, where no Tract Society exists, about sixty ladies have formed an association, and undertaken to procure them from the dépôt at a certain sum per month, and either personally to distribute them, or get them distributed. This society disposes of about 3000 tracts a-year. There are also, at Geneva, several persons who contribute to enrich religious literature by very valuable publications. We may be permitted to mention, among others, the Rev. Dr Malan, who alone performs the work of a Tract Society, by publishing tracts in detached sheets, some of which have been collected and published, in several volumes, under the title of *Grains of Mustard Seed*.

The Committee for the Distribution of Religious Books in the Canton de Vaud has published, since the 6th of November 1827, the date of its establishment, 105 different tracts in French, (some of which, although large editions were printed, are now out of print), eleven Italian tracts, a series of tracts for children, which have reached the twenty-third number, and *Readings for Children*, a journal appearing monthly, in parts, of twenty-four pages, which at the end of the year form a nice volume in 12mo. This publication, which is still going on, was commenced in 1839. The committee has also published some more considerable works, such as *Christian Biography*, which it is anxious to continue. The sale and distribution of them, which, before 1845, amounted to 50,000 a-year, was last year reduced to 16,000 or 17,000. This year, however, the distribution has again become considerable, in consequence of the formation, or rather the reconstitution, of an association of readers and distributors of tracts, which has now about 500 subscribers, who receive every month, for a contribution of fifteen centimes, a small packet of tracts worth at least three times that sum. This association extends throughout various parts of the canton. From the period of its foundation, till June 30, 1850, it has sold, or given away, 776,788 tracts, irrespective of the *Readings for Children*, and of *Le Bon Messager*, an almanac published by the Evangelical Society of Lausanne, of which 10,000 copies are issued.

Religious Literature, in general, has been considerably improved in French Switzerland during the last twenty or thirty years, not only by translations from English and German works (in which the Society founded at Neuchâtel for Translating Religious German Works has been most useful), but also by original productions. It will be enough to cite, from the names which are known, those of Gouthier, Aug. Rochat, and Vinet; and from those whom we still have the happiness to possess, E. Guers, Bost, sen., L. Burnier, Gaussen, and Merle d'Aubigné; without mentioning those who, though settled in France or elsewhere, really, from their Swiss origin, belong to us, such as De Félice, the Monods, L. Bonnet, &c. The greater part of the co-labourers in the *Semeur* were natives of French Switzerland, as well as those of other religious journals, which, though they had but a short career, proved that men's minds had received a general impulse. We may instance, among others, the *Gazette Evangélique*, the *Narrateur Religieux*, the *Revue Britannique Religieuse*, the *Revue Chrétienne*, the *Réformation du*

19<sup>o</sup> *Siècle*. We have still, as organs of the evangelical press, the *Feuille Religieuse du Canton de Vaud*, commenced in 1826, which, under its unpretending form, owes to the absence of party spirit in which it is written, and to its single aim at edification, the welcome reception which it enjoys from its three thousand subscribers—and the *Avenir*, likewise published at Lausanne, and admitting into its columns the ecclesiastical questions of the present day, without, however, neglecting direct edification.

#### EDUCATION.

The education of children and young people is one of the subjects on which particular attention has been bestowed in French Switzerland, as is shewn by various pamphlets and more important publications, of which we will notice only, *Progressive Education*, by Mad. Necker de Saussure, and the *Course of Instruction in the Mother Tongue*, by the excellent Father Girard, of Fribourg, whom we do not hesitate to reckon among us—as he assuredly would allow us to do, although he belongs to a different communion—for his whole system of education has no other object but to exhibit Jesus Christ to children. Switzerland in general deserves to be classed among those countries that have done most for elementary education, and the French cantons take precedence of the German ones in the evangelical and Christian tone given to instruction. A remarkable progress was made in this direction, between 1830 and 1845, which excited attention abroad. It is true that the movement did not fulfil all that it promised, and our political agitations, which have more or less seriously modified our establishments of public instruction, have convinced us that in matters of education, as well as in matters of religion, it is not well to depend on the State. But the Christian impulse given to teaching in its different branches (see the Report of Professor Gindroz on the Public Instruction of the Canton de Vaud) cannot be checked. In some places it has given rise to new institutions, independent of the State, which seem likely to succeed. In 1834, there were already about forty-five *infant schools* in the Canton de Vaud; there are also several in the cantons of Geneva and Neuchâtel. The schoolmasters and mistresses are pious persons. In the *primary schools*, it has been generally sought to diminish the influence of the pastors, but they retain the superintendence of the religious instruction. There are, besides, many private institutions and independent schools, in which religion is made the vivifying principle

of all teaching. The largest of these schools at Geneva is that of La Pelisserie, under the management of Professor Ernest Naville, who adopts the method of Father Girard. This school, which has existed twenty years, formerly contained hardly fifty pupils; but since the dissolution of the Society of Catechumens, and the shutting up of the schools belonging to it, the number exceeds 112. A school, of about seventy girls, at Coutance; another, of forty, at Bourg de Four; a third, of nearly fifty, at Eaux Vives, under the direction of Mr Malan; and another containing an equal number, at Les Barrières, under the control of Mad. Calandrini, are conducted with the same religious tendency. Sunday-schools are held in these establishments. The school at Coutance, attended by a certain number of boys, is kept by Mr Lombard, M.D., who has had the happiness of reaping, at the bedsides of many of the sick and dying of these children, the fruits of his instruction. The interesting instructions to the young, given by Professor Gaussen, are attended by many.

Besides the Sunday-schools conducted by the Wesleyan Methodists, there are several others, more or less numerously attended, in the Canton de Vaud; but it would be impossible to give an exact statistical account of them. The same may be said of those in the canton of Neuchâtel, where the establishment of Bilodos, near Locle, has been, for many years, the principal asylum in French Switzerland for the education of poor orphan children. There are asylums for deserted children at Plain-Palais (Geneva), at Nyon and at Vevey for girls, and at Echichens for boys (Canton de Vaud). The Free Church has also just founded three schools,—one at Château d'Oex, conducted by a minister of the gospel; another at Ormont Dessus, in which the pastor gives instruction three days a week; and one at Lausanne, to which a master of great experience in teaching has been lately appointed.

#### MISSIONARY LABOURS.

##### I. *Evangelical Societies.*

Missionary operations, both at home and abroad, in Roman Catholic countries, amongst heathens and Jews, are, in addition to the share taken in them by some churches, carried on by a considerable number of evangelical and missionary societies.

Since the year 1826, when the Missionary Society for the Canton de Vaud and the Evangelical Society of Nyon were founded, associations of this description have been formed in all the principal

places of our country. It was attempted by these means, as well as by the Oratoires, to supply the wants which manifested themselves in the National Church, and which its institutions, as fixed by law, were incapable of satisfying. Each town had, so to speak, its Evangelical Society, whose labours were attended, sometimes with greater, sometimes with less, success, until the greater part of these associations merged, in 1845, in the Free Church, which almost all the members joined. It was not thought advisable to retain any but those, the members of which belonged to different churches, in order to preserve as much as possible some points of union. Thus there still exists an Evangelical Society at Yverdon, at Granges de St Croix, and at Vevey, where they support a work of evangelisation in France, intrusted to one evangelist colporteur and two schoolmasters. There is also an Evangelical Society at Lausanne, which has the management of the religious tract department, &c. These societies, however, have lost much of their importance from the fact of the Free Church having efficiently taken their place; and also because these societies have not met with the support they might reasonably have expected from Christians of other denominations.

It is quite otherwise with the Evangelical Society of Geneva, which still occupies a very important position in the kingdom of God. It was founded, Jan. 13, 1831, and since that time has established, 1st, A Theological School, which has sent out 145 pupils. Thirty-seven left it before completing their studies, of whom the greater part, however, have not, on that account, ceased to serve the Lord in some department of his kingdom. There are now in the school twenty-two pupils; one is a candidate for the ministry, thirteen are studying theology, and eight are in the preparatory class. 2d, An Evangelisation Department in France and elsewhere, numbering at present twenty stations, under the direction of twenty-nine labourers—namely, eleven ministers, eight evangelists, nine teachers, one female teacher. Of these stations, one is in the department of Charente, three in Lower Charente, one in Indre and Loire, seven in Saone and Loire, one in Jura, three in Isère, and four in Drome. The society also supports one pupil teacher in the normal school at Mens. These twenty-nine labourers preach, with more or less regularity, every month, in 137 different localities. The number of communicants and members of the congregations under their charge is at least 1050 or 1200. Some of these congregations form part of the National Church.

The number of persons who attend their meetings has never been estimated, but it must amount to at least five times as many. There are at this moment eight schools, containing, altogether, about 210 pupils. Fourteen Sunday-schools have been opened at the stations, and are attended by 307 children. 3d, A Colportage Department, which maintained last winter forty-two colporteurs. There have been sold and distributed 998 Bibles, 10,332 New Testaments, 51,549 *Almanachs de Bons Conseils*, pamphlets, and tracts. 4th, A Department for Home Evangelisation, supporting two evangelists. These two labour in the town and canton of Geneva. Their efforts, the result of which is not given by the department, from motives of prudence, have been abundantly blessed. A service for Germans, and a circulating library numbering seventy subscribers and at least 1300 books, have been established.

## II. *Missionary Societies.*

The Missions to the Heathen have also found sympathy amongst us. The Missionary Society of Geneva, founded in 1820, has never ceased to preserve, in the formation of its committee, a character of true catholicity, which displayed itself most beneficially in bringing together the Christians of that town, at the great monthly meetings held at the Casino, in consequence of the visit which the Missionary La Croix paid to Switzerland in 1842. This society regards itself as auxiliary to that of Bâle; but it also transmits donations to other societies. Its receipts amounted to 11,000 francs, from April 1st, 1840, to March 31st, 1850. At Neuchâtel, also, there is a central committee for missions, which receives donations and the collections made at monthly meetings, and transmits them to different societies. It receives from 7000 to 8000 francs per annum. In 1829, some attempts were made at Lausanne to open a Missionary Institution, and some young men prepared themselves and set out, with Mr Henri Olivier and Madlle. Feller, for Canada, intending to labour among the Roman Catholics and the Sioux. The former purpose alone met with encouraging success; the mission to the Sioux was obliged, after much suffering, to be resigned to another society. The institution was formed, and the society confined itself to receiving donations to support other missions, whilst it still encouraged those young men who presented themselves as desirous of devoting their lives to the work of evangelising the heathen. It receives, annually, the sum of about 12,000 francs.



French Switzerland has, besides, furnished the missionary work with some labourers who are now actively engaged, and whose efforts the Lord has been pleased to accompany with his blessing. The missionary Gobat, the present Bishop of Jerusalem, is a native of Crémînes, near Grandval (Bernese Jura); the missionary La Croix, of Lignières, in the canton of Neufchâtel; the missionary Wenger, at Calcutta, is also from Switzerland; not to mention others, whose names are less known, or some females (such as Mrs Thompson, formerly Madlle Coombe, and Mrs Bradbury, formerly Madlle Margot), in whom the Ladies' Committee, formed at Geneva for Female Education in the East, take great interest. A considerable number of pastors, Christian teachers, and colporteurs, leave Switzerland, in order to labour in different parts of the world, among nominally Christian populations.

### III. *Jews.*

The number of Jews settled in Switzerland is, according to the census of 1851, 3146; of whom, 480 are in the canton of Berne (Germans and French, but the proportion we cannot determine), 388 in the Canton de Vaud, 231 in the canton of Neufchâtel, 170 at Geneva. They have a synagogue at Caronge (Geneva), and at Avenche (Vaud). An interest in their favour has chiefly been awakened by the Society of the Friends of Israel, at Bâle, which has founded an establishment for the reception of proselytes. Hitherto, little has been effected in French Switzerland for the conversion of the Jews; however, at Neufchâtel, Geneva, &c., they have begun to visit them, and distribute among them tracts, pamphlets, and New Testaments; but nothing settled has yet been undertaken.

#### OBSTACLES AND FACILITIES.

The principal obstacles which the kingdom of God meets with in our country, have been pointed out by the two brethren whose reports have preceded ours. It is a melancholy truth, that there does prevail, amid our Protestant population, a great degree of indifference, painfully contrasting with the abundant means of grace that are vouchsafed to us; a great love of pleasure, and of the enjoyments of sense, bringing in their train the profanation of the Lord's Day, on which are held, since the late political convulsions, public festivals, elections, and amusements of all kinds. The authorities wish to divert the people, and Sunday

is the day they choose for the purpose. The evil is becoming more and more serious, and public morals feel its fatal influence. Hitherto, little has been done to combat it, from the difficulty of our position. The Vaudois Society for the Observance of the Lord's Day, established at Vevey in July 1834, had, at first, a great many friends and members in every part of the canton, as well as in the canton of Neuchâtel and Bernese Jura. It published more than 10,000 copies of various tracts and addresses, as well as some more considerable works, such as *Bible Questions*, intended for monitors of Sunday-schools. It has excited an interest in these schools, and its labour has certainly not been in vain. But, at the outset, it was attacked as being contrary to evangelical liberty, which arrested its progress; and the events of 1845 and the following years paralysed its activity. The committee hopes, nevertheless, to be soon able to resume its interrupted labours. Two Vaudois, the one a vine-dresser, the other a sempstress, obtained the two prizes adjudged by the Committee of the Toulouse Religious Book Society, in the competition opened by the generosity of a friend justly entitled to our gratitude and affection. We have already seen that, at Geneva, the consistory of the Company of Pastors have been making for some time efforts, by means of publications and conferences, to restore some respect for the Sabbath. This question was debated in the conference of the Swiss Pastoral Society, convened at Liestal (Bâle-Campagne), on the 6th and 7th of the present month. We may hope that good will result from discussions on this point.

The facilities for acting that we possess are great, even where we find the greatest obstacles. Christian zeal can triumph over everything; but this zeal is still very feeble amongst us. Perhaps we are, generally speaking, too accustomed to act by means of societies, and individual activity seems to have been crippled in consequence. We, therefore, do little, if we take into account the means of doing which we have at our disposal. Humbling as this confession is, it is our duty to make it, asking the Lord, at the same time, to quicken us. A great task is now intrusted to us, and we must not hide from ourselves that the facilities for accomplishing it may at any moment be withdrawn from us. We have been taught this by recent experience, and it behoves us not to forget it.

Religious liberty has not yet entered into the customs and legislation of Switzerland, as might have been expected in a

country which has been foremost in the track of democracy. We may aver, that it is recognised only at Geneva, where civil marriages have long been permitted, and where the exercise of civil rights is no longer coupled with a forced religious profession. But what would become of this liberty, if, for example, the Roman Catholics obtained a majority in the council of the country? At Neuchâtel, the new Government presented itself as favourable to religious liberty at the time of the revolution, in order to secure the support of the Dissenters; and an important step has been made, in not requiring baptism and admission to the Lord's Supper in the National Church as a qualification for performing the duties of a citizen. But the new ecclesiastical law sets forth, in the 74th article, that the Council of State may prohibit strangers to the canton from preaching, and civil marriages are not yet acknowledged. They are recognised in the Canton de Vaud since 1834, but a system of religious persecution was restored in 1845. A decree, dated June 7, 1849, again interdicts, *until fresh orders, religious meetings not guaranteed by the constitution, or not recognised by law*; and the law on public instruction determines that no one can be a member of school commissions, or obtain a place as master, without being a member of the National Church. The federal constitution of 1848 likewise grants the free exercise of worship only to *recognised* Christian confessions (art. 42); so that Dissenters might be prohibited throughout the whole extent of the confederation from the exercise of worship, under the pretence of maintaining public order. Besides, although this same constitution guarantees to all Swiss belonging to a Christian Church the right of settling in any part of the Swiss territory, a permit of abode has just been withdrawn from an evangelical schoolmaster residing at Martigny, in Valais, who has hitherto appealed in vain to the federal authority. The present state of things, therefore, leaves much to be desired in respect to religious liberty; though we acknowledge with satisfaction, that the cause is making progress daily. A visible change has taken place in the minds of many, especially in the Canton-de Vaud, the only quarter in which a retrograde movement in this matter had been made. The Free Church can now assemble anywhere without molestation, for which we bless God.

We also desire to offer our thanks to our brethren of various countries, and particularly to the members of the Evangelical Alliance, who have often sustained us with their prayers and

sympathy, with true Christian affection. It is right they should know that their fraternal interposition has not only served to comfort us in our trials, but doubtless also to promote the cause of religious liberty, which requires publicity. The prizes offered by Mr Haldimand, for the best account of the attacks made upon religious liberty in the Canton de Vaud, have also contributed much to enlighten public opinion as to the state of our affairs. We would refer those who take an interest in these things, to the report published by Mr Aug. Colomb, now pastor at Florence, of the thirty memorials which were sent in. It will give a better idea than anything else of the antagonistic tendencies in our country.

We cannot terminate our report without expressing our gratitude to the British and Foreign Bible Society, and to the Religious Tract Society of London, who have shewn an unflinching interest in the progress of the kingdom of God in our land. Of all our societies, that which maintains the most direct intercourse with Christians of Great Britain, by means of the Foreign Aid and Continental Societies, is the Evangelical Society of Geneva, whose labours are, in every respect, well worthy of regard. It has no need of our recommendation to your notice. By the mercy of God, our different societies, institutions, and churches, are able to support themselves, by making those sacrifices which the serious and blessed times in which we live demand from Christians. What we ask of you, then, above all, is the communion of your prayers, and the continuance of that affectionate sympathy with which you have so powerfully consoled and sustained us.

[To the preceding valuable memoir by Professor Baup, I am happy in being able to subjoin the following elaborate table of ecclesiastical statistics, which has also been prepared by him.—EDITOR.]

POPULATION OF SWITZERLAND IN A RELIGIOUS POINT OF VIEW.

CANTONS.	From 1803 to 1811, 1,435,000.		In 1837 and 1838, 2,190,258.		Census of 1850, 2,392,740.			TOTAL POPULATION IN 1850.
	Catholics.	Reformed.	Catholics.	Reformed.	Catholics.	Reformed.	Jews.	
	Zürich, . . . . .	900	174,100	1,000	230,576	6,690	243,928	
Berne, . . . . .	450	182,500	53,000	354,913	54,044	403,769	480	458,225
Lucerne, . . . . .	102,972	80	124,000	521	131,280	1,563	...	132,846
Uri, . . . . .	11,121	...	13,519	...	14,493	12	...	14,505
Schwytz, . . . . .	40,000	6	40,650	...	44,013	155	...	44,168
Unterwald, Haut, . . . . .	11,300	...	22,571	...	{ 13,783	16	...	13,799
" Bas, . . . . .	11,294	...	...	...	{ 11,327	12	...	11,339
Glaris, . . . . .	3,000	16,000	4,000	25,348	3,932	26,281	...	30,213
Zug, . . . . .	13,000	...	15,655	...	17,336	125	...	17,469
Fribourg, . . . . .	60,013	6,190	82,145	9,000	87,753	12,133	5	99,890
Soleure, . . . . .	42,924	3,403	57,196	6,000	61,556	8,097	21	69,674
Bâle, Ville, . . . . .	2,746	37,486	6,000	59,424	{ 5,508	24,083	107	29,698
" Campagne, . . . . .	262	24,824	300	30,825	{ 9,052	38,818	15	47,885
Schafhouse, . . . . .	...	38,351	...	41,080	1,411	33,880	9	35,300
Appenzell, R. Ext., . . . . .	10,211	...	10,350	...	875	42,746	...	43,621
" R. Inter., . . . . .	81,309	48,957	100,000	58,855	11,230	42	...	11,272
St Gall, . . . . .	26,700	41,700	32,455	52,051	105,370	64,192	63	169,625
Grisons, . . . . .	61,600	70,149	88,500	94,255	38,039	51,855	1	89,895
Argovie, . . . . .	17,032	60,059	19,998	62,126	91,096	107,194	1,562	139,852
Thurgovie, . . . . .	89,000	...	113,923	(?)	21,921	66,984	3	88,908
Tessin, . . . . .	2,000	143,000	3,400	180,182	117,707	50	2	117,759
Vaud, . . . . .	...	...	75,798	300	6,962	192,225	388	199,575
Valais, . . . . .	...	...	2,400	56,216	81,128	430	1	83,812
Neuchâtel, . . . . .	...	...	22,000	36,666	5,570	64,952	231	70,753
Genève, . . . . .	587,834	846,805	888,860	1,300,036	29,764	34,212	170	64,146
Proportion, . . . . .	41 in 100	59 in 100	40% in 100	59% in 100	40% in 100	59% in 100	1% in 100	...

In every 1000 persons 593 would be Reformed, 406 Catholic, and one a Jew; three Reformed to two Catholics. The proportion borne by the Reformed to the Catholic population remains much as it was, notwithstanding the accession of the Valais, Neuchâtel, and Geneva, in 1815, and the various degrees in which the population of the different cantons has increased. The Catholic population has decreased, and the Reformed increased, in the cantons of Berne, Glaris, St Gall, and Argovie; while, on the contrary, the Reformed has decreased, and the Catholic increased, in the Grisons, Thurgovie, the city and canton of Bâle, Neuchâtel, and Geneva, especially in the latter canton.

DIMINUTION OF ROMAN CATHOLICS, AND INCREASE OF THE REFORMED.

Berne, .	in 1837-33,	13 per cent.	Catholics, in 1850,	11 $\frac{8}{10}$ per cent of the population.
"	"	87 "	Reformers, "	88 $\frac{2}{10}$ "
Glaris, .	in 1803-11,	13 $\frac{5}{8}$ "	Catholics, "	13 "
"	"	86 $\frac{8}{8}$ "	Reformers, "	87 "
St Gall,	"	62 $\frac{4}{10}$ "	Catholics, "	62 $\frac{1}{10}$ "
"	"	37 $\frac{6}{10}$ "	Reformers, "	37 $\frac{9}{37}$ "
Argovie,	"	46 $\frac{8}{10}$ "	Catholics, "	46 "
"	"	53 $\frac{2}{10}$ "	Reformers, "	54 "

DIMINUTION OF THE REFORMED, AND INCREASE OF ROMAN CATHOLICS.

Grisons, .	in 1803-11,	61 per cent.	Reformers, in 1850,	57 $\frac{7}{10}$ per cent of the population.
"	"	39 "	Catholics, "	42 $\frac{3}{10}$ "
Thurgovie,	"	77 $\frac{9}{10}$ "	Reformers, "	75 $\frac{3}{10}$ "
"	"	22 $\frac{1}{10}$ "	Catholics, "	24 $\frac{7}{10}$ "
Bâle,	"	90 $\frac{8}{10}$ "	Reformers, "	81 $\frac{2}{10}$ "
"	"	9 $\frac{2}{10}$ "	Catholics, "	18 $\frac{8}{10}$ "
Neuchâtel, in 1837-38,	95 $\frac{9}{10}$ "	Reformers, "	92 "	"
"	"	4 $\frac{1}{10}$ "	Catholics, "	8 "
Genève,	"	62 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	Reformers, "	53 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
"	"	37 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	Catholics, "	46 $\frac{1}{2}$ "

At Geneva, from 1837-38 to 1850, a period of about eleven years, the Roman Catholic population increased  $\frac{30}{100}$ , about  $\frac{3}{100}$  annually; but the Reformed scarcely  $\frac{1}{100}$ , being less than  $\frac{1}{100}$ .

The Roman Catholic population tripled itself in twenty-five years.

The <i>German</i> language is spoken by	$\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{5}{10}$ of the entire population,	1,670,000
The <i>French</i>	" "	474,000
The <i>Italian</i>	" about $\frac{1}{20}$	133,500
The <i>Romande</i>	" "	45,000

# PIEDMONT.

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A FEW WORDS ON THE CHURCH OF THE  
WALDENSES IN THE PIEDMONTESE VALLEYS.

BY THE REV. J. R. REVEL.





# PIEDMONT.

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## ON THE CHURCH OF THE WALDENSES IN THE PIEDMONTESE VALLEYS.

BY THE REV. J. R. REVEL,  
MODERATOR OF THE VAUDOIS CHURCH.

IF the humble Church which I have the happiness to represent dare make its feeble voice be heard in the midst of you, dearly beloved brethren, I must first of all implore your indulgence for it.

That Church was born, it lived, it suffered, and its ruins still remain, amongst the rocks whence flow those waters which fertilise a large and beautiful part of Italy; and yet it is but yesterday that Italy rejected it. Not many years ago, a great prince—one who will always hold a high place in noble and generous Italian minds—allowed it to be proclaimed in his name, that the Church of the Waldenses was a thorn in the heart of his dominions. This same monarch took care, it is true, to give a very interesting commentary on these words, in the preamble of the edict of the 17th February 1848, for the emancipation of the Waldenses, when he declared that the good conduct and the virtues of this portion of his subjects rendered them worthy of such a favour.

This unnatural position, which has lasted several centuries, has obliged the Church in the Piedmontese valleys to contract very precious relationships, and to adopt both the French language and appearance. Although it speaks French, yet it is as the *Italian* Evangelical Church that it comes before you to-day, to tell you of its existence, of what it is, and what it wishes to do.

I feel the necessity to be brief, and shall therefore not abuse your time and your patience; allow me, however, to make one more preliminary observation.

The Evangelical Piedmontese Church has not officially enrolled herself as a member of the Evangelical Alliance, but she felt herself to be such; and she is happy to proclaim in this assembly, that you have considered her as naturally and by right an integral part of that beautiful association which has been formed for the advancement of the kingdom of our Saviour.

Perhaps you thought that you could not refuse a place to the elder sister of the evangelical churches. You certainly remembered and rejoiced in the fact that she still holds in full force the Confession of Faith of 1665, not only in form but in spirit; since, when the Synod met on the 26th, 27th, and 28th of this last May, that assembly declared, in its 45th article, that "considering the attacks recently directed against the Divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, and wishing to shew to all the aversion of the Church of the Waldenses to such doctrines, as being subversive of true faith and true piety, and to declare her firm intention to remain, on this point as well as on every other, firm in the faith of the prophets, the apostles, and her own martyrs, she puts forward, in a special and solemn manner, the 2d, 3d, and 4th paragraphs of the Confession of Faith of her Church."

For myself, I feel the necessity of insisting at this time on another title which she has to be a natural member of the Evangelical Alliance; this title is, that, three hundred years ago, she was the promoter of a similar union.

I would beg you to carry your thoughts three hundred years back, and what do you see? A holy Evangelical Alliance; at its head you may see crowned heads, eminent statesmen, and great doctors of the Church. Who have been the cause of it? Some small companies of shepherds in the High Alps, and in the retired valleys of Piedmont. These peaceable flocks only demanded of the country, and of those who governed it, the privilege of being able to feed in the green pastures and near the still waters of the pure Word of God. The wild beasts threw themselves upon them, tore, dispersed, and wished to annihilate them. Their plaintive cries are heard, and an Evangelical Alliance is formed; its centre is here in London, and it displays most extraordinary activity; it calms the fury of their enemies, saves the remnant of Israel in the Alps, and heals the wounds of the daughter of Zion with the sweet and refreshing balm of charity; so that, towards 1697, between 7000 and 8000 Waldenses were able to gather together in the three valleys of Lucerne, Perouse, and St Martin,

between the torrents of Pélis and of Cluson, which were assigned to them as impassable barriers.

From a statistical statement, made shortly before the emancipation of 1848, it appears that 21,378 Vaudois and 4462 Roman Catholics lived within these limits. It was also remarked, at that period, that 1080 Vaudois had been obliged to expatriate themselves for a time, and go to get a livelihood in France and in Switzerland for themselves and their families. Since the edict of February 1848, that expatriation has much diminished, and many Vaudois, who lived in foreign countries, have returned to their native land, to the great profit of industry, commerce, and agriculture, and especially, I trust, to the advancement of the kingdom of God. All this may prove, some one may say, that there are still some Vaudois in those valleys, but not that there is a true and faithful body of Christians. This is, however, what the Christian wishes to know, nor will you accept as a sufficient proof the fact that I have the honour of addressing you at this moment in its name, and sent by that Church. As, according to the Word of God, one may know a tree by its fruit, it appears to me that every church, animated by the Spirit of Christ, may produce the following:—1st, the work of edification; 2d, of relieving the sick and needy; 3dly, of instruction; 4thly, of evangelisation or extension. You will allow me to tell you a few words upon those four points.

1st, As to our flocks, we may say that they have a great respect for the Word of God, for its ministers, and for the Sabbath. The actual number of ministers is twenty-nine; three of these are above eighty years of age, and can no longer exercise their functions; six are employed in the College of La Tour as professors; sixteen are at the head of our flock; four are employed as evangelists. A very strong proof that this is a body of ministers faithful to the truths of the gospel of Christ is this:—Last year, four young candidates presented themselves for consecration; one of them, after close and severe examination, was rejected, because he was not sufficiently sound upon the nature of our adorable Saviour, upon the truth and authority of the Scriptures, and upon the Sacrament.

2d, The relief for the sick and the poor. We may say that we have three hospitals—two in the valleys and one at Gerin. We have two deaconesses from Echallens, who exert a very salutary influence upon the sick. Our funds for assisting the poor are small, but sufficient to prevent mendicity.

*3d*, Instruction. We have, in all our valleys, 164 primary schools; 137 are only opened for three or five months, during the winter; fifteen regular parish schools, which last ten months; six girls' schools, and two infant schools. Then, the college:—before the year 1831, we had but one master in it who taught Latin and Greek; now we have eight professors and eighty-four scholars, distributed in nine classes. The salary of three of the professors is not certain; hitherto, Christian friends have come to our help. The royal inspector of schools has generally given a very favourable report of the manner of teaching in the college, and in the schools in general. For the last two years, Government has granted 2500 francs for our public instruction.

*4th*, Evangelisation. Since 1848, an evangelical service has been allowed in Turin. In 1849, the brethren of that town desired to unite themselves to the Vaudois, and to be recognised as the sixteenth Waldensian parish. In 1849, four of our ecclesiastics went to Florence to perfect themselves in the Italian language; one of them began to preach in Italian, in the Prussian chapel, at the request of some Protestants of that town, who are better acquainted with the Italian than the French language. In less than a year after their return to the valleys, we received a deputation from Florence, asking us to send back one preacher of the Word of God; one was sent, and it was soon settled with the Swiss consistory that a regular Italian service should take place once a fortnight in their chapel. That preaching was much appreciated; the chapel was often crowded to excess. By and by, one teacher of the Word of God was not thought sufficient—a second was sent. Very soon after that, an order came that the Italian service was to cease altogether; and a few days later, one of those teachers who had been invited by some friends to come and explain to them the Word of God, was seized by the police, thrown into prison, and then conducted to the frontier by gendarmes, like a malefactor. The other preacher also had notice to leave within three days; the only offence was, that his colleague was lodging with him.

We have now established a regular service in Italian at Turin; it is very much blessed, and we hope soon to have a little congregation of Italian Christians, and for that we shall want a temple. We have obtained leave of Government to have one; the ground has been bought by two generous friends; and if the Lord approves

the work, He will raise up many such friends, that the work may be carried on.

The town of Pignerol, which unites, as it were, the two valleys of St Martin and Lucerne, had long felt the want of having a regular service; last year, permission was given to have one, although there are not many Protestants in that town; the place of worship is generally very full.

Let me conclude by saying, that at our last synod, in the month of May, after having stated the facts which I have just named, the assembly rose up spontaneously to give thanks to the Lord for all the mercies He had vouchsafed to their Church during so many centuries, and particularly during the last years; to render heartfelt thanks to Him for having preserved and multiplied to them so many friends in England, Scotland, Ireland, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, France, and America, and also in Italy.



# ALGERIA.

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THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF ALGERIA.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM MONOD.





# ALGERIA.

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## THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF ALGERIA.

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BEFORE submitting the following statement, I raise my heart in prayer to my God and your God—to our common Saviour, with a deep sentiment of gratitude towards Him who permits me to be present at these meetings of Christian love; and cherishing the same sentiment towards those brethren whose love has called me here.

The field of labour which God's grace has assigned me in Algeria, is equal to two-thirds of France, and contains a population of 3,000,000. Of these, 125,000 are Europeans, 40,000 Jews, and the rest Mohammedans.

Some details upon each of these religious classes will serve to shew the importance of this field of labour.

The *European* population is composed of men from every country of Europe; but more particularly of French and Spaniards. There are 40,000 Spaniards in French Africa. It results from this, that a work of evangelisation, undertaken in this country, might spread its beneficial influence over all Europe, and especially in France and Spain. Although the gospel cannot penetrate into the kingdom of Spain direct, it may yet reach her through the medium of Algeria. The gospel appears more likely to be disseminated among the Mohammedans through the French population, than by any other means. I think Algeria contains about 6000 Protestants. They are spread over all the cultivated parts of the country—a circumstance which may be favourable to the gospel; for wherever Protestants are to be found, we have by law a right to preach our faith, and, in doing so, a right to legal protection.

The *Jews*, though not so numerous as the Mohammedans in

Algeria, fill an important position. A large part of the commerce of the land is in their hands, and they have mercantile relations with the Jewish colonies spread in the oasis of the desert of Sahara. One of our missionaries (Dr Philip, sent to us by our Scotch brethren) heard a Jewish merchant say, that he had found a colony of sixteen Jewish families in the Desert, forty days' journey in the interior. They had formed several synagogues, and possess a hundred manuscripts of the Mosaic law. Unfortunately, the majority of the native Jews in Algeria are deplorably ignorant.

But, of all the inhabitants of Algeria, the *Mohammedans* call for our deepest commiseration. They are too often represented as incapable of receiving the gospel. Doubtless, unrenewed nature with them, as with all of us, is incapable of believing the gospel, until the Holy Spirit open our hearts to the love of Christ, our only Saviour. But the Lord has already proved, by English missionaries in India, and American missionaries in Turkey, that the Mohammedans may become Christians. Allow me to point out some little incidents among the Mohammedans in Algeria, which will not fail, I think, to interest the Christian, and forward the introduction and progress of the gospel.

1. A large number of Algerian Mohammedans are *Negroes*, who mix idolatry with Mohammedanism. Their extreme misery may conduce to their receiving the consolations of the gospel, as, through Divine grace, many others have already done. Won to Christ, they might carry his name to the wilds of Africa, for many of them come from Tombouctou. Let us remember that the French Government has freed them; they have not, then, the same causes of hostility against us as have the Moors and Arabs.

2. Although the Moors and Arabs have many prejudices against the Christians, yet it is wrong to suppose they can only be conquered by force. Gentleness and justice are the most powerful means, in the opinion of old, experienced French officers, stationed in Africa. One of the most distinguished and intellectual of these said to me, a short time ago—"It is only by the use of peaceable measures, good government, and strict justice, that we have made a permanent conquest of the Arabs." In support of this assertion, he told me several facts. I shall name but one:—In the province of Algeria may be found the tribe of ferocious Hadjoutes, who can arm fifteen hundred cavalry. Vanquished by the French, they constantly revolted, until their tribe was almost exter-

minated: but, though almost exterminated, they struggled still. Marshal Bugeaud was compassionately affected towards them. He received their deputation graciously, and offered to restore their sequestered territory. From that moment the Hadjoutes have never taken up arms against the French.

3. I shall say a few words about the *Kabyles*, against whom our army lately marched. The Kabyles, inhabitants of the mountains, and considered as of more ancient date than the Bedouins or Arabs, are a distinct and noble-minded race. They are good agriculturists, fond of commerce, and industrious. The construction of their towns and villages might, at times, be mistaken for European. They are free from oriental servility, and treat with their conquerors as with equals. Their high sense of honour in commercial transactions is often striking. During the Kabyle war, the enemy came down unawares upon some French merchants, who took refuge in the little town of Callo, upon the coast, leaving their luggage and goods behind them, all paid for before; everything was scrupulously brought to them at Philippeville, where they resided. Another instance:—One of the Kabyles, who has large transactions in oil with the Europeans at the port of Bougie, had received prepayment for a cargo of this merchandise. He did not arrive at the time appointed, and some persons began to fear he had cheated his creditors; at length he appeared, bending beneath the weight of his burden; he laid it down, and throwing himself on the ground, exclaimed, “Now I can die happy.” The Kabyles, like the Arabs, entertain a great respect for ministers of the gospel and for physicians. May not these, and many other similar traits which I could enumerate, encourage the hope that the Kabyles will receive and listen to those who speak to them in love of the surpassing love of Christ? I ought not to omit remarking, that recent observations seem to prove that the Kabyles are, at least in part, descended from the Vandals; blue eyes and fair hair—distinguishing marks of that people—are found amongst them; and a more remarkable fact is, that their dialect contains many German words.

4. I have heard it said, more than once, in Algeria, that the Mohammedans, who closely observe the Christians, see a great difference between the Protestants and Romanists. They despise the Romish idolatry, but respect the simplicity of our worship. When the bishops came from France, they consecrated a chapel, built upon the ruins of the ancient hippone, to place *a bone* in it

which the Pope had given to the French as having belonged to St Augustin. Numerous Mussulmans attended the ceremony; the bishops were delighted, and thought the Mussulmans admired them. But a French general was malicious enough to say to the Abbé Sudect, who was there, "Shall I ask the interpreter what those people say?" "Certainly." "They say," replied the interpreter, "that it is doubtless the carnival, or else the French are mad."

I was at Oran, in 1850, at the time of the processions of the *Fête Dieu*. An Arab inquired what those ceremonies signified. They answered him, "It is the *Fête Dieu*." "No," replied he; "God mocks such things." Evidently, Romanism cannot destroy Mohammedanism, for Mohammedanism is the child of Romanism; and the corruption of paganism has imparted power to Mohammed to carry on his work of darkness. It is to the Protestant Church—I mean, the faithful and living part of that Church—that the Saviour has intrusted the task of overthrowing Mohammed, and re-establishing in its purity, and manifesting in its glory, the work of Christ.

I have endeavoured to give an idea of the field of evangelisation which lies open in Algeria. I shall now say a few words upon what has been done, and upon what is doing, and still ought to be done.

Before a legalised Protestant church was opened in Algeria, several of Christ's servants had carried the message of mercy thither. I speak of M. Ewald (a missionary among the Jews, who had the honour of being banished on account of his zeal in preaching Christ crucified), M. Napoleon Roussel, and M. Hoffman, who have also both left in Africa blessed effects of their sojourn. M. Hoffman laboured there for a considerable time.

In 1839, the French Government officially established the Protestant form of worship in Algiers. Since then, a fine church has been built in that town; Protestant worship has been instituted in five other towns in Algeria; and Government has opened seven other doors for pastoral labours, some of which are unfortunately still vacant. The faithful Pastor Dürr, now my colleague at Algiers, has laboured alone, for many years, in evangelising the Protestants of Algeria, preaching from town to town, and distributing the Word of God and religious tracts (sent from France, Germany, and the United States) to Papists and Protestants alike. He has even sent to the Arabs the precious translation of the

Scriptures published by the British and Foreign Bible Society. For many years, the two provinces of Oran and Constantina have not had a single preacher of that truth which alone can save souls. We sigh over the neglect of those opportunities for introducing the gospel.

The Lord has begun to answer our sighs, and the prayers which many Christians in Africa have offered with us. Two missionaries arrived, some time ago, to preach the gospel to the Jews; one is M. Marcheimer, sent to Oran by the Church of England; the other is Dr Philip, stationed at Algiers, and sent by our Scotch brethren. M. Marcheimer has laboured successfully in spreading the Scriptures among the Jews of Oran, and has had many interesting conversations with them. Thanks to the English vice-consul, Mr Bell, he has been protected in his exertions by the French authorities. I know more of the labours of Dr Philip, which extend to Protestants as well as Jews, for he preaches regularly in our church at Algiers, or in the Protestant assemblies in the environs. We bless the Lord for having sent us this devoted missionary—at once a missionary and a physician—who, having already acquired some knowledge of Arabic, can speak the truth to those who know no other language. The Evangelical Society of Geneva have obtained a missionary, M. Curie, for the province of Oran, maintained at the expense of an American brother; he is now there, in the midst of the ravages of the cholera. I have closely observed M. Curie's work, and have received most encouraging reports. A village peopled by Parisian colonists have offered him a theatre to preach in, in the absence of better accommodation. Protestants and Papists have come to hear him, some from fifteen and eighteen miles' distance. A revival has taken place in that village. At Ilemcan, near the frontier of Marac, M. Curie preached in a mosque placed at his disposal by a French general, and where Arabs have united with Protestants and Papists in attending worship.

Amongst many ministerial visits, for which the Christians in Africa have to thank God, is that of the venerable Mr Lowndes. The British and Foreign Bible Society, who sent him to us, is deservedly dear to all Christians, and its efforts assist us materially in our work. Mr Lowndes has preached in English at Algiers, and rendered public thanks to God, in our church, that the gospel is preached again in Africa. I, too, rejoice with him; but would that I could persuade Christians at large, that what has been done,

and is done, in behalf of the gospel in Algeria, is nothing to what ought to and might be done. There are towns where the gospel would be joyfully received, and where there is no one to preach it.

Last spring, Mr Lowndes and Dr Philip visited the town of Médiah together, sixty miles in the interior. There they met several Protestants, and particularly a pious English lady, who was delighted to receive them; they had also important conferences in the synagogues. As far as I know, this was the first time Protestant ministers had visited Médiah. About the same time I visited, for the first time, the interesting town of Mostaganim, in the province of Oran—the blood-stained country of Abd-el-Kader. A few moments sufficed to collect, in an old Popish church, a congregation of several hundreds, consisting of Protestants, Papists, and Jews, and even one or two Mohammedans. They declared to me, in a supplicating manner, their strong desire to have a pastor and regular preaching. I expounded the Scriptures, on four evenings, to an eager audience; after which, I was obliged to return to my post. Since then, Mostaganim has had no Christian ministrations. There are many such towns to which I have been called, since my arrival in Algiers, without being able to comply with their request. The Mohammedans have not a single missionary labouring among them in all Algeria, for I do not consider as such the efforts of some Romish priests to baptize them. If it is not yet possible to send missionaries to these Arab tribes in Kabyle, nothing, I should think, ought to prevent the inhabitants of those towns occupied conjointly by the French and the natives, from speaking of the glad tidings to the Mohammedans; when the propitious moment arrives, our Protestant churches will be ready for preaching in Arabic. The interest of France requires that Christianity should penetrate among the Mohammedans, for through it alone her power will be firmly established in Africa.

I conclude with one reflection. During twelve centuries, northern Africa has been closed to the gospel. Countries, where the cross of Christ has once shone, have been re-plunged in darkness because of the sins of those who called themselves Christians, and the corruption of their Christianity. God has now opened that door, so long closed. He has rekindled the torch of truth, where it was extinguished. Shall we leave it to expire once more? Do we not understand the call addressed by the Lord to Christians of all nations? The conquest of Africa—whatever may have been the cause or the motive—in suppressing the piracy of

Barbary, has been a deliverance to all Europe, and France has dearly paid for her own conquest. But this conquest must become a blessing to the people whom it has pleased God to subjugate to France. When He subjugates a pagan people to a Christian nation, it is not to flatter vain military pride; it is, above all, to set those people free through the gospel; it is that so many perishing souls may be led to Christ. Up to this time, the conquest of Algeria has caused the Mohammedans little beside tears and blood. Christians of every nation, let us unite to repair their ills, and exhibit to them the love of Christ shed abroad in our hearts, by preaching Him who alone can put an end to their infinite misery! I recommend them to your prayers, to your faith, and to your Christian love. Amen.





UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

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PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS OF CHRISTIANITY  
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

BY R. BAIRD, D.D.

# THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

BY

JOHN BURNET

OF

SCOTLAND

IN

SEVEN VOLUMES

THE SECOND

VOLUME

CONTAINING

THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

FROM

THE

END OF

THE

REIGN OF

# UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

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## PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

BY R. BAIRD, D.D.

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### THE EARLY COLONISATION OF THE COUNTRY.

#### I. THE SOUTH.

A PART of the Atlantic coast of the continent of North America was discovered by the Cabots, John and Sebastian, father and son (the former a native of Venice, the latter of England), who reached it on the 24th of June 1497. By this event a very large and important part of the coast of that continent was secured to a country which, within less than half a century, was to begin to throw off the chains of Rome, and to become, in due time, the most powerful of all Protestant kingdoms. It was in this manner that He who "hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation," had resolved to prepare a place to which, in ages then drawing near, those who should be persecuted for Christ's sake might flee and find protection, and thus to form a great Protestant nation. And yet how near, if we may so speak, was this great plan to be defeated! Had De Soto, when he sailed from Cuba, a year or two earlier, turned his prow to the east of the peninsula of Florida, instead of the west, he would have discovered the Atlantic coast of what is now the United States, and that great country might have had a Spanish instead of an Anglo-Saxon—a Roman Catholic, instead of a Protestant, population. It is said that a very trifling circumstance decided him. But all was ordered by that Being who

knows how to make the most insignificant as well as the greatest occurrences subserve His glorious purposes.

The first successful attempt made by the English to plant colonies within the limits of what is now called *The United States of North America*, was made at Jamestown, on the James River, in the present State of Virginia, on the 13th day of May, in the year 1607. This colony was composed of friends of the Stuarts, the then reigning dynasty of England; and, as to the religious faith and ecclesiastical order, it was Protestant and Episcopal. The Church that was planted in it, and for a long time the only one tolerated, was an offshoot of the Established Church of England, and for one hundred and sixty-eight years was under the jurisdiction of the Bishops of London. In fact, this state of things lasted a hundred and seventy-eight years, or from 1607 till 1785, ten years after the declaration of independence, when the Episcopal Church in America for the first time had bishops of its own.

The colony of Virginia became in a sense the mother colony of all the southern portion of the country; for Maryland, which was at the beginning and for a few years a Roman Catholic colony, soon fell very much under its influence, and Episcopacy became there the dominant, though not to an equal degree the exclusive, Protestant form of ecclesiastical doctrine and polity. In process of time, the colonies of North and South Carolina were formed; in which also Episcopacy, and a population similar in character to that of Virginia, became prevalent. And finally, the colony of Georgia was planted, which formed the fifth and last of the original Southern colonies, about one hundred and fifteen years after the planting of Virginia. Although Georgia least of all possessed in earliest years a southern character, and never was to the same extent under Episcopal influence, yet it received a southern type in the lapse of time from the operation of the same causes, one of which was the immigration of planters from the other and older southern colonies.

Such was the original colonisation of the southern portion of the United States. Let us now speak of

## II. THE NORTH.

In the year 1620, a part of the Rev. W. Robinson's church emigrated from Holland, and founded New Plymouth, in Massachusetts—so called from Plymouth, in England, where they

stopped a while on their way to the New World—which was the first colony planted in New England, the north-eastern portion of the United States. This colony was composed of those who have been, *by emphasis*, called the PILGRIMS. They were Independents in religious polity.

Eight years later, a larger colony was planted on the opposite side of the Massachusetts Bay; and two years later still, a far larger one at the head of that bay, both of which were composed of PURITANS—of people who were members of the Established Church whilst in England, but became *Independents*, or, as they are called in America, *Congregationalists*, almost as soon as they arrived in the New World.

As Virginia became the mother colony in the south, so did Massachusetts in the north. Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Maine, were all in a great degree colonised from her; the two latter were not provided with separate governments whilst the colonies were under the government of England. There were thus four original colonies in the north, and five in the south. Widely different were these two families of colonies. Protestant both, but whilst the one was chiefly planted by colonists who sympathised with the “Cavaliers,” and the Established Church and monarchy of England, the other consisted of staunch Independents of the political school of the “Roundheads,” were far more jealous of the prerogatives of the British Crown, and sympathised with the “Commonwealth” in its day. It would be difficult to conceive of Protestant colonies, speaking the same language, from the same country, and that a very small one, that could differ more in character, manner, and opinions on the subjects of religion, and the nature and extent of obedience due to the mother country.

### III. THE MIDDLE DISTRICT.

Between these northern and southern groups of colonies lay a broad and important portion of the coast, which is now covered by the States of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware. Holland claimed the whole of this great section of the country, and had planted an insignificant colony, or rather trading-port, at the mouth of the Hudson river, where now stands the city of New York, before the “Pilgrim Fathers” reached New Plymouth. Some thirty years later, a Swedish colony—which had been projected by the great and good Gustavus Adolphus—was

planted on the banks of the Delaware, in the southern portion of that middle territory. But England, in the commencement of the reign of Charles II., took possession of the portion of the country which Holland had held, and obtained by treaty and cession that which Sweden had colonised, and so completed her possession of the entire coast. Out of this increase of territory grew up the four additional colonies of New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania; thus making up the whole THIRTEEN, which was the number when the memorable struggle of the revolution commenced, that was destined to create an independent nation, under a federative and republican form of government. Of the four middle colonies, Episcopacy prevailed in New York, and was partially "favoured," at least for a time, in New Jersey and Delaware, but was never, properly speaking, established by law in either of them, or in the colony of Pennsylvania, of which William Penn was the founder.

It will be seen from this brief statement, that the northern and southern colonies were of English origin—the former exclusively so, and the latter had at the outset but few settlers that were not from England, and these few (mostly Irish Roman Catholics) were in Maryland. The first colonies in the middle section of the coast were Dutch and Swedes. But English, Scotch, Irish, and Welsh emigrants entered this part of the country soon after it had been taken possession of by England, and established themselves at many different points.

The original colonisation of the United States was, in its lowest or primary stratum, from the British isles, with the exception of a few thousand Dutch and Swedes. The Swedish element has disappeared, being absorbed in the Anglo-Saxon race. The Dutch, although far greater, may also be said to have been absorbed, for it is scarcely to be found anywhere save in the Dutch names which many families in New York and New Jersey and elsewhere still wear.

Over this substratum there spread immigrations of greater or less extent from several countries on the continent of Europe. First of all there were the Huguenots, who came from France about the epoch of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, which occurred in the year 1685. These excellent people settled in Boston and one or two other places in Massachusetts; in New York; in Virginia and the Carolinas. To this day several streets and many families—some of them greatly distinguished—in

Charleston in South Carolina, bear the names of those who, in France, suffered "the loss of all things for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus."

Shortly afterwards, or rather about the same time, German Protestants began to emigrate to America, first from the Palatinate—whence they were driven by the myrmidons of Louis XIV., who ruthlessly laid waste their country—and then from other parts of the glorious land of Luther. The stream of emigration from Germany to America, with some intermissions, has continued to flow ever since, and is now become as it were a mighty river.

In the earlier part of the seventeenth century there came a company of some two hundred Protestant Poles, under a Count Sobieski, and settled in New Jersey and New York; and about the same time six hundred Waldenses, who settled in New York. There were also emigrants from the descendants of those Bohemian and Moravian Christians who received the gospel at first from Constantinople, and for long ages endured persecution from the hands of Rome.

From ten different countries of Europe did the men come who either planted or enlarged the colonies in the United States before the revolution. From most of them, persecution for righteousness' sake was the primary cause of expatriation. For this reason, and for the pious and excellent character of very many of them, the celebrated Cotton Mather, one of the most widely known of the earlier writers of New England, said, that God seemed to have sifted the nations of the Old World in order to bring the best of His wheat to the New. Although there was a great difference among the colonies which came from the British Isles, as to religious character—the northern far surpassing the southern, as will be readily comprehended by all who are acquainted with the religious history of the two great parties in England from whose ranks they came—yet it is true there were many excellent men in all. What is very remarkable—the charters of several of the southern as well as the northern colonies contained clauses in relation to the Christianising the "Salvages" (as the Indian aborigines were called), as being an important expectation and object of the enterprise. There were some excellent Christians among the Dutch colonists; probably a greater number relatively among the Swedes, the Poles, the Waldenses, the Moravians, and the Bohemians. There was a great deal of piety amongst the first

German immigrants. But there were no emigrants from the Continent to America who could compare with the simple-hearted and pious Huguenots, or Protestant exiles from France—driven from that beautiful country by the dragoons of Louis XIV., and the priestly cohorts of the pretended successor of the fisherman, and vicar of Christ. With the exception of the German, all these colonies were completely absorbed in the English, and almost every trace of their languages obliterated before the American Revolution.

Such was the original and such the secondary colonisation of the country now called the United States, extending over a period of one hundred and sixty-eight years, from 1607 to 1775. This was the COLONIAL ERA of the country.

During this long and important period, the infancy and early youth of the nation, the history of the Churches in America contains many a bright page—setting forth the visitations of the Spirit, which purified and revived them, and augmented the number of believers; but many a dark one also, in which those periods are treated when religion sadly declined. Alas! there were several such, the causes of which may be stated in few words.

1. The very removal of the colonists to a new and comparatively unknown world, three thousand miles distant from the civilisation and other advantages of Europe, and their settlement in a land which was literally a wilderness, and possessing a climate which was eminently fatal to the first comers, and indeed to all until they had undergone a process of acclimation; the anxieties, the fatigues, the sufferings, the sickness, and sometimes the pressing want—amounting almost to starvation, in some cases—were decidedly unfavourable to religious prosperity.

2. It was not many years till nearly all of these colonies had to endure severe and dreadful conflicts with the aborigines. I do not stop to inquire who were to blame for this. In many cases the fault may be laid at the door of the colonists themselves, for, however excellent was the character of many of them, it could not be expected that there would be no bad or imprudent men among them. On the other hand, it is certain that the savage tribes were often the aggressors—sometimes, it is believed, at the instigation of white men, of whom I shall presently speak.

3. They were repeatedly agitated by wars with their French and Spanish neighbours, especially the former, who during the greater part of this period possessed the Canadas, and the entire



valley of the Mississippi. These wars were the more dreadful, because of the Indian auxiliaries whom the French had in great numbers, through the superior influence and tact of the French Jesuits, who had missions among many of the more powerful tribes. Even the foreign wars of the mother country, and in a portion of the period the three revolutions which that country underwent, agitated the colonies, and hindered the progress of religion.

4. The introduction of slavery greatly hindered, and in many ways, the progress of religion, especially in the southern colonies, whose climate was more favourable to the health of people from Africa, and whose productions were such as to render their labour more profitable than those of the north. In consequence of this, the number of slaves in the southern colonies soon became incomparably greater than in the northern. But slavery was injurious, to a greater or less degree, in *all* the colonies—for it existed at the declaration of independence in all of them, and in divers ways impeded the triumphs of the gospel.

5. The union of the Church with the State was also a hindrance. This was more manifestly the case in the north than in the south. In both it was at first intolerant, and even exclusive. It engendered bitter feuds among the people, and occasioned innumerable embarrassments to the governments. It laid the foundation in the north for some of the most dangerous heresies—such as Socinianism and Universalism—which, however, did not receive their full development till a then future day. The union of the Church and State in Massachusetts, was of the most extraordinary character, with which nothing can be compared but that of the Hebrew commonwealth. It was a *fusion* of the two powers or institutions, the ecclesiastical and the political, rather than a union. In one form or another, and in a greater or less degree, the Church was connected with the State in ten out of the thirteen colonies, during the whole or the latter part of the period under review.

6. And lastly, the difficulty in getting good ministers of the gospel was a great hindrance. In the northern colonies this was not much felt; for their wise founders set about the creation of institutions which would raise up pastors for their churches, as well as capable administrators of the government. Public schools were established almost immediately, and Harvard College, now a university—not only the oldest, but the best endowed in the United States—was founded only eighteen years after the landing

of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock. But the Episcopal churches in the south, and indeed in all parts, had to obtain their pastors from England; or if they trained up young men of their own, they had to send them over to the Bishop of London to receive ordination! This continued till after the revolution. Some of the men whom the Bishops of London sent over were unquestionably excellent men—but many were far otherwise. One of these bishops (I forget which), writing to a friend in America, complained that he had great difficulty in getting any at all, and that most of those whom he did find were unfit to be sent!

And yet, notwithstanding all these difficulties, the truth did maintain a noble stand in America during the colonial era. God raised up such men as the Mathers, Edwards, Davies, Finley, the Tennents, and others, whose labours were greatly blessed. And the angel-visits of Wesley and Whitefield did much in the way of co-operation.

#### THE SECOND PERIOD.

The second period of the history of the churches in America extends from 1775 to 1815. This was a very important era, but it was one of great perturbations. There was first the war of the independence, which lasted from 1775 to 1783, a period of eight years. As the struggle extended from one end of the country to the other, and from the sea to the Alleghany Mountains, the entire nation, which numbered about 3,500,000 souls, was agitated, and that almost continually, to its inmost recesses. Under these circumstances, it was not to be expected that religion should flourish. Next succeeded a long period of agitation, from various sources;—the unsettled state of the country; the want of a central government; the efforts to form a constitution, and to organise a general government; the difficulties which beset the path of that government; the collision with England and France, and a brief war with the latter; continued difficulties with several countries of Europe, and a war of three years, from 1812 to 1815, with Great Britain. During this period, several severe wars occurred with the aborigines. Take it as a whole, it was a period, extending through forty years, that was not favourable to a very extensive progress of the gospel, and yet it was within that period, namely, about the year 1800, that those gracious effusions of the Holy Spirit recommenced, which have so greatly blessed that country.

In the early part of this era, the union of the Church and the State came to an end in the southern States and in New York.

It was during this period that the vast territory of Louisiana was purchased from France, out of which have been formed the States of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, and Iowa, and leaving still the extensive territory of Nebraska, the large reservation for the Indians, and what is now called Oregon—containing, in all, more than a million and a quarter of square miles. By this purchase the extent of the United States was more than doubled.

Even before the revolution, emigration commenced from the settlements east of the Alleghany Mountains, to the country westward of that range, which is now called the great central valley of the Mississippi, or that vast country lying between the Alleghany Mountains on the east, and the Rocky Mountains on the west, the lakes that separate the United States from the British Possessions on the north, and the Gulf of Mexico on the south, embracing more than a million and a quarter of square miles. The part of this vast country which lies east of the Mississippi, had been ceded by France to England in 1763. There were a few thousands of Anglo-American people settled along the western base, or rather in the western skirts, as it were, of the Alleghany range, as early as the year 1765, in the States of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. There were probably not more than 100,000 inhabitants of English origin there, when the war of the revolution began. During the period which we are now noticing, this emigration increased rapidly, especially during the latter part of it, and before the year 1815, the States of Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, as well as Louisiana (whose population was chiefly French), were admitted into the Union, and two or three territorial governments organised.

This great region was claimed and held by France for more than a century, by right of discovery. This claim she maintained against the charters which the Kings of England had granted to the earlier colonies planted by the people of that country. Some of those charters were remarkable documents in several senses; one of these was the great ignorance which they display in relation to the country which they undertook to parcel out. Several of them overran each other. Some of them conveyed to the patentees territories that stretched from the Atlantic to the "South Sea," as the Pacific was called.

France had discovered the country about the mouth of the St

Lawrence, and commenced the planting of colonies in what is now called Canada, about the time when England began to colonise the coast. Quebec was founded the year after the planting of the colony of Jamestown in Virginia. From Canada, Le Salle, Hennessin, and others, explored the valley of the Mississippi, and thus secured that vast country for France, although De Soto, the Spaniard, had long before visited the southern part of it.

#### THE THIRD PERIOD.

The third and last period extends from 1815 to 1851, and has a length of thirty-six years. This has been, in many respects, the most prosperous era in our history. It has been especially so in regard to religion. Within this period the last ligament which united the Church and State was sundered—in Connecticut, in 1816, and Massachusetts in 1833. With the exception of two or three commercial crises, one or two of which were very severe, the country has enjoyed great temporal or material prosperity. There were no wars that greatly troubled the country. There were a few Indian wars, of no great importance; a war of a few months with one of the Barbary powers, and one with Mexico of some two years' duration. The last-named war, although it produced some excitement, cannot be said to have agitated the country very greatly, because the scene of it was remote. It was greatly deplored by many of our best people.

During this period the area and population of the country have greatly increased. In the year 1819, Florida was purchased from Spain. This gave 57,750 square miles to the territory of the United States. By the annexation of Texas, that territory received a further enlargement of 325,500 square miles. And finally, in 1848, Mexico ceded to the United States, for the sum of 12,000,000 dollars, and other considerations (making the entire sum equivalent to 15,000,000 dollars), the provinces of New Mexico and Upper California, containing 526,075 square miles. By this accession of territory, the area of the United States was made to reach the extent of about three millions and a quarter of square miles; of which not one half is in the occupancy of civilised men, and no part of it is densely settled. The population, which was 3,929,327 in 1790, 5,305,925 in 1800, 7,239,814 in 1810, 9,638,131 in 1820, 12,866,920 in 1830, 17,100,572 in 1840, had reached 23,225,000 in 1850. At the end of each of the six decades which have passed since 1790 (and

there was no census of the whole country taken before that epoch), the increase of the population has been ascertained. In the first, that increase was 1,376,598; in the second, 1,933,829; in the third, 2,398,317; in the fourth, 3,228,789; in the fifth, 4,233,652; and in the sixth, 6,124,428. Even at the ratio of the last decade, the increase of the next—from 1850 to 1860—will be 8,346,872; and that of the decade from 1860 to 1870 will be 11,341,700. This calculation gives us some idea of the rapid growth of the population of the country, and of the greatness of the Church's responsibility, and of the work to be done. At the ratio above stated, the population will be 50,712,999 in the year 1875, and far more than 100,000,000 in the year 1900.

The period under notice, from 1815 to 1851, was one of great spiritual as well as material progress. During that time, the increase of our churches, and of the means of religious instruction, was wonderful. There were many instances of the outpouring of the Spirit in all parts of the country. It was the era of the formation, or of the principal growth, of our societies for spreading the gospel at home and abroad, for increasing the staff of the ministry, for the promotion of temperance, for the reforming of the criminal—in a word, of great progress in all that concerns the moral and religious as well as material interests of the nation.

The immigration from foreign lands increased within this period, from some twelve or fifteen thousand per annum, up to 315,000. During the present year, it is expected that it will far exceed 400,000—probably come but little, if at all, short of half a million! And whilst, on the one hand, the immigration from the Old World has been steadily and rapidly advancing, on the other, the tide of our population has been rolling, in immense volume, into the Valley of the Mississippi, and is even now spreading along the coast of the Pacific Ocean. Since 1815, no less than nine States have been formed in that great central region, namely, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri, Arkansas, Iowa, Mississippi, and Alabama; besides Florida, bordering on the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico; Texas, which borders on the same gulf; and California, which borders on the Pacific. Before many years pass away, several new States will be organised out of the territories of Minnesota, Nebraska, New Mexico, Utah, and Oregon.\*

\* When the word "territory" in this Report commences with a capital letter, it then signifies a defined district, that is not yet a State, but is in

The entire population of the States and Territories west of the Alleghany Mountains now exceeds ten and a half millions; in 1775 it did not exceed 100,000; and was not half a million in the year 1800. These figures shew the wonderful increase of the population of the United States, and the rapidity with which it is expanding itself over the immense central and western regions.

In proof of the material prosperity of the country, it may be stated, that the tonnage employed in the foreign and coasting commerce of the country (including the fishing and whaling vessels) was, in June 1850, 3,681,469. That of the lakes was 167,137 tons. The exports were 136,946,912 dollars, and the imports 173,308,010 dollars. The number of steam-vessels of all descriptions was estimated, at the commencement of this present year, to be 2000, and their tonnage 500,000; and it is calculated that on the 1st of January 1852, the aggregate length of railroads will be 10,618 miles, built at a cost of about 350,000,000 dollars.\* These facts may be taken as indices of the advance of the United States in what concerns its material interests.

In connexion with this topic, we may state that the cause of education has made great progress, particularly within the last forty or fifty years. Public school systems have been established by law, securing the advantages of education for all classes, in at least twelve of the States in the northern and north-western portion of the country, and the subject is waking up much interest in almost all the others. There are now one hundred and twenty colleges and universities, most of which are in the hands and under the direction of religious men, and a solid instruction is imparted in the principles of a Protestant Christianity. There are thirteen Roman Catholic colleges, and two or three may be said not to have any decided religious character, although I know of none that have an infidel character. In the year 1801 there were but

process of becoming one. This will take place when the population becomes sufficient, and a constitution formed by the people through their representatives chosen for the purpose, and approved by the President and Congress. Until this is done, the government of the "Territory" is carried on by a governor, judges, and other officers, appointed by the President of the United States, with the consent of the Senate.

\* The English reader can in a moment convert into pounds sterling any of the sums stated in this document in dollars, by dividing them by the number five. This will, at all events, give the value in English money with sufficient accuracy for ordinary purposes. Strictly speaking, five dollars are sevenpence more than a pound sterling, or sovereign.

twenty-five colleges in the country. There are thirty-seven medical schools and twelve law schools. Many of the colleges are new and very imperfectly endowed; but many of the old ones may be said to be well established, and supplied with efficient teachers. In founding these institutions, the State governments have usually given more or less aid; but their greatest assistance, in the way of endowments, has come from the benevolence of individuals.

We come now to the consideration of the progress and present state of religion in the United States, so far as it can be ascertained and determined by statistical inquiry. On this subject it is very difficult to obtain all the data which are desirable, but I think I shall be able to reach a reasonable approximation to the truth.

#### I. THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

The oldest branch of the Protestant Church in the United States is the Protestant Episcopal. Its history commences with the planting of the colony of Virginia, in the year 1607. For a very long period this Church laboured under many disadvantages. One of these has been alluded to—the difficulty of obtaining ministers from England, where all had to be ordained. Another and very serious difficulty arose from the disputes which occurred in relation to the manner of their support. And, to complete the catalogue of hindrances, at the commencement of the revolution, a large number of the ministers of this body, being Englishmen, felt constrained, by their views of duty, to return to the mother country. It was not till years after the revolution that the real prosperity of this Church commenced. From the most authentic accounts which I have been able to find, I think that there were in the year 1800, 320 churches, 16,000 communicants, 260 ministers, with 7 bishops. In 1819 there were 17 bishops, about 500 churches, and 25,000 members. In 1850, there were 28 bishops, 3 missionary bishops, 1504 ministers, 1550 churches, and about 73,000 members. During the first half of this century, the Episcopal Church in the United States has, therefore, more than quintupled its clergy and churches, and nearly quintupled its members. The population of the United States has increased during the same period something less than fourfold and a half, it being relatively, at the epochs of 1850 and 1800, as 439  $\frac{9}{10}$  to 100.

#### II. THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES.

The Congregational branch of the one true Church of Christ

may be taken next; for, though the Reformed Dutch Church may have had some preachers on the ground before 1620, it is not certain that there were any churches of this body before 1624. The increase of this body has been steady almost from the first. I have no means of knowing what were its statistics in the year 1800. But, in the year 1850, there were 1971 churches, of which nearly 1400 were in the six New England States, and the rest in the other States, chiefly Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa. The number of ministers was 1687, and of the communicants, or members, 197,196. In this statement no churches are included but those which are now called Congregational in America. The Congregational body of churches has not increased as fast as the other great communions, and for the simple reason that it was for nearly two hundred years confined to the six New England States. The emigrants from those States, who had been brought up in the principles of the Congregational system, usually joined the Presbyterian churches in the middle, southern, and western States. This practice still continues, although not so much as formerly. Within the last fifteen or twenty years a large number of Congregational churches has been formed in the States of New York, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Iowa, and a few in others, composed for the most part of people from New England. Had the emigrants from New England and their children dispersed over the other States and Territories, and who are believed to be almost if not quite as numerous as the actual inhabitants of the land of their origin, all cleaved to its ecclesiastical polity, and everywhere organised churches on that basis, the Congregational churches in the United States would have been more than 3000 in number, instead of 1971, at this day.

### III. THE BAPTIST CHURCHES.

The Baptist branch of the Church of Christ comes next in order of time.

For a long period the Baptist ministers encountered much opposition, owing to the intolerance which prevailed both north and south—an intolerance which was the vice of the age. They often suffered imprisonment in Virginia from the hands of the civil government, and they were banished from Massachusetts, and compelled to found the colony of Rhode Island. At length, however, better views prevailed in both portions of the country. In Pennsylvania and New Jersey they never experienced opposi-



tion, so far as I know. In the year 1791, there were 1150 churches, 891 ministers, and 65,345 members. In 1850, what are called the "Regular" or "Associated" Baptist churches were believed to be 10,441, the number of ordained ministers 6049, and that of the members 754,652. If we add to these the Seventh-day Baptists (Sabbatarians), with their 60 churches, 46 ministers, and 7000 members; the Free-will Baptists (who are Arminian in their theological views), 1154 churches, 823 ordained ministers, 49,215 members; the Six Principle Baptists, and one or two other small branches, who have about 200 churches, 100 ministers, and 11,000 members; and the "Disciples of Christ," or "Reformers," as they call themselves—a large body, embracing in 1850 about 1600 churches, 1000 ministers, and 127,000 members—who have adopted the sentiments of the Rev. Dr Alexander Campbell, which have been considered too speculative and cold, and not sufficiently operative to the renovation of the heart and life;\* we shall have an aggregate of 13,455 churches, 8018 ministers, and 948,867 members. This is an immense increase since the year 1791, sixty years ago. In the year 1750, one hundred years ago, there were only 58 Baptist churches in the whole of what is now the United States; and in the year 1768 there were but 137. It appears that in sixty years the Baptist churches have increased tenfold, their ministers ninefold, and their members more than thirteenfold!

#### IV. THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES.

The next of the large Christian bodies which arose in the United States was the Presbyterian. The first ministers of that body were from Scotland and the north of Ireland, and were joined by ministers from New England, who came into the middle and southern States, where Presbyterianism first gained a foothold. In the year 1705 a presbytery, consisting of seven ministers, was formed: from this beginning the body has steadily grown, until it now ranks among the most numerous and powerful of the land. In the year 1800, it is believed, the number of ministers of what

\* I am happy to say, that from various quarters I have received information that spiritual life is increasing in this branch of the Baptist body. This is indeed a cheering fact—one that, perhaps, should have been expected. Dr Campbell thought he saw the truth exposed to danger from a certain quarter, and it was quite possible for him, in these circumstances, to go to the other extreme. But it was natural for a proper equilibrium, or something like it, to be reached in due time.

is now called the Presbyterian Church was about 300, churches 500, and communicants 40,000. This is, at all events, as exact as we can make the statement, and it cannot be far from the truth. The two great branches in which it now appears, for a division took place in the year 1838, stand thus:—The Old School General Assembly has 23 synods, 134 presbyteries, 2027 ministers, 618 licentiates and students, 2675 churches, 210,306 members. The New School Assembly has 21 synods, 104 presbyteries, 1489 ministers, 204 students (in theological schools only) and licentiates, 1579 churches, and 140,060 communicants. Taken together, the two branches of the Presbyterian Church name 44 synods, 238 presbyteries, 3516 ministers, 822 licentiates and students, 4254 churches, and 350,366 communicants. From this it appears that this body increased nearly twelvefold so far as the ministry is concerned, eight and a half fold as to the churches, and nearly ninefold as regards the members. But if we add the smaller branches, none of which amounted to much in the year 1800, and the largest of which did not exist at all, the increase of the Presbyterian body becomes still more striking. They are as follows:—1. The Associate Presbyterian Church, which had, in 1850, 1 synod, 16 presbyteries, 120 ministers, 214 churches, and 18,000 communicants. 2. The Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, with 4 synods, 20 presbyteries, 219 ministers, 332 churches, and 26,340 members. 3. The Reformed Presbyterian Church, with 2 synods, 7 presbyteries, about 80 ordained ministers, 100 organised churches, and 12,000 communicants. These three bodies have at least 160 students and licentiates. 4. Reformed Dutch Church, which is only Dutch in name at present, for the English is used in all their pulpits, and spoken by all their people. This body had, in 1784, only 82 churches, and 30 ministers. In 1850 it had a general synod, 2 particular synods, 24 classes (or presbyteries), 293 ministers, 292 churches, and 33,553 communicants. It had also 32 students in theology. 5. The Cumberland Presbyterian Church. This body arose in 1810, in the State of Kentucky. In polity it is Presbyterian, with the addition of the itinerating system of the Methodist Church. In doctrine it holds a sort of medium ground between Calvinism and Arminianism.\* It has a general assembly, 12 synods, 45 presbyteries, 350 ministers, 480 churches, and more than 50,000 members. This

\* It is rather a *mixture* than a *medium*, for, whilst they reject the doctrine of *Election*, they hold to that of the *Perseverance of the Saints*.

body is most numerous in the south-western and western States. It has but few churches eastward of the Alleghany Mountains.

From this it appears the Presbyterian family of churches, speaking the English language and having a British origin, except the Dutch Reformed, consists of 4 general assemblies, 65 synods, 360 presbyteries, 4578 ministers, 1014 students and licentiates, 5672 churches, and 490,259 communicants. And almost all this is the growth of fifty years, or the era from 1800 to 1850. During that period the Presbyterian Church may be said to have increased nearly elevenfold.

#### V. THE METHODIST CHURCHES.

The last in order of time, of the larger religious bodies mainly of Anglo-American origin, that arose in the United States, was the Methodist Episcopal Church. It was not till the year 1784 that this Church was organised, under the superintendence of the Rev. Messrs Coke and Asbury. Up to that time, those who followed the doctrines and measures of Wesley remained in connexion with the Protestant Episcopal Church. At the date of its organisation, the new body had 83 ministers and 14,986 members. In the year 1800, it had 40,000 members. Its subsequent increase has been immense. It now spreads over all the country, and its "conferences," "districts," and "circuits," cover the whole land. Its itinerating system is admirably adapted to the extent and wants of so vast and so new a field. In the year 1844, a division took place in this body, occasioned by the subject of slavery. In the year 1850, the Northern branch, called the "Methodist Episcopal Church," had 4004 ministers on its regular service, and 666,310 members. The "Methodist Episcopal Church South" had 1642 ministers and 504,520 members; making in all, 5646 regular ministers, or those on the circuit, besides a large number of local ministers, and 1,170,830 members. There are several small Methodist bodies. 1. In the year 1828, there was a secession from the Methodist Episcopal Church, on account mainly of the exclusion of the lay representatives from the annual and general conferences; and the Protestant Methodist Church was organised. This body had in 1850 a general conference, 22 annual conferences, 1200 travelling and local preachers, and 62,000 communicants. 2. There is what is called the Wesleyan Methodist Church, which was another secession, on the ground of slavery and the Episcopacy, in the year 1842. It has several conferences, and 20,000 mem-

bers. 3. There are some Primitive Methodists in America, but their societies are neither large nor numerous. 4. There is a small Christian body of coloured people, called the African Methodist Church, which has about 20 circuits, 30 preachers, and nearly 3000 members. And, 5. There are some 20 congregations of Welsh Calvinistic Methodists. By combining all the churches above mentioned, it will be found that there are quite 6000 regular preachers, at least 8000 local preachers, and more than a million and a quarter of members! There is reason to believe that the membership of this communion has increased much more than six times as fast as the population of the country has done since the year 1784!

#### VI. THE GERMAN CHURCHES.

We come now to a group of churches of continental origin, and which still employ more or less the German language. Hitherto we have been speaking of churches which have been founded by emigrants from the British Isles, and which speak the English language, and employ it, with few exceptions, in their public services. These exceptions are some Welsh churches—probably not short of a hundred in all—which are mostly Congregational, Methodist, or Presbyterian; a few Gaelic churches, that are Presbyterian; some Swedish and Norwegian churches, chiefly Lutheran; and some German churches, which belong to the Methodists, Presbyterian, Dutch Reformed, Baptist, &c. Whilst all the earlier emigrants from other parts of the Continent—such as the Dutch, the Huguenots, the Waldenses, the Swedes, &c., have long since lost their languages and become merged in the Anglo-American population, those from Germany being much more numerous, and constantly sustained in the use of their maternal tongue by the never-ceasing flow of the immigration from Germany, have retained, in many places, their old language, and employ it in their religious services. 1. The largest of these bodies is the Lutheran, which, in 1850, consisted of a general synod, 19 district synods, 663 ministers, 1603 congregations, and 163,000 members. The increase of this Church since the year 1800 has been very great, but I have no means of measuring it in a statistical manner. Not only has its numbers greatly augmented, but there has been a great resuscitation of true piety and spiritual life. 2. The next German communion, in point of size and influence, is the German Reformed Church. This body, like the Lutheran, has received

great enlargement in the United States within the present century, though both existed long before in portions of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. It had last year about 260 ministers, 600 congregations, and 70,000 communicants. This body has been troubled of late years by some speculations which have been pronounced to be kindred to those of Dr Pusey, but it contains many excellent men, and is rapidly increasing in numbers. 3. The United Brethren in Christ. This denomination arose in the latter part of the last century, from the union of some excellent people who had belonged to the Reformed, Lutheran, and Mennonist Churches. Their first conference was held in the year 1800. They had last year nine annual conferences, four bishops or superintendents, 250 itinerant ministers, 350 local preachers, 1800 churches and other places of worship, and about 67,000 communicants. Their doctrines and modes of worship are essentially the same as those of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 4. The Evangelical Association, founded in 1800. This is another sect of German Methodists, and is similar to the Methodist Episcopal Church in doctrine and church polity. It has two bishops, a general conference, four annual conferences, 112 travelling ministers, 200 local preachers, about 900 places of preaching, and 17,000 communicants. 5. The United Brethren, or "Moravian Brethren," as they are often called. They have several settlements chiefly in Pennsylvania, one bishop, 23 churches, 27 ministers, and 3000 communicants. 6. The Evangelical Church, of quite recent origin, an offshoot of the Evangelical Church of Germany. They have a synod of some twenty-five or thirty churches in Missouri, and are increasing. 7. The Mennonists, a small body, who are often classed with the Baptists; but they rather pour, than either sprinkle or immerse. They worship chiefly in private houses, and their congregations, estimated at 400, are small. They have about 240 ministers. They can hardly have more than 30,000 communicants. 8. The Tunkers, or Dunkers; a small sect of German Baptists that appeared in America more than 130 years ago. They retain some customs which are quite oriental and primitive, such as washing the feet and giving the kiss of charity. But little is known of their numbers, as they publish no statistics. It is believed that they have as many as 250 preachers, and 8000 or 10,000 members. They are generally farmers, and are most numerous in Pennsylvania and Virginia. They have lately had a great religious meeting in the latter, to

which they came in great numbers, and from afar, in their waggons. They are a simple-hearted, industrious, quiet, worthy people. 9. The Winebrennerians, a growing sect in Pennsylvania chiefly, of good people, founded by Mr Winebrenner, of Harrisburg, in that State; I know not their numbers. 10. And lastly, there is a small German Seventh-day Baptist Church, much attached to monastic life, but of their statistics I have nothing that can be depended on. They are not believed to exceed a few hundreds in number, and their ministers may be as many as ten or twelve. It appears from this statement that there are no less than ten German branches of the Protestant Church in America, almost all of them offshoots of German bodies in Europe, and that they have about 1827 regular ministers, 550 local preachers, 5356 congregations, many of which are very small, and 333,000 members.

#### VII. THE FRIENDS.

It only remains that I speak of the Society of Friends, whose "meetings," or congregations, are estimated at about 500, of which 300 are supposed to be orthodox, and 200 "Hicksite," from one Elias Hicks, who was a celebrated preacher in that body some twenty years since, and taught doctrines of a very deistical character, which, in process of time, led to a complete disruption of the body. Whilst it is not doubted that there are many excellent and truly pious people in the orthodox portion of this denomination, it is thought that the society is not increasing, at least not perceptibly. Many of the Hicksite branch, especially of the young people, are falling into infidelity, in which some will probably continue to wander; whilst many, it is believed, will ultimately be merged in the other Protestant churches.

#### THE SUMMARY.

The result of all the investigation which we have been able to bestow on the subject is, that there were last year in the United States, in the several branches of the Protestant Church, which may be termed evangelical—first, 23,614 ministers (besides the "local preachers" of the several branches of the Methodist Churches, who are not less than 9000 in number); second, 58,304 congregations or assemblies; third, 3,292,322 communicants. Given in a condensed tabular view, they stand thus:—

Denomination.	Ministers.	Congregations.	Members of Churches.
Protestant Episcopal Church.....	1,504	1,550	73,000
Congregational body.....	1,687	1,971	197,196
Baptist body.....	8,018	13,455	948,867
Presbyterian body.....	4,578	5,672	490,259
Methodist body.....	6,000	30,000	1,250,000
German Churches.....	1,827	5,356	333,000
Friends, or Quakers.....		300	
Total.....	23,614	58,304	3,292,322

A few remarks are needed by way of explanation.

1. When we pronounce all these churches to be evangelical, we do not affirm that they are equally so. There are some of the small German denominations about which we are not so well satisfied as we could wish to be; and there may be two or three others, all of whose members are not as sound in their religious belief as they should be. What we affirm is that, to the best of our belief, not only are their symbols of faith orthodox, but that the ministers and people sincerely believe the great doctrines of salvation—such as the Trinity, the Divinity of Christ and of the Holy Spirit, &c.; and that “repentance towards God,” and “faith towards the Lord Jesus Christ,” are held by them to be the only terms of salvation.

2. Although we cannot doubt that there are many who are self-deceived—some even that are hypocrites, though the motives for a hypocritical profession of religion, since no special honour or temporal advantage presents itself, cannot be considered great—yet, taken as a body, the members of our churches give as credible evidence of being Christians as can reasonably be expected. With all their deficiencies, they will compare well, I think, in point of intelligence, proper walk and conversation, liberality and zeal, with an equal number taken in the same way in any other country. Almost all our churches endeavour to maintain discipline among their people, and require a good “reason of the hope that is in them.” Still we must acknowledge that there is much to be desired in regard to the spiritual life of our churches. But where is this not the case?

3. It is very difficult to ascertain the exact number of those who are preaching the gospel. We have given the number reported, on the best authority that we can find in each religious body. And although it is certain that a considerable deduction should be made from the numbers given, for superannuated ministers, professors

and teachers, missionaries, &c., yet all this is far more than made up in the great number of licentiates, or young ministers, who are not settled, many not having finished their theological studies—of whom there are not less than two or three thousand. Besides all this, there are at least 9000 local preachers in the several Methodist churches, all of whom do less or more in the way of preaching and holding meetings for prayer, conducting Bible classes, superintending Sabbath-schools, &c. &c., as well as various forms of pastoral labour. This would make the number of evangelical preachers more than 32,000.

4. There has been no portion of this investigation attended with more difficulty than that relating to the number of individual churches. I have found it to be impossible to attain entire accuracy. The number given is rather that of the congregations or assemblies. Large as it is, it is certainly much under the mark. The several branches of the Methodist Church, and also the Cumberland Presbyterians, have their circuits, each comprehending, for the most part, several places of worship. They may be church-edifices, school-houses, court-houses, or private houses. If all the places where the gospel is occasionally preached by pastors and others, but where there is no church organised—because not necessary—were to be added to those in which a church or body of believers is organised, the entire number of places where the gospel is preached would, it is believed, be found to exceed one hundred thousand.

5. There are various ways of measuring the progress of religion in a country. One of these is statistical, and this we may legitimately apply, at this point, to the country of which we are speaking. It is impossible to ascertain with entire precision the number of evangelical ministers, churches, and communicants in the United States at the epoch of the revolution, seventy-five years ago.\* We cannot ascertain the number for the year 1800 with

\* In another work—*Religion in America* (book iii. chap. 1)—I have stated that, after much inquiry, I had come to the conclusion that there were in the year 1775, 1441 ministers and 1940 churches in the United States. This statement included 26 Roman Catholic priests and 52 churches. According to this estimation, there was one minister, on an average, for about 2429 souls—supposing the population of the country to have been 3,500,000 at that epoch, which is probably not far from the truth.

If we suppose the number of the ministers of the evangelical churches alone to have been 23,614 in the year 1850, and the population 23,250,000, then we shall find that there was one minister for 984 individuals! Making



strict accuracy ; but we can ascertain enough, and I have already given the data, to shew, that while the population of the United States increased something less than fourfold and a half, from 1800 to 1850, the number of evangelical ministers of the gospel, churches, and members of the churches, has increased nearly, if not quite, tenfold ! As to other modes of measuring the advance of the truth in the United States, I shall speak of them presently.

#### NON-EVANGELICAL BODIES.\*

These differ very much in their relative abandonment of what is usually called the evangelical faith, or system of doctrine. They are the following :—

1. The Swedenborgians. Of this well-known sect there are about 40 small churches, 35 ministers, and 10,000 people.

2. The Unitarians, chiefly in New England. They count about 300 churches, 250 ministers, and 30,000 members. There are two parties among them : the serious and inquiring portion, who have still a deep reverence for the Scriptures ; and the party of progress—rationalistic, pantheistic, transcendental—headed by Theodore Parker, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and men of like views. Among the former there are many worthy and excellent men.

It is probable that Unitarianism in the United States will disappear in process of time very much as it arose—*gradually*. The more serious will return, if proper measures be pursued, to the evangelical churches—many have done so within the last twenty years. Those who have embraced the transcendental and pantheistic views will go further astray, until they end in downright infidelity and deism. Indeed, that is their present position, so far as

all proper allowance for the increase of ministers and churches from 1775 to 1800—and that increase was not very great ; in fact, the number of Episcopal ministers was less in the south in the latter of these epochs than of the former—we come to the conclusion that the number of ministers of the evangelical churches alone—and of the churches and members too, we doubt not—was twice as great in proportion to the population in 1850 as it was in 1800. If we include the NON-EVANGELICAL bodies, this increase becomes still more astonishing.

\* I use this term, as, on the whole, the best that can be employed, and least likely to give offence. That there are truly excellent people in some of these bodies, who seem really to love the Saviour, and to rest alone in His merits, we must believe. How far the “faith that saves” may consist with many errors and obscure and uncertain views respecting the Divine nature, and the true character of the Saviour, God alone knows. Whilst we should be charitable towards others, let us hold fast to truth.

concerns their opinions of the inspiration of the Scriptures and the Divine nature.

3. The Christians, or *Christ*-ians, as they are commonly called. They were at the outset a warm-hearted, zealous, rather fanatical sect, which arose at various points almost simultaneously, some forty years ago and more. These deny the Trinity, but hold to salvation by Christ, "by whose sufferings, death, and resurrection," they say, "a way has been provided by which sinners may obtain salvation." They report 1500 churches, as many ministers, and 150,000 members.

4. There are some German Lutheran churches in Eastern Pennsylvania, and in other parts, that are Socinian, but I have not been able to ascertain their number. A portion of the Friends, or Quakers, must be placed in the same category.

5. The Universalists. This is a sect of English origin. Its first apostles and propagators were Murray and Winchester. They were serious men, and held the doctrine of Restoration. At present there are very few among them who believe in any future punishment. They have 540 preachers, 550 churches, and 875 societies.

6. The Roman Catholics. This body had in 1850, 4 archbishops, 30 bishops, 1073 churches, 1081 priests, and a population of 1,500,000, according to the Roman Catholic Almanac. I shall speak of this body and their position in another place.

Of all these non-evangelical bodies, the Roman Catholics and Unitarians are alone of much account. The former have their perfect organisation and consummate tact; the latter their cultivated intellect and taste, their wealth and influential social position. The *Christ*-ians and Universalists have no elements of cohesion and life, and they cannot resist long when the truth makes a vigorous onset. None of these systems satisfy the demands of the soul. Unitarianism is scarcely maintaining its ground at present; or, if it increases, it is doing so at a slower rate relatively than the orthodox denominations.

#### RESOURCES OF THE GOSPEL.

Let us next speak of the resources of the gospel for self-sustentation in the United States. The general government pays the salaries of two chaplains every session of Congress for opening each house daily with prayer, and for preaching to that body on the Sabbath; it also pays the salaries of twenty-four chaplains in

the navy and fifteen in the army. It helps to civilise and Christianise some of the Indian tribes, by paying annuities to missionary societies for the promotion of education and a knowledge of the mechanical arts among them. This it does according to treaties made with those tribes. Besides this it does nothing. Several of the State governments pay the salaries of chaplains to their prisons, and a very few pay the ministers who open the daily session of their legislative bodies with prayer. This is all that the State does with us, or has done for many years, for the support of public worship. This duty, therefore, devolves upon the people; and after an experiment which may well be pronounced to be sufficient, the sentiment is universal with us, that we would on no account have this task placed in other hands. Let a few facts confirm our confidence in the resources of the Church, or of the gospel rather, under God's blessing, for this work.

*First*, After the most careful inquiry which I have been able to make, I have come to the conclusion, that our congregations paid, last year, to their ministers, in the shape of salaries, parsonages, or glebes, and other perquisites, at least 7,670,150 dollars. I am convinced that this is a low estimate—much too low—although it includes only the evangelical churches.

*Second*, There is, probably, nothing that tries the voluntary principle with us more effectually than the building of churches to meet the demands of the country. Last year, the population increased nearly, if not quite, 800,000 souls. This would require the building of churches to accommodate at least 400,000 persons; for room is not needed for more than half the population in places of worship, in any country. Dr Chalmers once told the writer that he should not think any country adequately supplied with church accommodation, if it had not sufficient room in its places of worship for one-third part of the population. I think that I cannot be mistaken in my estimate, that more than one thousand edifices were erected last year in the United States, by all the bodies of Christians, Protestants and Romanists, evangelical and non-evangelical. Indeed, the evangelical denominations alone certainly built 950.\* And, although some of these were erected to replace old ones, yet there is reason to believe that the rest quite came up to, and even exceeded, Dr Chalmers's demand. It must also be

\* This does not require that as many ministers be furnished every year; for, in many cases, and especially in the newer parts of the country, one preacher must minister to two or more congregations.

kept in mind, that in very many places (especially in the newer districts) religious worship is kept up, for a time at least, in school-houses, court-houses, and private houses. The cost of the church edifices built by the evangelical churches, including the entire expenses for the *materiel* of public worship, such as fuel, light, sextons' wages, &c. &c., must have been great; for although such houses can be built with us, in the interior villages and rural districts, for 1000 dollars, 500 dollars, and even less, yet in the large towns they often cost three, four, five, or more thousand; whilst in the large cities, they often cost twenty-five, thirty, forty, fifty, and sometimes one hundred thousand dollars, and even more. We may fairly put this item of annual expenditure at the sum of 3,000,000 dollars.

*Third*, Large sums are raised every year to build and endow colleges, of which there are now 120, all of them under Protestant influence, save thirteen (the Baptists have thirteen, the Episcopalians ten, the Methodists thirteen, Roman Catholics thirteen, the Presbyterians and Congregationalists seventy-one), and theological seminaries, of which there are forty-two Protestant ones, with 120 professors and 1537 students. But I can make nothing more than a conjecture as to the amount. It may be put down at 200,000 dollars.

#### THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES.

Another mode of measuring the progress of religion in the United States, is to consider the growth and operations of societies organised to propagate the gospel.

##### I. BIBLE SOCIETIES.

	Founded.	No. of Bibles and Tests. from beginning.	Last year.	Receipts.	
				dol.	c.
Amer. Bible Soc.....	1816	6,980,535	633,395	284,614	0
Amer. and For. B. S..	1837	794,398	—	41,625	8
Amer. Bible Union...	1850	—	—	13,300	0

##### II. TRACT SOCIETY.

	Founded.	No. of Pubs.	No. of pp. from beginning.	Receipts.	
Amer. Tract Society..	1824	1,528	2,483,793,562	308,266	0

##### III. HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETIES.

	Founded.	No. of Miss.	Places of worship supplied.	Receipts.	
Amer. H. Miss. Soc....	1826	1,032	1,575	157,160	0
Presb. Board of Dom. Missions .....	—	570	1,461	79,049	0

	Founded.	No. of Miss.	Places of worship supplied.	Receipts. dol.	c.
Protestant Episcopal.	—	96	—	30,657	0
Methodist (North)....	—	464	437	58,070	0
Methodist (South)....	—	273	—	60,871	0
Bapt. H. Miss. Soc.....	—	118	—	30,369	0
Bapt. Board of Dom. Missions (South)...	—	50	—	10,692	0
Evan. Lut. H. M. Soc.	1845	22	—	697	0
Free-Will Baptists....	—	50	—	5,525	0

IV. SUNDAY-SCHOOL SOCIETIES.

	Founded.	Pubs.	No. of Schools.	Scholars.	Receipts. dol.	c.
Amer. S. S. Union *...	1824	2,000	—	157,000	259,915	0
Methodist Episcopal..	—	1,885	7,334	400,000	5,150	0†
Protestant.....	1826	300	—	—	—	—
Massachusetts .....	more than	3,000	—	—	25,732	0

V. EDUCATION SOCIETIES.

American Education Society, founded 1816—436 young men received aid in 1849-50.....	30,181	53
Society for Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education—6 colleges aided .....	44,663	31
Board of Education of Presbyterian Church—373 young men, &c., 100 parochial schools, 32 academies, 11 colleges (7 assisted) .....	35,975	0

VI. MISSIONARY SOCIETIES.

	Miss.	Asst.	Stat.	Com	Schrs.	Receipts. dol.	c.
Amer. Board C. F. M.	157	360	134	25,875	22,824	251,339	35
Amer. Baptist Union.	56	250	155	12,500	2,772	87,537	20
Presb. Board of Miss.	55	43	28	282	1,709	126,075	40
Episcopal.....	10	9	8	96	656	36,114	11
Methodist Missions...	34	several	8	1,611	—	38,193	14
Amer. Miss. Associat.	12	31	10	380	—	26,849	66
Lutheran Missions....	5	—	2	—	263	4,230	42
Assoc. Presb. Church.	5	—	2	—	—	3,182	32
M. E. Church (South).	5	—	2	—	—	6,000	0
Baptist Church.....	12	24	12	—	320	28,697	70
Baptist Free Mission..	2	5	2	—	—	6,571	81
Free-will Baptists .....	3	7	2	—	130	4,433	5
Seventh-day .....	2	—	1	—	—	1,200	0
Amer. & For. Ch. Un.	100	—	—	—	—	45,942	64
				40,744	28,674	2,148,878	64
						or, £429,775,	12s.‡

\* This is the number only of the schools, and scholars in them, which were visited by the agents of the society last year,—not of the entire number of the schools which have relations with that society.

† From donations only.

‡ These receipts were for the year ending with May 1st, 1850. They shew

It appears, then, that the receipts of these religious societies last year amounted to 2,148,878 dollars, or £429,775. There are some of them that deserve a passing remark or two, as shewing what can be done to meet the demands of our rapidly-increasing and widely-spreading population.

1. The American Home Missionary Society, supported by Congregational churches, and the New School Presbyterians, employed 1032 missionaries in the home field; the Old School Presbyterians, through their board, 570; the Baptists, 168; the Episcopalians, 96; the Methodists, 37—in all, 2603—at the cost of 426,868 dollars.

2. The American Bible Society distributed 633,395 Bibles and Testaments; that society, and the American and Foreign Bible Society, have circulated 7,774,933 since the commencement of their operations.

3. The American Tract Society circulated last year 269,984,615 pages of tracts, 886,662 volumes, and employed 508 colporteurs during the whole or part of the year, who visited 428,000 families, of whom 44,800 were Roman Catholic. Its monthly paper, the *Messenger*, has a circulation of 200,000 in English and 10,000 in German.

4. The American Education Society and the General Assembly's Board supported, last year, 809 young men who were preparing for the ministry.

5. The American Sunday-school Union has issued 2000 different publications, mostly books for Sunday-school libraries; the Methodist Sunday-school, 1885; the Massachusetts Sunday-school Union, 3000; and the Episcopal, 300. It is estimated that there are now more than 2,000,000 of children, youth, and adults, in Sunday-schools in the United States, taught by more than 200,000 teachers, among whom are to be found many of the best of our young people, and even members of Congress and of our State Legislatures, judges, lawyers, mayors of our cities, and other magistrates, and of our "honourable women" not a few.

6. The several Foreign Missionary Societies and Boards sustained in the foreign field 358 missionaries, 729 assistant missionaries, at 366 stations, and have 40,744 communicants in their churches, and 28,674 pupils in their schools.

an advance of more than 150,000 dollars (or £30,000) beyond those of the year 1848-49; the receipts for the year ending May 1st, 1851, shew a decided increase upon those of 1849-50.

In this notice of the receipts of religious societies, we have not included those of the Colonisation Societies, Anti-slavery Societies, and several others of that class. It results from this statement that the sum of 12,999,139 dollars, or £2,599,827, was contributed in the year 1850, by the evangelical churches of the United States, for the support of the gospel at home and its propagation abroad. The sum that was expended abroad was about 675,000 dollars, or £135,000. If we add the amount contributed by the non-evangelical bodies for the support of their churches, &c., the entire amount will not fall short of 15,000,000 dollars, or more than £3,000,000.\* All this is given voluntarily for the promotion of religion. It is really a privilege and a blessing to those who give this sum to be permitted to do it.

#### CONCLUSION.

There are several subjects of much importance, on which I must say a few words in bringing this Report to a close; otherwise, it will not do justice either to the churches or the country to which it relates.

1. *Christian Union*.—There is a great deal of Christian intercourse between brethren of the different branches of the Church of Christ in the United States. All standing on the same platform, so far as the government and the laws are concerned, they have little occasion for envy and jealousy. Ministers of different denominations preach often for each other. In many of the smaller towns, the pastors meet once a week, for social intercourse, consultation, and prayer. Several of the branches of the Protestant Church have suffered much evil from division.† This state of things is usually of not very long duration; better feelings triumph, and a kindly fellowship returns. In the meanwhile, these

\* I am quite sure that the statement in the text comes much short of the truth. And as to the sum given, great as it may seem to those who have lived in countries where the State bears all or a very large portion of the expense of public worship, it is really small when the number of the members of the churches and other serious and well-disposed persons is considered.

† The subject of slavery has been one of the elements (as in the case of the Methodist Episcopal Church) of division. How far division, from such a cause, will serve to hasten the overthrow of slavery in the southern States, is not a question for remark in this place. Other causes have led to the dividing some of the communions (as, for instance, the Presbyterian Church) into two bodies. In the case of the large bodies, this division is far from proving an unmitigated evil. It leads to greater watchfulness and exertion, and diminishes evils which result from overgrown organisations.

internal difficulties seldom interfere with a pleasant intercourse with Christians of other bodies. Several of our religious and benevolent societies often bring brethren of different churches to act together, and in this respect serve as evangelical alliances.

2. *Influence of Christianity upon the Government.*—Although there is no union of the Church and the State with us, it is far from being true that Christianity has no influence upon the State. It is true that the number of the actual members or communicants in *all* the churches is hardly a sixth part of the whole population, and that of the evangelical churches scarcely a seventh; yet the influence on the general Government has been often felt and seen. It could not prevent the recent war with Mexico, for the nation was precipitated into it without a moment's warning; but it compelled, or induced, rather, the Government to carry it on on principles much more just and humane than those on which wars have been hitherto carried on in an enemy's country. One of these was that the army should pay for what it received from the enemy in the shape of provisions; so that military requisitions were seldom made. Christians are not willing, with us, to be held responsible for all the acts of our Government, for there are many which they have not had the ability to prevent. Does not the same thing happen in Great Britain, in France, and other countries in Europe, very often?

That Christianity exerts a vast influence with us in securing obedience to the law, without the use of the bayonet, is certain. That there are sometimes riots and murders—alas! too often, indeed—is undeniable; but if we look at the newness of the country, its great facilities for concealment and ultimate escape, and the great influx of ignorant, irreligious, and in many cases priest-ridden people from abroad,\* we shall see reason to be

\* That a very large number of our most desperate criminals are foreigners, is a well-known fact. From all parts of Europe they come to us, and of late even from Australia. Often have I been applied to by Christian friends in Europe, to advise and aid persons who have committed forgery and other crimes in Europe, and have escaped to America, in order that they might be induced and enabled to return to the paths of virtue and usefulness. Nor has any such application ever been made in vain. Thanks be to God, I have in most cases been successful in my efforts. Even whilst this Alliance has been holding its sessions, I have received a letter of thanks from an English father for my efforts in behalf of his son, who had been sentenced for *homicide*, committed in America, to many years' imprisonment, but who has received a pardon, and returned home a *renewed man*, through the grace of God.



astonished that there is not more crime and violence. That vast country, with its twenty-four millions of people, could not be governed as it is—without a military force worthy of mention, excepting, indeed, for its littleness—but for the wide-spread influence of the gospel on the minds of men.

In some of our States an unwise and ill-regulated philanthropy has led to efforts to abolish all capital punishment, even for the greatest crimes, and in one or two of them this step has actually been taken. The injurious influence of the propagation of erroneous opinions on this subject has been widely felt of late, in the more frequent occurrence of horrible crime, and especially of murder. It is to be hoped that the public mind will be roused to better views on this very important subject. In general, the pulpit and the religious press have taken and held the right ground in relation to it.

3. *The Temperance Cause.*—Although the population of the country has been almost doubled since the first Temperance Society was formed, on right principles, yet there is less drunkenness by far than there was then. The cause of temperance advances favourably upon the whole. It is a never-ending work. No relaxation can be allowed without detriment. The happy influence of the cause is now seen and felt in many of our ships. And we cannot but be thankful that the use of intoxicating drinks, as a beverage, is almost completely banished from the tables and the houses of Christians with us. The contrast is great between such a state of things and that which one sees in some other countries.

4. *The Observance of the Sabbath.*—On this subject we have much to cheer. Although there is still enough to deplore, we have much to be grateful for. There is a far better observance of the Sabbath than there was a few years ago in many parts of the country. Whilst there is still too much violation of the sacred day in the suburbs and neighbourhood of our large cities, it is pleasant to see that the streets of none of them (so far as I know, unless it be New Orleans) are disturbed by the rumbling of omnibuses.\* All of the States, I believe, have made laws to enforce the observance of the Sabbath. This has been done on the

\* Through one of the main streets of New York, the passenger trains on a railroad, drawn by horses, are permitted to run on the Sabbath. Even this, though there is but little noise, is considered a nuisance, as well as a violation of the sacred day.

ayowed principle that we are a Christian nation. That doctrine we hold. And though the State requires of no man that he attend this or that church, or any church at all, or do anything to support any form of worship; yet it does require him to desist from labour, at least from such labour as interferes with the sacred employments and enjoyments of others. It seems so near to a dictate of natural religion and of common reason, as well as Christianity, that man and beast should rest part of their time, that our lawgivers do not seem to have had any misgivings on the subject; and yet the enforcement of the law is seldom resorted to. A better way is pursued—that of enlightening the people by the press and the pulpit, as to their duties and their privileges. A few gentlemen have employed the Rev. Dr Edwards—the originator of temperance societies on the present plan—for several years, to visit the chief places and preach before legislatures and Congress, and so influence the leading minds of the country, as well as to employ the press for that object. The success of this quiet and effective course has been great. There is not a car running on any of the railroads in New England, I believe, on the Sabbath, nor is the mail carried there on that day. A similar change is going on in the middle and other States. The carrying of the mail on the Sabbath was discontinued on 8000 miles of road last year through these quiet efforts. Dr Edwards visits the officers of the Government, legislators, and directors of railroads, and sits down and talks the matter over kindly with them as a Christian man and a gentleman should; nor does he labour in vain—for he has to deal with men who, almost without exception, respect religion, and not a few are religious men.

5. *Infidelity.*—There is but little infidelity of the old fashion among the well-educated classes in the United States. Among our public men—the men at the head of the general Government, and our statesmen generally—as well as our influential lawyers and physicians, there is incomparably less infidelity than there was fifty years ago. There is a considerable amount of refined, transcendental spiritualism among certain classes of a certain cultivation in portions of New England. The thing is rather fashionable there at present. But the worst forms of infidelity are to be found among the Germans, the French, the Swiss, the Italians, and other foreigners from the Continent, who are to be found in our large cities. The vilest attacks upon Christianity are to be found in German papers published at New York and other cities. And,

what is a great difficulty, we cannot yet reach them, for the want of the right men—men who speak their languages. Europe sends us few such men.\* M. Cabet and his Icarians are trying such an experiment at Nauvoo as Frances Wright and her sister tried in Tennessee twenty-five years ago, and as Robert Dale Owen at New Harmony in Indiana and others have tried in other places—namely, to get up a sort of Christless, and even Godless community, in which human nature may have a fair chance to develop all its good qualities without any interference from the superstitions of a benighted antiquity. At the same time, the Mormons, driven first from Missouri and afterwards from Illinois by an outraged community, are building a city at Salt Lake, in the territory of Utah, on the road from St Louis to California; already they have fifteen or twenty thousand deluded followers at or near that spot, and some small communities elsewhere; and their missionaries are traversing these British Isles (where they boast that they have no less than 35,000 converts), and penetrating into every country on the Continent, in order to make converts to one of the silliest and basest of all delusions that arch-villainy ever attempted to propagate, from the days of Mohammed to this present time. But the economical advantages of the scheme, in connexion with the licence which it is believed to give the strongest passions of the corrupt heart of man, will secure great success for a while. In the meanwhile the Government of the United States treats the whole movement with utter indifference. It contents itself, and properly so,† with requiring that the projected Mormon State shall

\* We shall be compelled to raise them up from among ourselves. Blessed be God, this good work is now fairly commenced, so far as the German population is concerned. The Lutheran and German Reformed Churches have five theological schools, in which about eighty young men are preparing for the ministry. They have also two colleges. We are beginning to obtain, for the Canadian population which is entering our States that border on Canada, young men, missionaries and colporteurs, from the seminaries Grande Ligne and Pointe-aux-Trembles in that country, and which our churches have assisted in founding.

† It would be the greatest of calamities for the general Government to interfere with the religious opinions and movements of these people, save to the extent spoken of above. Their expulsion from Missouri and Illinois did much for them; it created a sympathy for them as for a persecuted people. The temporal advantages which they offer constitute the great inducement to poor and ignorant people to join them. Their leaders are playing a deep game. But time, which tries all things else, will shew that truth will destroy even this vile imposture—the invention of a profane and wicked man.

be organised on the same republican principles that underly the other State governments. And truth will find its way in due time into the midst of the corrupt community, and overthrow the absurdities and impieties of Joseph Smith's pretended revelations.

6. *The Aborigines.*—The first colonists found the whole country possessed, or rather occupied, if the word may be used, by many tribes of aborigines, speaking different languages, and hostile to each other in many cases, and living by fishing and the chase. The number of these people was small in comparison with the country. Wars and pestilential diseases were steadily diminishing them in some regions; in others they were perhaps slowly increasing. It was the desire and intention of the colonists, as expressed in the charters of most if not all of them, to Christianise these people. Some attempts were made at the outset, but with very partial success. It was not long till wars began between them, as we have elsewhere stated; and, with the exception of the efforts of Elliot, the Mayhews, and others in New England, in the seventeenth century, and of David Brainerd and his brother John in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and of Zeisberger and others in Ohio, in the eighteenth, there was nothing done worthy of mention until the present century; nor even then till about the year 1816. Since that time missions and schools have been planted in many of the tribes, and civilisation and religion have made much progress, especially among the Choctaws, the Cherokees, and some of the smaller tribes. The gospel is also gaining a foothold among the Creeks, one of the largest of all the tribes. The Government has for several years been collecting the tribes which were within the limits of the States, upon a large territory west of the States of Arkansas and Missouri, which may be their own as long as they choose to maintain a national or tribal existence, and so get clear of the conflicts which so often arose whilst they were within the limits of any of the States. This work has advanced very much, and the worst of the evils attendant on the removal of so many people, partially civilised, have, it is hoped, passed away.

The United States Government pay to these tribes large sums of money, in the shape of annuities, being either interest of the purchase-money for the lands which they sold to the Government at their removal, or instalments of that money, agreeably to treaties made. Out of these moneys,\* large sums are now appropriated

\* Amounting to about a million of dollars annually, at present.

by the governments of these tribes to the maintenance of schools and academies, and for the promotion of the useful arts. A large number of these Indians, especially among the Choctaws and Cherokees, can read, and some are well educated men, and would do themselves credit in any legislative body. There are respectable newspapers in the Cherokee and Choctaw languages. Civilisation is steadily advancing among them. There are several thousand members of the churches planted among the several tribes by Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, Moravian, and other missionaries. The Cherokees are about 18,000; the Choctaws, 14,000; the Creeks, 22,000; and there are several small tribes which have been removed to the same extensive territory. The entire population of that territory is quite large enough to make a respectable State; and it is sincerely to be desired that these tribes may one day unite and form a regular member of the American Union. Diversity of language and the influence of the chiefs, who now have the government of each tribe very much in their hands, are the great obstacles to this plan at present. The English language is, however, gaining ground, and will one day—though comparatively distant—supplant all others. These tribes, now that civilisation has gained so great an ascendancy among them, are, it is believed, increasing instead of diminishing.

A great deal has been said about the wasting away of the aborigines of America before the European races. That this has been the case, to a considerable extent, is true; but not to the extent that is often supposed. The remains of former tribes have been greatly absorbed in other and larger ones. It is possible that civilisation and Christianity may save some of the tribes—Cherokees, Choctaws, &c.—for a long time from annihilation, or absorption in other tribes; but it is certain, I think, that all of them will, sooner or later, be absorbed in the Europeo-American population. To this destiny everything infallibly points. And probably it will be seen to be the best arrangement in the long run. The United States seem to be destined to be the scene in which a more complete fusion of the races is to take place than the world has hitherto seen. I know an excellent man, born in Virginia, who represents the four continents, as it were; for in his veins is the blood of the European, African, Asiatic, and American (aboriginal) races!

7. *Slavery*.—What has Christianity done for the African race? The first of these people that came to our shores were brought by

a Dutch ship in the year 1620. The slave-trade soon commenced, and for a hundred and fifty-five years it was carried on by English ships, and exclusively so, so far as the English colonies were concerned, and indeed so far as all the American continent was concerned for many years, as England had a monopoly of the whole trade for a period. At the time of the declaration of independence, there were more than 500,000 of these people in the country, almost all of them slaves, and chiefly in the southern States.

The colonists at first, and for a long time, looked upon these people as heathen and aliens that had been obtruded upon them, and spoke and acted about them very much as they seem to have supposed that the Jews did about the Canaanites who remained in their country after the conquest, and whom they were permitted to enslave. It was much the *fashion*, if I may so say, in those days, to speak in that way. For a long time, the poor, degraded people seem to have shared but little in the protection of the laws, and to have had but little sympathy from the churches. The laws appear scarcely to have regarded them as coming within their scope. And the Church that was the dominant, and for a long time the exclusive one, in the portions of the country where slavery most accumulated—that is, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas—had not sufficient religious zeal and vitality, though it had many excellent people in it, to accomplish much in a work so eminently missionary as the labour of converting these people. And let it be remembered that this Church was at that time established by law, as really so as that of England.

The Presbyterians and Baptists had no foothold there until more than one hundred years after slavery had commenced its existence in Virginia, and the Methodists were fifty years later still in gaining an organisation in any of the southern States. The evil was great before those three denominations began to exist in that part of the country. At present the Baptist and Methodist bodies are the great ecclesiastical bodies which exist in the south. The Presbyterians and Episcopalians combined are far less numerous than either of them.

What would have been the state of things at the present day if the churches had from the first taken the ground that no slaveholder should share in Church-fellowship I cannot say, for I do not know—it would require Omniscience to answer that question. But that was not done; nor was it to be expected, considering

what was the then state of opinion in the religious world on the subject.\* Good men in England were engaged in the slave-trade till long after that day. The churches in the southern colonies could hardly be expected to be in advance of the world on that subject, situated as they were. All that they thought of doing—all that they thought that Christianity required—was, that they should inculcate on masters and slaves their correlative duties, and do as well as they could under laws which evidently regarded these people as aliens, and property which might be transferred from hand to hand and place to place. I simply state the facts of the case, and I think they will not be questioned.

And now the question returns, What has Christianity done for these people? And we are better prepared to answer it. It has endeavoured, under laws unjust and barbarous, and every way unfavourable for the successful propagation of the gospel, to inculcate humanity and kindness on the part of the master, and obedience and fidelity on the part of the slave. It has secured the comfortable maintenance of the slaves as to food and clothing and lodging,—I speak generally, for I know there are exceptions. It has secured the enforcement of the laws relating to the Sabbath, and so given the slave a seventh part of his time as a day of rest. It is certainly a rare thing for a slave to be compelled to work on the Lord's Day—especially in those portions of the south where Christianity is most prevalent. It has exerted a very great counteracting influence in regard to the loose and unjust position in which the laws have left the subject of marriage. Whatever those laws may permit in the shape of polygamy, Christianity has done much to cause the marriage relations to be held sacred. It has done much to prevent the separation of families by sale; and its influence has been felt in this respect by Christian masters.

\* Towards the close of the eighteenth century, more than 160 years after slavery had been introduced, and when its roots had become numerous and closely entwined with all the interests of the southern people, the Reformed Presbyterian Church, and two other small Scottish bodies of the Presbyterian family, made their appearance in the United States. From the outset, the first-named took the ground that no slaveholder should be received into its membership. It was not very difficult for a Church composed almost entirely of people recently arrived and their children, to take that ground and hold it. A portion of the other two Scottish Churches have striven to occupy the same ground, and succeeded. This was comparatively easy. It was quite another thing to create churches composed of those whose families had for generations been involved in the evil.

But so long as the laws remain as they are, death, and even debt, will often defeat the wishes of the best masters. It has brought tens of thousands of both masters and slaves to the knowledge of Christ. There are probably more than three hundred thousand slaves who profess Christ in the fifteen slaveholding States. It is reported that there are 50,000 in the single State of South Carolina. Christianity has induced many a master to liberate his slaves. There are more than 400,000 free people of African origin in the United States, who are the descendants of slaves, if they were not slaves themselves. These people or their fathers were liberated through the influence of Christianity. Their present value, if the value of human beings can be estimated by money, far exceeds all that England gave to free her West India slaves; and all this was the gift, as it were, of individuals. Christianity is steadily advancing in the southern States, as is demonstrable in many ways. And this is our hope. As the legislatures of the southern States have exclusive control by the constitution over the subjects of slavery, each in its own sphere, it is only through the prevalence of Christianity in all those States that we can hope for the peaceable overthrow of slavery in the United States; and of no other overthrow of it will we speak, or can we speak, as Christian men. It is this, in connexion with the operation of other causes—among which may be named its circumscription within its present limits, and the consequent diminution of the value of slave-labour, at no very distant day—that will lead to its overthrow sooner or later. It will require time; but the great consummation will come. The Christian influence in the south, though considerable, is not sufficient to control legislation there. The proportion of the slaveholders—I refer to men, men of influence, who profess to be religious men—is not great. Many of their wives and children, many poor white men, and many slaves and free negroes, are pious; but the overwhelming preponderance of political influence is in the hands of unconverted masters.

But religion is gaining ground in the south as well as in the north. It is greatly to be desired that its increase may be far more rapid. For the influence which is to overthrow slavery must come *from within* those States, not *from without*. The people of the north cannot liberate the slaves of the south. Of course the people of other lands cannot. We may grow indignant and blaspheme, and even curse, if we will; but it will not hasten, it will only retard, the work. The people of the south, who alone have



control of the subject, cannot be driven. They may be persuaded, and the cause can be greatly aided by proper means; but those means are not denunciation and malediction, come from what quarter they may.

I have spoken to you my honest sentiments, as God is my witness. I have never held any other, because my reason will not permit it. If I am wrong in these views, I am *conscientiously* so. I am not aware that in holding them I am influenced by sinister or corrupt motives. I have never had but one opinion of slavery itself, however much I may respect many of those who are implicated in it, both masters and slaves; I sincerely pity them. I have never made any extraordinary profession or enunciation of my abhorrence of this dreadful evil, this direful curse, which the Old World has bequeathed to my country, either in England or elsewhere, to secure the favour or friendship of any man; nor shall I.

There are some things about which I cannot entertain a doubt. Whatever may be my opinion about the wisdom of some other measures for overthrowing slavery in the southern States, I cannot despair of the influence of the gospel as the grand means of its ultimate removal. I know of no slaveholding state in the Union where we cannot preach the gospel to slaves, and where they are not allowed to hear, believe, and be saved.\* In several States, not all, laws were made twenty-five years ago, forbidding to teach the slaves to read. This was done solely through fear, lest incendiary publications might be, as was madly attempted, circulated among them, to excite them to rise and destroy their masters. That these most unjust laws are disregarded by some masters is affirmed, and reasonably enough, as well as by slaves who can

\* There are people in this country who seem to know scarcely anything that is worth knowing about the United States. I have astonished some of them beyond measure by telling them that the gospel can be preached—salvation by the Lamb can be preached, as the Saviour and the apostles preached it—to all classes of people in the southern States, slaves as well as masters; and that, whatever the trials of the former may be, they are not too great for grace to enable those who believe to overcome. That their young women are exposed to great temptations, especially those of them that have any beauty, is not denied; but thousands of them resist, and successfully resist, those temptations, through the grace which God gives to those who seek. If one half of what Mr Mayhew has said about London be true, there are tens of thousands of young women in that city whose temptations are quite as great as any which our poor coloured girls are exposed to in the south.

read. But no law has been made to prevent the preaching of the gospel. For this I am thankful. I have devoted a great deal of my time, from first to last, to teaching persons of the coloured race, bond and free, to read. I have had in the classes I have taught, and in the Sabbath-schools I have superintended, at least three hundred of them, in my younger years, before I entered the ministry. I am not indifferent to the importance of reading the Word of God, and I sincerely wish that all, bond and free, black and white, might be able to do it, and have a Bible to read. But so long as the gospel can be preached to the slaves, I shall not despair of their salvation; for I know that it is emphatically by the preaching of the gospel that men always have been, and always will be, saved. Besides, I cannot but believe the laws to which I have referred must be temporary. In the meanwhile, those means of religious instruction which can be employed ought to be greatly augmented. And this is perfectly practicable; nor is the subject wholly neglected, as the missionary and other efforts of the Presbyterians, Methodists, and other religious bodies in the south attest. Indeed, the interest in it is increasing from year to year. May it increase a hundredfold!

I am not ignorant of the evils of slavery in America. I feel sad when I think of them. The system injures, deeply injures, both parties. When there are none of the meliorating influences of religion, these evils are often horrible. Nothing, in my opinion, but the influence of the gospel, can mitigate those evils, and finally and completely overthrow the system. The very slaveholders themselves, with us, are the only men who must be induced to overthrow it. Can we hope ever to see them do it but through the influence of the gospel upon their own hearts?

But the question is often asked—whether religion can be expected to make progress in such a population. God has himself answered that question. He pours out his Spirit, and renders his Word effective to the salvation of both masters and slaves. No man can deny this who has any accurate knowledge of the slaveholding States. I have preached the gospel too often, to both masters and slaves, and conversed with both too much, to have a doubt on this subject. Indeed, if I did not feel confident on this subject, I should have no hope for the peaceable overthrow of slavery at all. And if I did not believe that the Spirit of God can renew the hearts of both masters and slaves in America, I should have little hope in regard to the debased and polluted

heathen nations of the world. But where is the heart that the Spirit of God cannot change? Here, then, is *my* hope. And I think that the first and greatest duty of Christians, in our northern States, is to say to their southern brethren—"Slavery is a great evil to you, to the slave, to the country at large; we earnestly desire its abolishment; but it is a subject in which you must take the lead; for with you is the power, by the constitution, to act effectively in it. The south is jealous of the northern interference;—very well, do you take the lead in this movement, and we will follow and aid you; begin with what is practicable, and let everything be done which can be done to cause the gospel to be preached faithfully to masters and slaves—we will help you with our money and our prayers. Where the slaves and free coloured people can be taught to read, let there be no want of schools; where they cannot be taught in schools, let it be done privately, if that be allowed; if that be not possible, let them be taught the Scriptures orally, and assembled regularly, morning and evening, for this purpose, as is done by some excellent masters in Georgia and South Carolina. Where you have slaves who are capable of taking care of themselves, set them free; and if they may not remain in the State where you are, send them north, send them west, or send them to Liberia, if they prefer; if they cannot take care of themselves, besides clothing and feeding them well, begin to give them reasonable wages, that they may lay up something for the day when they may set up for themselves;—in a word, do all you can to hasten the coming of freedom, and we will stand by you and help you to the uttermost of our power; we will even bear, if a loss can be proved, our full share of the expense of a reasonable compensation for your slaves—for the whole of them—in order that you may not be impoverished."

Something like this is the course which I would have our northern Christians, and indeed all classes, pursue towards the people of the south. Alas! this course has not been pursued as it should have been. It is quite too old-fashioned to suit the views of those among us who claim, *par excellence* and exclusively, to be the friends of the slave. But to something like this we shall have to come, before all is over, if ever slavery be abolished in a peaceable manner, I apprehend; nor do I doubt that this course will one day be pursued. In the meanwhile, the area of slavery has been limited by the providential arrangements of our heavenly Father, rather than any efforts of man, in the results of the late

Mexican war;—California and Oregon can have no slaves; it is very certain that neither New Mexico nor Utah will have any; a portion of Texas has been saved from the evil;\* the slave-trade is abolished in the district of Columbia; the growing conviction that slavery is a dreadful hindrance to the temporal prosperity of the States where it exists; the constantly increasing superiority of the free States;—all these things, and many more, are conspiring with moral causes to bring on the day when this dreadful evil must cease for ever among us. *May God hasten it!*

8. *Romanism.*—The original Roman Catholic population of the United States was very small, and chiefly confined to Maryland. Even at the commencement of the revolution (1775), there were but twenty-six priests and fifty-two congregations. By the acquisition of Louisiana (1803), a large addition was made to the number of those who belong to that communion. The purchase of Florida (1819) added a few thousands more. But the great source of the increase of that body has been immigration from Europe—from Ireland, first of all; and next from Germany and France. This increase has been very rapid within the last fifteen or twenty years. It is not easy to say what is the precise proportion of the emigrants from Europe to our shores who are Roman Catholics; it is believed to be rather more than one half at present.

The number of Roman Catholics in the United States at this time is not known with accuracy. Archbishop Hughes, of New York, estimated it to be, in 1850, 3,000,000. On the other hand, the authors of the Catholic Almanac, published at Baltimore, under the auspices of the late Archbishop Eccleston, made it only 1,650,000, and asserted that they had taken much pains to be exact. We are inclined to believe that the archbishop is nearer the truth than the Baltimore gentlemen. It is worthy of remark, however, that the increase of the Popish population is less rapid from immigration than would appear from the numbers that reach our shores. A large portion of them are poor, and not well prepared to encounter the exposures and sickness which must be encountered in so great a removal, and to so new a country, possessing a climate differing much from that which they have left. Change of diet also has its effects. And, lastly, many lose their lives by rushing on board cheap but unsafe steam-boats, when they arrive at New Orleans and other places in the valley of the Missis-

\* And 25,000 square miles more would have been, had it not been for the folly of some of our *soi-disant* friends of the slave.

sippi, and on the lakes. Dreadful loss of life has often happened from this cause.

There are now four Roman Catholic archbishops, thirty bishops, 1073 churches, and 1081 priests. They have thirteen colleges, and numerous male and female schools. Each bishop has students of theology under his care. Large sums of money are constantly received from Europe—from the Lyons Society for Propagating the Faith, from the Leopold Society of Vienna, and from other sources. They are building many churches every year, some of which are quite large and costly. A great deal of the money which they receive from abroad is expended in this way.

The number of proselytes whom they gain from Protestantism has not been great hitherto. Occasionally a person of some importance, from his position, or his education and pursuits, or his family, joins them; but it was rightly remarked, recently, by a Philadelphia correspondent of the *Freeman's Journal*, their principal organ, that where they gain one, they lose many. The editor of the journal just named, said, some months ago, that the defections from their Church, in the United States, were perfectly frightful! They are constantly losing by conversion to Protestantism. And they lose many more, from their young men abandoning their Church and becoming infidels. That these persons, or their children, will ultimately become Protestants, is quite certain.

Placed on the same footing with the Protestants by the law, and constantly mingling with them, and treated kindly by them, as they almost invariably are, they cannot remain unaffected by the very atmosphere, as it were, which they breathe. The newspapers, which are cheap and of a popular form with us, exert an influence upon them which can hardly be estimated. Our "free schools" in the northern States bring their children into contact with Protestant ones, and cause them to hear and know many things which they could not, if brought up in Papal countries. Besides, our tract-distribution, our Sabbath-schools, our city missions—all combine to bring the truth to the houses and often to the hearts of the Roman Catholics. I am happy also to state that our churches are awaking to combined and systematic efforts on behalf of our Roman Catholic population, as well as Roman Catholic nations abroad. Our American and Foreign Christian Union, which embraces good men of all the evangelical communions, employed last year—the second of its existence—more than seventy missionaries among our Papal population at home, and thirty in Papal countries

abroad. Its income was not much short of £10,000. Some of the denominational societies are beginning to occupy themselves with missions among Romanists. Encouraging success has attended these efforts on all hands.

Rome will find it difficult to contend with our free institutions, our free schools, our open Bible, and all the other Protestant influences which exist among us. She may send us as many bishops, archbishops, and even cardinals, as she pleases. It will require something more than all this to make headway against the evangelical influences which pervade that Protestant country. As to the triumph of Romanism there, we have no fear of it, provided our churches will do their duty in the way of labouring for the salvation of Roman Catholics. I am happy to say that our Christian people are beginning to understand better the work they have to do in relation to Roman Catholics, and the spirit and manner in which it must be done—that of kindness and love and perseverance.\* Our ministers very generally, and often, preach to their people on the distinctive doctrines of Protestantism, and the great errors of Rome, and the mode of encountering them. On the whole, I do not apprehend that Romanism is likely to gain the ascendancy with us. Its professors cannot complain of oppression in any form. This is a great advantage.

9. *Immigration.*—The last subject upon which I would make a few remarks is immigration. This has become a question of the greatest moment. From the Revolution in England in 1688 to the year 1775, a period of eighty-seven years, almost the only emigration from Europe to our shores was from the Continent—chiefly the persecuted French and German Protestants, and the former during a period of only a few years. It was within this period that the Anglo-American population got a fair start. From

\* Ten or fifteen years ago, when attention began to be called with some degree of earnestness to the subject of Romanism, we had some men who distinguished themselves in their controversies, oral and written, with the priests. The fierce language of denunciation, of sarcasm, and ridicule, as well as of powerful argument, was often employed. That these men did some good, even much good, by awakening the minds of our people to examine the errors of Popery, and arouse themselves to the conflict with the Man of Sin, cannot be denied—though their violence was to be deplored. Then, too, we had our *Maria Monks*, and books of that stamp. But that era has very much passed away with us, and that of kindness to the Romanist, of deep commiseration for his errors and danger, and of prayer and appropriate effort for his salvation, has succeeded.

1775 to 1800, the immigration of foreigners was very limited, because of the war of the Revolution and the subsequent troubles in Europe, which made it difficult. During the next decade of years this immigration became considerable; but in the one succeeding, it was greatly checked by the war with England. But since 1820 it has steadily advanced, until at present it is immense. The emigrants come now from every nation of Western Europe, and even from the Russian empire. Not only so, Asia is beginning to send to California her thousands of Chinese, and threatens to pour upon our western shores her polluting heathenism, whilst Europe is sending here a vast amount of her worthless Christianity.

All this is imposing upon us a great burden. As to the poverty of a large portion of the emigrants from the Old World, we do not think much of it; for we can soon put them in the way of supporting themselves. But they are ignorant, many of them, of our modes of supporting religion and promoting education. They have been accustomed—all who come from the Continent, and many of those who come from the British Isles—to rely on the State for everything that concerns the support of religion. It takes time, much time—a generation or two in the case of those from the Continent—to initiate them into the mysteries of our voluntary manner of doing everything that relates to the Church. Many of them are slow to learn. We get but little help from this quarter. They seek riches, and will submit to any toil and self-denial to gain them; but, as a general thing, they do little for our religious institutions. The two richest men that have ever lived in America were natives of France and Germany. They left millions of dollars. And yet many an American mechanic of moderate means has done more for the cause of Christ among us than both of them! It is somewhat different with emigrants from the British Isles, and yet even they do not equal our people in liberality; *but their children will*. And this is our hope in regard to all: their children, and their children's children, will be thorough Americans, upon whom we may rely for aid in every good thing.

A large portion of the emigrants from Europe are Roman Catholics, Irish and Germans. A large portion are infidels, not only from Germany, but from other countries, as I have stated in another place. It is very difficult for us to provide for the spiritual wants of these people, from the want of the right men. Europe, owing to the low state of spiritual and true Protestantism

in most countries, especially those of the Continent, sends us but few. It is absolutely easier for us to provide for the spiritual necessities of our entire native population than for those of the foreign.

But we are not discouraged. We shall meet all the difficulties which lie in our pathway with confidence in God, the God of our fathers, who has never yet deserted us, notwithstanding all our sins and our great unworthiness. With His blessing, we believe that our institutions will be found equal to every emergency. We have a great work to do in our own great country, but we are not willing to confine our efforts to our own land. We will aid in sending the gospel to the heathen, to the Mohammedans, to the Jews; and we will come and help you here, in the Old World, to resuscitate a pure Christianity, a true Protestantism, in France, in Italy, in Spain, in Russia, and in Ireland too. Do I say will come? We have come already. For years we have been endeavouring to bring our churches up to this work, and not in vain. And already we are aiding the good work, in almost every Papal nation in Europe. We wish to continue to do so; we shall continue to do so, unless you deem us unworthy to work by your side; in that case we will retire, and confine our efforts to our own hemisphere, and to the heathen and the Mohammedans.

THE END.





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